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an interdisciplinary quarterly

LIFE WRITING & CORPORATE PERSONHOOD

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&
Laura E. Lyons

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rnima Bose and Laura E. Lyons
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This introduction outlines different manifestations of corporate personhood, including advertising, skinvertising, activist corporate impersonation, and the equation of corporations with celebrity CEOs. We contextualize corporate personhood in relation to recent attempts to claim rights for fetuses, along with more progressive articulations of personhood in various environmental and animal rights campaigns

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nothy Brennan
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To challenge the bourgeoisie today, even to say its name, seems impossible given that its identity seems to many indistinct today. The capitalist is not really seen nor theorized; its figure is said to blend into the social carpet. But the bourgeoisie is as tangible as ever, only more "spiritual." It has managed to conceal itself by making individuals *im*persons. One version of this move exists, paradoxically, among those who hate capitalism: posthumanists. The only way to be outside bourgeois value, though, is to revive the human person.

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a specific cause. Conspicuous giving, in other words, refers to any charitable act performed in the public sphere to which a certain amount of public recognition is attached. Arguably at stake in the rise of social entrepreneurship is the naturalization of free labor as a condition of global citizenship.

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LIFE WRITING AND CORPORATE PERSONHOOD

PURNIMA BOSE AND LAURA E. LYONS

A convergence of economic, legal, political, and academic factors makes the topic of life writing and corporate personhood particularly timely for a special issue of the journal *Biography*. Economically, the United States is still reeling from the 2008 recession, which has exacerbated the trend toward inequality in this country, and reverberated throughout the global economy more generally; legally, a number of recent Supreme Court decisions, including *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* and *McCutcheon v. Federal Election Commission*, have expanded the rights and power of corporations; politically, the expansion of corporate rights has meant both their greater influence in many aspects of public life and the emergence of opposition to the seeming ubiquity of corporate power in popular movements such as Occupy Wall Street and its many spin-offs; academically, the drive toward modeling universities on the corporate form has transformed the nature of higher education, orienting it toward market concerns and shaping the production of knowledge in both explicit and subtle ways. These developments raise questions about the ensuing relationships among individuals, corporations, and the social formation, and their relevance to life writing and academic knowledge, questions which the essays in this volume address from a variety of perspectives.

From the local communities that spring up around corporations to the commodity chains that link producers to consumers to the groups that form in opposition to their specific practices, corporations connect people's lives in different ways that are not always readily apparent. Whatever lives corporations can be said to have emerge from their interactions and intersections with the lives of individuals and communities. The immense power wielded by corporations reverberates through our daily experiences insofar as almost all aspects of the reproduction of modern life including our food, transportation, energy, health care, and communication are linked to corporations. A critical engagement with corporate personhood and life writing, we hope, will facilitate the process of demystifying corporate power.

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We begin by considering different manifestations of corporate personhood, describing how and why corporations created fictitious individuals to serve as logos for their products in the late nineteenth century as well as the emergence of "skinvertising" in the twenty-first century. We then turn to the personification of corporations in their CEOs in the twentieth century. These manifestations of corporate personhood, we believe, have permeated other aspects of the political imaginary in the US, and invigorated the assault on women's reproductive freedoms through the movement advocating for fetal personhood. The nexus of corporate personhood and fetal personhood constitutes the focus of the second section of this introduction. The claim to personhood has also been advanced by more progressive political movements organized around animal well being and environmental protection. After exploring these different but related senses of personhood, we conclude by reflecting on the insights about life writing offered in the individual essays featured in this special issue of *Biography*.

CORPORATE PERSONHOOD

Elsewhere we have written about the legal origins of corporate personhood in the 1886 Supreme Court case, *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad*, involving jurisdiction over the assessment of taxes on the railroad's property, in which corporate lawyers brazenly and successfully argued that corporations constituted persons under the Fourteenth Amendment, the legislative measure to guarantee full personhood to freed slaves (Bose and Lyons 17–18). While not part of the actual decision, the court reporter's insertion of a headnote granting personhood to corporations established the legal precedent for bestowing the same constitutional protections that accrue to individual persons to these inanimate entities. A series of Supreme Court rulings since then, culminating in the *Citizens United* and the *McCutcheon* decisions, have reaffirmed the legal status of corporate personhood and greatly expanded corporate rights.

In addition to its status as a legal fiction, corporate personhood has a representational dimension, which historically has entailed the embodiment of corporations through specific persons in advertising. Naomi Klein explains that manufacturers created logos in the 1880s to differentiate mass-produced products from one another. As these packaged items flooded the market and replaced dry goods such as sugar, flour, and cereal that had been doled out of barrels, corporations invented fictitious people to represent particular products and their brands (6). Early examples of corporate personhood embodied in logos include Old Grand-Dad, Uncle Ben, and Aunt Jemima; these "personalities," Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller note, "came to replace

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the shopkeeper, who was traditionally responsible for measuring bulk foods for customers and acting as an advocate for products," in effect, becoming the friendly "interface between consumer and product" (177). Not insignificantly, these early versions of corporate personhood appropriated kinship terminology, and thus asserted an intimate relationship between the product and the customer. "We are members of your family," their names announced, "and, therefore, we should be invited into your homes." That some of these logos (e.g., Uncle Ben and Aunt Jemima) featured African-American visages, and drew on nostalgic associations with slavery, resonate with the egregious invocation of the Fourteenth Amendment to endow corporations with legal personhood status.

Corporate personhood has yet another incarnation in the literal embodiment of the corporation: in the mid 1990s, some Nike employees demonstrated their loyalty to their employer by getting The Swoosh tattooed on their legs. Referring to themselves as "Ekins" (Nike spelled backwards), these mainly young twenty-something men organized mass visits to tattoo parlors during their quadrennial Ekin gatherings. "It's a cult," confessed one Ekin, "But it's a great cult" ("Nike's"). If such behavior teetered on the verge of corporate crazy in 1994, two decades later, notwithstanding prohibitions against displaying such bodily ornamentation in many workplaces, tattoos of logos have become more common. In the early 2000s, dot-coms pioneered this form of advertising, called "skinvertising," by paying individuals to have corporate logos etched into their epidermis (Hines). And more recently Red Bull, British e-tailor ASOS, and Sailor Jerry have featured pop-up tattoo parlors at various music festivals, including Austin's South By Southwest (Hines). This trend is preceded by earlier forms of the branding of individuals that occurred during slavery and the Holocaust. Whereas those tattoos marked individuals as private property or the property of the state, and were evidence of extreme coercion, these twenty-first century iterations of dermal mutilation are voluntary, literally inscribing the body of the consumer with the logo or visual contours of the desired commodity.

Another version of corporate personhood exists in the figuration of corporations in relation to actually existing people, generally men, who head them. From the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, some corporations became closely identified with their CEOs: the pineapple company Dole was equated with James Drummond Dole; General Electric was associated with Thomas Edison; and the Bechtel Corporation was linked with its founder Warren A. Bechtel (Bose and Lyons 15). Nearly a century later, in the 1980s, the CEO-corporation identification intensified as a result of the emergence of CEO celebrity figures such as Lee Iacocca, Richard Branson, Michael Bloomberg, and Jack Welch, among others. Life writing contributed

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significantly to the creation of these celebrity capitalists, and the melding of these men and the corporations they led. Their biographies and autobiographies—often making the *New York Times* and other best-seller lists—construct the success of their corporations as the telos of their lives. Titles such as Lee Iacocca's *Iacocca: An Autobiography*, Richard Branson's *Losing My Virginity: How I've Survived, Had Fun, and Made a Fortune Doing Business My Way*, Michael Bloomberg's *Bloomberg by Bloomberg*, and Jack Welch's *Jack: Straight from the Gut* personify corporations by rendering them as expressions of the self-actualization of their CEOs through the imaginative means these men invent to maximize profits often at the expense of workers (Bose and Lyons 15–16). Despite the promise of CEO autobiographies to tell the story of singular, maverick individuals, and to give readers access to the secrets of their success, the similarity of these narratives across the genre, their reliance on common tropes—overcoming adversity to gain position, relying on intuition to make "hard decisions," and branding their lives as a management style—renders those purportedly one-of-a-kind lives generic.

We note that the predictability of corporate genres provides the basis of culture jamming activist groups like the Yes Men, whose impersonations of corporate spokespersons and World Trade Organization officials represent an attempt to turn embodied corporate personhood against the corporation. As advertising for their film *The Yes Men Fix the World* explains: "Armed with nothing but thrift-store suits, the Yes Men lie their way into business conferences and parody their corporate targets in ever more extreme ways—basically doing everything that they can to wake up their audiences to the danger of letting greed run our world." The Yes Men (Jacques Severin/Andy Bichlbaum and Igor Vamos/Mike Bonanno) gained notoriety in 2004, when on the twentieth anniversary of the Bhopal Disaster, Bichlbaum appeared on "BBC World" as a Dow Chemical spokesperson, Jude Finisterra. He announced that Dow accepted responsibility for the disaster caused by Union Carbide, which it had acquired three years earlier, and would use its projected $12 billion profits from the liquidation of Union Carbide to clean up the site and pay for the health care of those affected by the industrial catastrophe that killed 3,800 and poisoned tens of thousands more in India ("Bhopal Disaster"). Had anyone at the BBC done some fact checking, they might have questioned the thinly veiled moniker of the person they were interviewing: "Jude" is a reference to the patron saint of the impossible, and "Finisterra" literally translates as "end of the world." By forgoing basic journalistic protocols, the BBC exposed itself as all too willing to believe anything presumed to emanate from a high-ranking corporate source. In an interview at the end of this volume, Indian journalist P. Sainath takes up the ethical implications of the compromising relationship between corporations and news agencies. The

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prank was not exposed for several hours and forced Dow into the embarrassing position of publically stating that they had no intention of compensating those affected by the Bhopal disaster ("Bhopal Hoax').

The Yes Men encourage other anti-corporate activists to impersonate corporate heads, advising activists to imitate a general-corporate type—the white male in tailored suit and designer briefcase—rather than specific CEOs. It's relatively easy, they explain: you "agree with people—turning up the volume on their ideas . . . until they can see their ideas distorted in [a] funhouse mirror" (Yes Men). Ironically, they point out, such distortion often reads as truth to those in corporations. As their antics and faces have become known, the Yes Men have turned to more discursive forms of corporate impersonation. In 2011, for example, working in concert with US Uncut to bring greater attention to tax advantages that corporations receive, the Yes Men designed a website that mimicked General Electric's press site and posted a news item announcing that the company would return its $3.2 billion tax refund to help laid off workers and save jobs. The Associated Press subsequently disseminated the story of GE's largesse, and when the hoax was disclosed, GE temporarily lost $3.5 billion in market value (Kilkenney).

Corporate personhood, then, has acquired a social life in contemporary popular and political discourse by creating powerful personas in the forms of advertising emblems and celebrity CEOs. Yet it also provides the conditions of possibility to subvert those embodied corporate narratives through activist practices that depend on the ability to physically inhabit and thereby inhibit, however momentarily, the channels of power as an augmentation to more commonplace but equally important forms of protest such as pickets outside of stockholders' meetings or boycotts of products.

PERSONHOOD AND LEGAL RIGHTS

The effects of recent legal amplifications of corporate personhood, we contend, were both aided by and in turn have abetted other articulations of the demand for rights based on the personhood model. It is to the complex ideological terrain of the US political landscape that we turn to explore the intersections of campaign finance and reproductive rights, two issues that share an overlapping roster of people and parties. The chain of significations for "personhood" links corporations to fetuses. The political right, however, does not own a monopoly on the concept of personhood, which has also been cathected to animal personhood and the natural world. Drawing on indigenous systems of knowledge and alternative epistemologies, native movements have invoked personhood in relation to the natural world as a means of resisting the corporate encroachment and exploitation of the commons. Their efforts

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constitute an important dimension of resistance to corporate globalization and the privatization of all forms of biological and social life.

The January 21, 2010, Supreme Court decision on *Citizens United v. the Federal Election Commission* brought the issue of corporate personhood into public consciousness. Asserting that the First Amendment bars limits on spending by corporations and unions for political purposes, the five-four majority decision was widely interpreted as reaffirming the right of corporations to be legally considered a person, and therefore guaranteeing to them the same constitutional protections that accrue to individual persons. To be clear, corporations are inanimate economic units organized for amassing profits, which are created through the authority of the state. Yet under US law, they are also fictitious people, artificial persons whose corporate personas are "distinct from the individual shareholders who comprise them" (Bose and Lyons 31). As we have explained, long before *Citizens United,* the corporate acquisition of personhood, secured in the 1886 decision in *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad,* has enabled corporations to contest government restrictions on their behavior and expand their rights, particularly in the 1970s, when the Supreme Court issued a series of rulings giving corporations safeguards against warrantless regulatory searches, and granting Fifth Amendment double-jeopardy protection and the Seventh Amendment right to trial by jury (Bose and Lyons 19). Other court decisions granted First Amendment rights to corporations, including the right to political speech, commercial speech, and the negative free speech right not to be associated with the speech of others (Bose and Lyons 19).

The groundwork for the *Citizens United* decision was also paved by legal antecedents challenging provisions of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, commonly known as the McCain-Feingold Act, which sought to regulate the increasing role of soft money in campaign financing and the proliferation of issue-advocacy advertisements paid for by corporations and unions within a mandated period prior to federal elections. Before *Citizens United,* the 2007 court ruling on *Federal Election Commission v. Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc.* laid the brickwork for an influx of undisclosed corporate spending in elections. Citing McCain-Feingold, the FEC had originally refused to allow the Wisconsin Right to Life Committee to air ads encouraging viewers to contact their senators to convince them to oppose filibusters of Bush administration judicial nominees; the FEC dubbed these ads the "functional equivalent" of "electioneering communications," and thus prevented their broadcast within sixty days of the election. Judging otherwise, the Roberts Court ruled that the "functional equivalent" test must be applied narrowly to mean support or defeat of a particular candidate (Federal Elections Commission). Since the Wisconsin Right to Life Committee's ads

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did not advocate voting for or against either senator, their television spots were designated an "as applied" exception to McCain-Feingold limits on issue ads close to a federal election (Monks and Murray). Barreling through the flimsy barricades against campaign financing that remained after this ruling, *Citizens United* ensured corporations unobstructed travel on the airwaves and on the route to influencing elections. The fact that a crucial provision of McCain-Feingold was mowed down by a Right to Life organization suggests the different registers through which corporate personhood can be articulated.

In 2008, a year after the decision in *FEC v. Wisconsin Right to Life*, Personhood USA, a Colorado-based organization, sought unsuccessfully to amend the Colorado state constitution to confer legal rights on zygotes by defining the origin of personhood as occurring "from the moment of conception" (Ballotpedia). It conducted another failed campaign for fetal personhood in 2010, and has a ballot measure pending in the November 2014 election. Personhood USA is explicit about its desire "to ban abortion, embryonic stem cell research, and human cloning" (Rational Wiki). But its refusal to insert language in its bill exempting some forms of birth control that impede a zygote's ability to attach to the uterus such as hormonal methods, IUDs, and the morning after pill also indicates general hostility to women's right to control their reproduction. Similar efforts to amend the constitutions of Mississippi, California, Ohio, Nevada, and Florida have thus far been unsuccessful. In addition to noting that such laws criminalize the use of certain methods of contraception, create impediments to in vitro fertilization, hold women legally liable for miscarriages, and compromise healthcare for women by elevating a concern for harm to the fetus over the well-being of the woman, some websites such as Rational Wiki cheekily comment on both the advantages that inhere in these laws and elaborate on the duties that should be applied to fetuses. "Pregnant women would be carrying full persons so would be allowed in the carpool lane," Rational Wiki exclaims. It also opines, "Fetuses should be paying taxes." But the site also frets about the impact of fetal personhood on potential tax revenue, worrying that such status could enable parents to claim fetuses as dependents, and thus qualify for Earned Income Credits.

As suggested by these state initiatives, Republican politicians have been a major impetus behind the push for fetal personhood, and they have been echoed by national figures in the GOP. Representative and former vice presidential candidate Paul Ryan is widely known to be hostile to reproductive rights and to champion fetal personhood, having cosponsored a bill in the house that would have granted rights from the moment of fertilization. One of the consequences of the push for fetal personhood in the 2012

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Presidential election was the proliferation of egregious comments by Republican candidates on the topic of rape and conception, which were only mildly rebuked by the party establishment. Notwithstanding these gentle admonishments from the GOP leadership, the pronouncements of candidates such as Todd Akin and Richard Mourdock indicate the naturalization of the concept of fetal personhood, and are signifiers of a vicious climate against women.[1] Imputations of the magical powers of wombs to block pregnancies caused by rape, and invocations of divine intention when rape does result in conception show both the religious fervor and the remove from science that underwrite the assault on women's reproductive rights.

Undeterred by previous ballot failures, since the 2012 presidential election, the fetal personhood movement has stepped up its efforts at the state level, and has pressured legislatures to pass laws affirming the personhood of zygotes. In 2013, North Dakota Governor Jack Dalrymple signed into law some of the most restrictive laws against abortion, including the so-called "fetal heartbeat" law that prohibits abortions after six weeks, when many women do not yet know they are pregnant. The North Dakota voters are expected to vote during the 2014 Primary Election on an amendment to the state's constitution that would enshrine "the inalienable right to life of every human being at any stage of development"—i.e., fetal personhood—provided the amendment passes considerable legal challenges.[2]

Just as we see corporate rights outstripping the rights of actual people, so too the fetal personhood movement seeks to ensure the protection of insentient cell masses over the rights of women. The hostility against women signaled by such rhetoric no doubt played a role in the overwhelming support that President Obama received from women in his 2012 reelection. Yet the outlook for women's reproductive rights appears grim. As Dianne Feeley explains, in 2013, "Twenty-two states passed 70 new restrictions, adding to the more than 135 passed in 2011 and 2012"; most of this legislation imposes unreasonable conditions on abortion providers, bans abortions after 20–22 weeks of pregnancy, and strips coverage for contraception or abortion from various insurance plans (4).

Where Mitt Romney ultimately stood on reproductive rights was difficult to ascertain given his equivocations on choice, but he emphatically proclaimed his belief in and promotion of corporate personhood. During a campaign rally on August 11, 2011, Romney condescendingly chided audience members who had the temerity to suggest that corporations should pay higher taxes, retorting "Corporations are people, my friend. Of course, they are. Everything corporations earn ultimately goes to people" (qtd. in Rucker). Ralph Nader, for one, has commented on the reversibility of the terms "corporation" and "people" where Romney is concerned; he observed, "Former

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Gov. Romney is a human being running as a corporation for president. So we've really got a corporation running for the Republican Party . . ." (qtd. in Bleifuss 5). Nader's formulation of the personhood of Romney as an embodiment of a corporation succinctly alludes to his status as CEO at different times of Bain Capital and Bain & Company, as well as the enormous amount of corporate money Romney's campaign received. The top five direct corporate donors to Romney included Goldman Sachs, Bank of America, Morgan Stanley, JP Morgan Chase & Company, and Credit Suisse. The total contributions weighed in at $4.14 million, a mere drop in the bucket of the overall $1.028 billion that went to support his campaign (OpenSecrets.org). Significantly, Craig Unger describes the infusion of Super-PAC funds into Romney's campaign as itself a "highly leveraged buyout" with the "acquisition [being] Mitt Romney himself" (237).

Since the Presidential campaign—which largely due to the loosening of restrictions on corporate spending in the wake of the *Citizens United* decision was the most expensive on record costing approximately $6 billion—fetal and corporate personhood have found yet another common meeting ground: the contraception provisions contained within President Obama's Affordable Care Act. In Spring 2014, the US Supreme Court heard arguments against the Department of Health and Human Services in linked cases brought by Hobby Lobby Stores, Inc., and Conestoga Wood Specialties, Inc. These corporations assert that having to pay for their employees' birth control is contrary to the owners' religious beliefs that nothing but divine will should prevent conception, and thus the Affordable Care Act's contraception mandate violates these corporations' right to religious freedom as guaranteed by the constitution and the 1993 Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA).[3]

The implications of the Supreme Court's 5-4 decision in favor of these corporations are potentially wide-ranging. In their decision, the majority justices emphasize that their ruling pertains only to the contraception mandate of the Affordable Care Act and is limited to how that portion of the legislation applies to "closely held" corporations (i.e., for-profit companies in which 50 percent or more of the control or ownership of stock rests with five or less people), and cannot be applied more broadly. Nonetheless, the majority decision reiterates that "person" as used in the RFRA has to be understood to include both non- and for-profit corporations. The decision thus explicitly upholds freedom of religion as a right that corporations can possess. In her dissenting opinion, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg forcefully argues against the court's "expansive notion of corporate personhood," and notes that the prevailing decision "invites for-profit entities to seek religion-based exemptions from regulations they deem offensive to their faith," such as vaccinations, in vitro fertilization, stem cell therapies, or certain psychiatric services, to name

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but a few. She further contends that the decision could extend to other areas of corporate activity, including hiring practices.[4] Indeed, Ginsburg's concerns were affirmed the day following the decision, when fourteen representatives from various religious organizations sent President Obama a letter asking that he create a religious exemption from a forthcoming Executive Order that would forbid federal contractors from engaging in discriminatory hiring practices based on gender or sexual orientation. Given the court ruling in Hobby Lobby, such exemptions, if granted by the Obama administration or through legal cases, would have to extend at the very least to closely held for-profit companies.

Lauren Berlant has outlined the "extreme cultural effects" of the legal consolidation of "fetal personhood," which has profound consequences for how citizenship is envisioned both "as an index of social membership and a context for social agency" (97).[5] She traces the genealogy of fetal personhood in the pro-life movement's wedding of "an American counterdiscourse of minority rights with the revitalized providential nationalist rhetoric of the Reaganite Right," the offspring of which is the fetus, "the spectacle of amazing vulnerability: the unprotected person" (97). For Berlant, the fetus functions as an object for sentimental attachment "and strategically distracts the collective gaze from the class war currently raging in the United States . . ." (97). In the hijacking of civil rights discourses to advance fetal rights we see traces of the earlier commandeering of the Fourteenth Amendment to establish corporate personhood. As with many aspects of American experience, race provides the palimpsest for a cultural and ideological dominant that now includes fetal personhood and the legislated fantasy of a rights-bearing corporate person, in which the ambition to secure the political and economic privileges of a few powerful stakeholders masquerades as the lofty aim to uphold the values of the First Amendment.

As establishing personhood before the law becomes an increasingly successful vehicle to bestow rights, this strategy is being adopted, to differing effect and success, for non-human entities. In stark contrast to the pernicious confluence of corporate and fetal personhood, the legal status of personhood has been used recently in potentially more progressive ways by both animal and indigenous rights activists. Arguing for the concept of animal personhood, those dedicated to the promotion of animal welfare hope both to bring to public discussion the exploitation of animals, particularly mammals, for scientific research and entertainment purposes and to protect animals from such abuse. To take but one example, the Nonhuman Rights Project [NhRP] has filed lawsuits on behalf of chimpanzees in support of their right to freedom from living in cramped quarters and solitary confinement (Siebert 30). The organization plans on pursuing similar lawsuits on behalf of

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other animals and birds such as orcas, dolphins, elephants, and African parrots that have the capacity for higher-order cognitive functions (30). While the NhRP bases such suits on the rights of "autonomous beings," which lawyer Steven Wise defines as those able "to freely choose, to self-determine, to make their own decisions without acting from reflex or innate behavior," rather than on claims that animals are ontologically similar to humans, the movement for animal personhood is not unconnected to the general anthropomorphization of animals in the last several decades (qtd. in Siebert 33). As Katherine C. Grier demonstrates, the humanization of animals, specifically pets, is bound to the development of consumer capitalism, becoming particularly visible with the advent of the big box petstores in the 1980s and the ensuing proliferation of pet products and intensification of marketing directed at their owners. Corporations thus play a role in creating the ideological climate for the advancement of claims for animal personhood.

Personhood has also been invoked within indigenous politics to protect nature from corporate rapaciousness. In September 2012, New Zealand/Aotearoa recognized the Whanganui River, the third largest river in the country, as a person under the law after nearly a century of activism and advocacy by the Maori Whanganui Iwi, who rely on the river for their economic and cultural livelihood (Shuttleworth). This move comes in the wake of the 2008 constitutional change in Ecuador that recognized the legal rights of nature and the 2011 adoption in Bolivia of "The Law of Mother Earth," which grants all of nature equal rights with human beings. The Bolivian law grants eleven rights to Mother Earth, Pachamama, including

> the right to life and to exist; the right to continue vital cycles and processes free from human alteration; the right to pure water and clean air; the right to balance; the right not to be polluted; the right to not have cellular structure modified or genetically altered . . . and the right for nature not to be affected by mega-infrastructure and development projects that affect the balance of ecosystems and the local inhabitant communities. (Vidal)

Grounded in an indigenous Andean world view, the legislation was at least partially prompted by US and British intransigence on steep carbon emissions cuts in UN climate talks and the serious environmental problems resulting from the mining of tin, silver, and gold. These more progressive articulations of personhood stand in stark contrast to their US corollaries.

It is not certain what the social implications for extending personhood beyond human entities will be, or what kind of legal challenges these new forms of personhood will face, but it is clear that state conferrals of "personhood" are now a viable means for securing the rights of non-human entities, a legal strategy that begins, we would argue, with corporate personhood.

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CRITICAL INTERVENTIONS IN LIFE WRITING AND CORPORATE PERSONHOOD

The near universalization of the corporate form lends urgency to the task of understanding its impact on the quotidian experiences of people, and also on newly emergent conceptions of subjectivity, a task enabled, we maintain, by the field of life writing. Because of its attention to the actualization of subjectivity in narrative, life writing can provide an important heuristic for analyzing corporations. As the essays in this special issue demonstrate, articulations of corporations and life writing occur in many ways, including through the stories that corporations tell of themselve via advertising and internal corporate reports as well as the memoirs of their CEOs. Frequently, narratives that counter those explicitly sponsored by corporations emerge when we look at representations of the lives lived within and among corporations, as told through print and television profiles, oral histories and ethnographies of their managers and workers, and in legal archives.[6]

We begin with Timothy Brennan's essay because it provides a philosophical genealogy of the human subject, charting two disturbing coterminous developments: as corporations become increasingly powerful, we have come to transfer and transmute our vulnerabilities to corporate power into an experience of selfhood divested of historical agency. Contemporary critical approaches such as post-humanism, object-oriented ontology, and the digital humanities, Brennan argues, similarly evacuate historical agency from human subjects.[7] In place of such abstractions, he urges a consideration not of individuals but of class positions (specifically, the bourgeoisie) and structures (namely, corporations) within capitalism. Rather than simply advocate critique for the sake of critique, he invites us to imagine new alternatives that eschew the naturalization of the market system. Conceiving of real ways to change capitalism, Brennan asserts, requires an attendant hatred of this form of social organization.

Brennan's and Richard Hardack's essays most explicitly address a contradiction involving different forms of personhood and subjectivity that underwrites contemporary corporate capitalism. As Hardack explains, "corporate personhood is part of a zero-sum game in which human traits and privileges—including privacy, legal rights and exemptions, and traditional forms of continuity—are being transferred to corporations; conversely, actual persons are becoming, largely without their realization, more impersonal and generic, and increasingly defined by their relations to things" (39).

In her reading of the memoir of TOMS shoes' founder Blake Mycoskie, Talpalaru demonstrates how CEO life writing can be harnessed to humanize corporations. She explicates how Mycoskie's foregrounding of TOMS mission of conspicuous giving over the amassing of profits for shareholders in

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effect creates a compassionate version of corporate personhood, and encourages consumers not just to buy TOMS shoes, but also to participate in the corporation's version of living a philanthropic life. The thematic of compassion is also a recurring feature of the episodes of *Undercover Boss* that McGlothlin analyzes in his essay. Braiding the life narratives of blue-collar workers with those of CEOs to establish convergences between those who are positioned very differently in the corporate hierarchy, the television series, he contends, locates the agency for upward mobility in the generosity of CEOs, who reward diligent, loyal workers with bonuses and vacations. Corporate capitalism acquires a charitable, human face that eliminates the need for workers to organize to improve their conditions of labor or to increase their wages.

In contrast to memoirs and biographies of CEOs, as Barbara Harlow and Mona Bhan remind us, corporations and life writing frequently cohere in particularly violent ways in the narrative accounts of those people whose deaths are linked to specific corporations such as Caterpiller, the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation, and the Hindustan Corporation Company. Harlow examines the multiple life narratives—legal and literary—that circulate around the death of Rachel Corrie, a young North American activist who was killed by a Caterpiller bulldozer while protesting an Israeli demolition of a Palestinian home in the Gaza Strip. Teasing out the relationship between corporations and human rights violations, Harlow outlines the daunting and depressing chances of achieving legal redress in cases of physical violence and even death, the destruction of property, and territorial dispossession. Her essay raises the question of whether life writing can be an effective means to produce collective action on behalf of Palestinians, several of whom were co-plantiffs with Rachel Corrie's parents in a civil case brought against Caterpillar in the US. Like Harlow, Bhan surveys a range of life writing in the context of military occupation; her focus is on the Indian army's operations in Kashmir and its reliance on "corporate humanitarianism" as a calculated appeal to "hearts and minds" as part of a larger counterinsurgency strategy. Ethnographic research, for her, provides a rich source of life narratives that disclose the ideological, sectarian, and political investments of different parties to the conflict: mid-level managers who are human stand-ins for corporations; military officials; and the young Kashmiri men who are often casualties of military violence or die as a result of accidents during the construction of dams in this conflict-ridden zone.

The casualties of corporate decisions are to be found not only in the conflict zones that Harlow and Bhan discuss, but also in the cities and small towns throughout the US and elsewhere struggling with the aftermath of deindustrialization. Corporations like Bethlehem Steel, Michael D. Kennedy argues, themselves can die, often with devastating effects on the communities

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and towns that derive their identities from the corporations in their midst. Piecing together the life narrative of Bethlehem Steel through newspaper accounts, oral histories, and social media, he shows how such deaths can progress slowly and be variously eulogized. How people remember the corporation through the stories they tell constitutes another manifestation of life writing about the corporation.

Attention to life writing, in addition, can illuminate the collusion between imperial agendas and national aspirations on the one hand, and corporations on the other, as suggested by several contributions in this special issue. Henk Vynckier and Chihyun Chang trace the self-conscious creation of an archive about the Chinese Maritime Customs Service [CMCS], which includes a biography of one of its most influential leaders, Robert Hart. Their essay analyzes how the life narrative of Hart becomes an index for the life history of a quasi-corporation, the CMCS, which in turn intersects with the life histories of imperial China and Britain. Focused on more recent history, Cheryl Naruse explores how the state can co-opt forms of life writing in the service of neo-liberalism. Identifying a new genre of life writing, "the coming-of-career" narrative, she delineates the textual mechanisms by which the Singaporean government attempts to woo diasporic professionals back to the island-nation to advance its position within the global economy. These essays, along with Bhan's, also remind us that although corporate personhood develops out of a particularly American context, the effects of corporations on people and the genres of life writing traverse national boundaries.

While some of the essays in this volume critique hegemonic appropriations of life writing that cast corporations as agents of good—showing how particular forms of life writing obscure the harm generated by such entities—other contributions investigate the deliberate use of life writing as a powerful form of resistance to corporate capitalism. Lynn Itagaki reads Elizabeth Warren's autobiographical texts and acts as challenging conventional understandings of debt in relation to citizenship and as pedagogical tools meant to educate ordinary Americans about financial management. Rearticulating Philippe LeJeune's concept of the autobiographical pact with the language of debt, Itagaki details how Warren's detractors exploited her unverifiable claims to Cherokee heritage to question the veracity of her life story, undermine her ethos, and vilify her economic and political advocacy.

Examining some of the life narratives, particularly participant testimonials and manifestoes, to emerge from the Occupy movement, Eva Cherniavsky argues that the resistant subject envisioned in these materials represents a "massified" version of personhood. She importantly observes that the conditions of possibility that enable particular forms of resistance at specific historical moments to some extent also shape the political idiom and agendas

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of these movements. For her the political possibilities and limitations of Occupy Wall Street and other movements like it can be understood by the kinds of questions of genre raised by the life narratives these movements generate. What emerges from these forms of life writing or movement autobiography is "a self-elaborating political subject who rejects the very opposition between authentic existence and virtual play" (296), one that in its very annunciation seeks to articulate an alternative form of political being and doing.

In an interview with Cynthia Franklin and S. Shankar, the award-winning journalist P. Sainath discusses the degree to which journalism has become "stenography of the powerful," which not only forwards corporate interests but also standardizes the writing of news in ways that kill the very elements of style and commitment that marked the best journalism a generation earlier. His recent response to such corporatization entails the creation of "The People's Archive of India," an online "living journal of oral and visual history of rural India," a place, he notes, that is characterized by great income disparity and the corporate transformation of agricultural production. Against this "churning in the bowels of rural India," as he refers to it (317), Sainath hopes that the site will also enlist the citizens of rural India to document their own stories as well as the incredible array of artistic, artisanal, and craft traditions in the rural areas of the country.

Sainath's invitation to Indians to claim their own representational agency is consonant with one of the implicit themes underwriting the critical engagements with corporate personhood and life writing in this special issue of *Biography*: namely, the urgent necessity for people to call forth their sense of agency and to forge collective forms of struggle against corporate power in order to reanimate democracy on multiple scales, ranging from the local to the global. Indeed, such projects are underway, spearheaded by groups such as Move to Amend, the Program on Corporations, Law, and Democracy, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, along with countless other initiatives within local communities. There are additional reasons for optimism in recent efforts by US senators to forward a constitutional amendment overturning *Citizens United*. In spite of being overburdened by the demands of institutional life, academics too should join such collective campaigns. To paraphrase that prescient analyst of capitalism, Karl Marx, academics "have hitherto only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point is to *change* it."

NOTES

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notes from the symposium; Craig Howes and John David Zuern for offering content suggestions on some of the contributions and resources on life writing; and Stan Schab for his editorial expertise.

1. During his bid to represent Missouri in the Senate, Todd Akin explained his opposition to abortion, even in cases of rape, by suggesting that conception rarely results from what he termed "legitimate rape": "It seems to me, from what I understand from doctors, that's [conception] really rare. . . . If it's a legitimate rape, the female body has ways to try to shut that whole thing down" (qtd. in Eligon and Schwirtz). Several months later, Indiana Republican candidate for Senate Richard Mourdock voiced similar objections to abortion. Becoming teary-eyed, he remarked during a debate: "I came to realize life is that gift from God. And I think even when life begins in that horrible situation of rape, that it is something that God intended to happen" (qtd. in Groer).
2. For the full text of the amendment, see "Constitutional Amendments Proposed."
3. For a full transcript and oral arguments presented in the linked cases *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores, Inc.*, and *Conestoga Wood Specialities Corp. v. Burwell*, see SCOTUSblog or Supreme Court.
4. Both the majority ruling and the dissenting opinions are available on the US Supreme Court website.
5. The Winter 2010 special issue of *Biography* on "Life Writing and Intimate Publics," edited by Margaretta Jolly, contains many essays that discuss life writing in relation to the critical work of Lauren Berlant, who spoke at the International Auto/Biography Association conference at the University of Sussex in 2009.
6. See *Institutions*, a special issue of *Oral History* (42.1, 2014), for a set of articles that takes up the role of oral histories in corporate archives and research on corporations. Our thanks to Margaretta Jolly for bringing to our attention the work on corporations by the Oral History Society in the United Kingdom.
7. The Winter 2012 special issue of *Biography* on "(Post)Human Lives," coedited by Gillian Whitlock and G. Thomas Couser," is exemplary in considering the intersection of life writing and posthumanism as well as the political possibilities and limitations this intersection puts in play.

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THE FREE IMPERSONALITY OF BOURGEOIS SPIRIT

TIMOTHY BRENNAN

PREFACE

The US Supreme Court's judgment in *Citizens United* that corporations are, legally speaking, persons was not an anomaly of the Reagan-Bush era. For many, it was inviting to see its legal contortions as part of the spurious logic of the new Gilded Age. But the personhood of corporations has been a long-standing article of faith in the United States, openly declared as such in Congress and the media since at least the turn of the last century. My title, then, draws attention to an established battleground over the *person* that is not at all restricted to recent judicial activism, and that I am going to argue is an essential feature of the spirit of contemporary market societies. Having abstracted the idea of person in order to splice it onto a legal concept, decoupling the concept from flesh and feeling, the principles informing *Citizens United*—conventional in American capitalism though they may be—imply a necessary corollary of non-personhood as well. I call this the "*im*person."

There is a risk, of course, using the term "bourgeois," which many consider simply dramatic or unserious since it seems to belong to an earlier time (the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries especially). But if it has no precise definition or only indulges in political mythology, that has not been established by those who disdain or avoid it. What is striking, rather, is that when the term was used more unapologetically (and angrily) it brought with it a remarkable theorization of the links between capitalism and impersonality, as we will see. This insight—really an unnoticed constant of the time—is supposedly (but not actually) irrelevant in our own supposedly (but not actually) post-alienated age of virtual productivity and second-order emotion. This latter attitude would, from the earlier moment's perspective, be precisely "bourgeois." Knowing what one is for and against has become uncertain to the same degree, and for the same reasons, that bourgeois values can no longer be called by their name.

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To ignore this earlier defense of the person is arguably, then, an atavistic position even as in its desired futurism it believes itself beyond bourgeois thought—so far beyond it that it dispenses with all denunciations of it, no longer seeing it as worthy of opposition, seeking its annulment ontologically. For there are many new forms of resistance that wish to go deeper than this earlier invective against bourgeois thought and practice. They hope to avoid being crushed like earlier forms of protest, instead seeking cultural, symbolic, and ontological solutions that seem more radical than the dead realm of the civic. For in that realm, as *Citizens United* implied, we are not part of the action at all; everything seems to take place above or outside us among the wealthy and the elite. *Being other,* this thinking goes, at least brings politics back to a place that most of us can observe and participate in. It turns out, though, that "being other" under these conditions can only amount to being the same. For protest against the current regime—its environmental arrogance, species-ism, fracking, and endless war—is driven to a posthumanism that enshrines the nonperson as a revolt against the actions of empowered persons. In that way, it partakes of the very spirit of the whole enterprise. The only non-contradictory protest would take the person as its positive point of departure, for *that* is what is under attack from every side. To inflict damage on an unequal system would mean, whatever else it means, not to revive the ontological *thing* (conceived as nature, "life," or plenitude) but—as a way to all three—the human being.

This is the sense in which I invoke "spirit." I am referring, first of all, to what is ethereal or immaterial about bourgeois value; what cannot be grasped or pinned down; what by virtue of its evanescence permeates every corner of existence like an offensive fragrance, seeping between seams. If ontological revolt cannot recognize what is most bourgeois about its program, it is because corporate logos find their way into the darkness of closets, commercials blurt out at us in the back of cabs, CNN in airports enjoys its captive audiences, which either listen or pretend not to listen, but are in any case enveloped by its background hum. This spirit, as ghost, is the dead that will not leave. But I am referring also to a second meaning of the word "spirit"—to a dogmatic conviction that refuses to express itself as conviction. The bourgeois has its policies, programs, and credos, but is always denying itself, always pretending to be ambivalent about itself, ironically mocking what it continually foists on its opponents. I am referring to the tendency of bourgeois thought to evade clarity, reaching us rather as an intimation or prejudice—the "spirit" (that is, bias) of the times—that can be palmed off as a genuine "us" culture. And then, thirdly, a different spirit, a spirit against these spirits, in the sense of the animating drive to change laws, economies, and states by force of agency.

Historically, I am thinking of the arguments against the arid rationalism of the seventeenth-century Enlightenment still so much in evidence today,

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the urgency of an appeal to complicate that earlier era's mechanical materialism which had considered mythical, as many do today, all human choice, relegating the sciences of history, culture, and society (again very much like today) worthless when compared to natural sciences. Here spirit can be seen as a protest against the apotheosis of technology and its undialectical empiricism (and indeed, the strange confluence, elaborately criticized by Hegel, of a narrow empiricism with theological transcendence itself). Emanuel Berl in his invaluable study *Mort de la pensée bourgeoise* ("The Death of Bourgeois Thought," 1929) captures this kind of critique very well:

> Even the unconscious of Leibniz is still a way to understand nothing, to banish from the mind the essence of life because it always ends up that the intellectualist philosopher lacks intelligence, decreases the power of man over a world that in the last reckoning he can only reflect. *This philosophy of individualism always yields a negation of the individual,* which is nothing else than a mirror of the universe, originally sacrificed to him. (27, my emphasis)

Berl in fact is expressing a view very similar to that of Hegel in the *Phenomenology of Spirit,* where *Geist* (spirit) is the secular mind of reason—although not reason as the deliberately depersonalized logic of the observed, ordered, and quantified, but as the subject fulfilled in the recognition of others. Unlike in the traditional sciences, in dialectical thought this social and ethical dimension of "reason" is required for the mind to be rational at all.

In the argument below, I outline first what I mean by bourgeois spirit and its evanescent ground in the non-person of the posthuman. I show this to be at basis a scientific project that relies heavily on subjective motifs drawn loosely from the humanities. Next, I look at the rich and neglected tradition—associated with earlier decades but still lively today (above all in the global periphery)—of characterizing and ridiculing bourgeois thought, which was particularly keen to expose the ways it cancels self, eviscerates personality, and devalues persons. And then, I discuss contemporary posthumanism—a body of thought in the metropolitan centers of the West that sees itself as a revolt against the bourgeois value that it completes, ambivalently rooted in images of the technologizing of new forms of life. In closing, I call—as Paul Nizan once put it—for the courage to be crude, seeing hatred as a neglected political resource, and bringing in the form of healthy hatred "flesh and feeling" to human action.

THE CORPORATE PERSON

In 1937, Thurman Arnold, a trust-busting Assistant Attorney General under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, wrote that the personification of the corporation was an essential element, in fact, of "the folklore of capitalism." Dubbing the

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American brand a type of "industrial feudalism," Arnold observed that "[t]he ideal that a great corporation is endowed with the rights and prerogatives of a free individual is as essential to the acceptance of corporate rule in temporal affairs as was the ideal of the divine right of kings in an earlier day" (185). The courts, he points out, had already by the 1920s "made a living thing out of this fiction" and did so "under the mantle of the Constitution."

Apart from its startling contemporaneity, what makes Arnold's analysis striking—and I would like to highlight this aspect of it for my own argument—is its literary-philosophical gloss on the idea of increasing abstraction and spiritual anonymity. Arnold goes on to explore the deleterious effects of bourgeois thought on language itself in a chapter titled "Definitions and Polar Words," with examples such as "balancing the budget," "property," and "Power/slave"; in still another chapter he examines "The Use of the Language of Private Property to Describe an Industrial Army." Along the way, he suggests the logic of inversion that I am tracing here under the rubric of the word "spirit":

> [t]he process of creating abstract realities out of polar terms and surrounding them with scholarly definition has always accompanied the decline of great religions. It is not surprising therefore that in a time when private property and rugged individualism are more myths than realities we should find law and economics more theological than ever before in our history. (184)

His brief in the book is not simply to expose a flaw in corporate law but to reveal the inner essence of capitalism, and he does so in surprising ways, moving athwart the classics of political economy and the well-known treatment of the theme by Max Weber. Unlike Weber, he focuses not on individualism, but its absence; not on accumulation, but prestidigitation; not on competition, but disorientation. Unyielding statistical materialities—productive capacity, income distribution, consumerism—are much less germane to his definition than the system's need for intentional vagueness and epistemological anomy, which is to say an ideological mist to keep attentions diverted for quick escapes, as in a three-card monty game.

If, as Arnold wryly remarks, "nothing in the Middle Ages compares for sheer fantasy with the holding company," he is not content to blast the illusory in the name of the real (189). Instead, he theorizes the logical necessity of illusion. Since corporations acquired their influence, he stresses, by introducing mechanical techniques that "specialized the work of production so that men could not operate by themselves," then individuals thus deprived of personhood were moved to tolerate the offensive legal legerdemain of large industrial organizations by pretending that corporations had the individuality they lacked (187). Psychologically, this led to an even greater process of abstraction: "physical property came to be an unimportant element of capital."

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Corporations not only amassed inordinate wealth, they monopolized social value. They were able to resist regulation and guarantee credit by projecting a moral leadership that consisted of sacrificing persons to corporate personhood while presenting the sacrifice as the person's fulfillment. This morality became the very basis of their profitable exchange. It was the nimbus in which all exchange occurred, more vital than a focus on profitability as a factor of buying and selling products at an advantage. The government in Washington itself, Arnold argues, "changed into what was essentially a *spiritual* government whose every action was designed to reconcile the conflict between myth and reality which men felt when a creed of individualism was applied to a highly organized industrial world" (189, my emphasis).

Arnold could not have predicted the philosophical prestige this industrial planning would acquire after World War II in the form of posthumanism. Dissident posthumanism took its leads from post-World War II industrial planning, in fact. Why dissent itself took on some of the features of the myth of the corporate person is what I would like to explore—its welcoming of this ostensibly anonymous, collective persona operating according to a will not its own. But even here Arnold feels his way towards part of the explanation by pointing out that corporate fantasy became more spiritual the more it was "logically and mathematically developed." Bourgeois value, he observed, relied on the almost theological authority that the empirical sciences had begun to attain in the early twentieth century alongside an apotheosis of technology set against human making and activity.

At the very cusp of the transition between Arnold's era of offensive myth and the postwar period when that same myth was taken to be critical philosophy, Simone de Beauvoir continued in Arnold's vein in her remarkable travelogue, *America Day by Day* (1954):

> The students are conscious . . . of the hoaxes of American democracy. . . . But they themselves don't feel responsible for anything, because they don't think they can do anything in this world. At the age of twenty, they are convinced that their thought is futile, their good intentions ineffective: "America is too vast and heavy a body for one individual to move it." In America, the individual is nothing. (93–94)

Arnold's way of putting it would have been slightly different, however: that the corporations that define America are the only individual, moving in unison without serious impediments, a collective bourgeois subject on whom our ability to think and feel actually (not only as a matter of perception, as in de Beauvoir) depends.

For all the dead weight of its rituals, even a capitalist folkore is not static, since as Joseph Schumpeter explains, "stationary socialism would still be socialism but stationary capitalism is impossible" (200). For the latter is based on

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accumulation rather than the satisfaction of needs, the creation of new markets to accommodate goods already produced in excess; and, above all, the perversion of others' values camouflaged in order ironically to assume a populist form. The point of capitalism, after all, is not consumer choice but the cornering of markets; not the consecrated values of friendship, honor, and leisure, but anything malleable, nimble, and opportunistic on behalf of an all-destroying change. And so the setting of Arnold's nightmare was already beginning to assume new features at the time of de Beauvoir's reflections, and would change even more significantly by the 1990s and early 2000s. The de-individualization of the citizen microunits of US corporate life would then take on a form exorbitantly radicalized by cybernetics, systems theory, and other industrial management techniques that were devised by a new type of philosopher-scientist in the immediate postwar period. They presented themselves to the public as a brave new world, and were in fact seen that way by dissident post-humanists. *Citizens United,* then, is not only not new, it is a misrecognized consensus. It represents the very center of a coercive majoritarian philosophy that sees itself, like any product called "revolutionary" by corporate advertising, as iconoclastic towards the very dominant it represents. Acting in concert with the pseudo-scientific certainties of a mathematically based religion of de-individualizing individualism, *Citizens United* can be seen as the legal face of a much larger posthumanism—the dominant of bourgeois thought.

"Bourgeois thought," though, as I said at the beginning, is a phrase not likely to be thought scientific today. Complicating this reception is the fact that it can refer to very different things. On the one hand, a class sensibility to which a social type corresponds—the Dutch *Bürgers* of the seventeenth century, the landed gentry of *Tom Jones,* the cigar-smoking industrialists of late nineteenth-century Prussia, or today's pin-striped know-nothings of the corporate boardroom with a kiss-ass insincerity and an overbearing boss who sadistically manipulates their covetousness. A collection of habits, styles of art, and developed codes of propriety, in other words, formalized and satirized routinely in contemporary popular film and television from *The Office,* to *Mr. Destiny,* to *Hitch.* Or, on the other, it means the essential character of capitalism. In that form, it is a synecdoche for the class on whose behalf it operates, and stands in for the logic of accumulation, technological substitutions for living labor, finance to dominate the productive sector, and so forth (the "precise definitions" of the bourgeoisie I alluded to above, a class that Marx at one point simply calls "the masters of labor"). But there is at least one quality that belongs to both: the moral of possibility concealing the law of actuality. I am referring to a choice that in practice does not exist, the exploitation of a nicety between a merely formal right and a systemically determined tyranny of action. This double-entendre—this living *irony* of active man—is at once

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a philosophical taste and a profitable deception (both a bourgeois and a capitalist constant at once). One *can* choose not to buy fashion, not invest money in a bank, not use your area's only cable provider, and so on . . . but one does not because of an ingenious conspiracy of overwork, subliminal suggestion, logistical improbability, or simple overload. And one also does not because of an ideological choice to be without choice.

CAPITALISM'S REAL SYMBOL

Many of the critics in Arnold's era and just before—Frank Norris, H. L. Mencken, and Nancy Cunard, for example—drew a portrait of the bourgeoisie with the reasonable expectation that their audience would know the type well. Its satirical emblem in political cartoons was very familiar: the top hat and *Geltsack* (moneybag). These metonymies were part of a shared visual vocabulary capturing a generally felt antipathy towards back-room dealings, the buying of politicians, and the plutocratic ownership of entire towns and livelihoods.

Gert Heinrich Wollheim, *Abschied von Düsseldorf* [Leaving Düsseldorf], 1924.
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The counterfeit quality of their charm was a frequent emphasis: expensively dressed but pretentious, the capitalist made luxury a spectacle every bit as much as an earlier aristocracy, surrounded by swooning women looking for a cut, and living up to the famous rap lyric of the 1990s: "yea I'm handsome, but my money made me gorgeous" (Showbiz & A.G.).

For a time in the 1980s, Alexander Cockburn, an Irish transplant to New York, revived a version of that sort of imagery in his *Village Voice* column "Press Clips." With an encyclopedic knowledge of earlier left traditions and a disarming talent for culling passages of classic literature to adorn his satirical portraits of what he succinctly called the "corruptions of empire,"[1] Cockburn gave his column a telling logo: a black silhouette of a 1930s-era gangster with a fedora and a cheap suit holding a suitcase in one hand, out of which poured streams of ready cash. In one stroke, the image cut through all the talk at the time about President Reagan's ideological initiatives on labor and moral issues, his controversial supply-side economic theories, his Copernican shift of value towards the rights of individual interest, and so on. Cockburn had us focus rather on what the sea change had really always been about: raiding the public coffers to make the huge reserves of taxpayer funds available to friends and business associates. Given today's unindicted perpetrators of planned financial collapse and rapidly expanding disparities of wealth, there may be no time more than the present for returning to the rituals of collective opprobrium found in these mocking images of the bourgeoisie.

Cockburn's iconography may still be accurate, but perhaps a different emblem now is needed to capture the latest dimensions of bourgeois spirit. Today, it is (or should be) the posthuman symbol and reality of disembodied international commerce: the military drone. For drones are not merely weapons but arguments about philosophical style. The sleek, impersonal technology of an absent will, indifferent to body counts; the effectively non-verbal exclamation point to a foreign declaration of the world's lack of sovereignty, in every way drones embody a force of planned discrimination operating indiscriminately. The human reality underlying the "unmanned" aircraft recapitulates the double-consciousness of the larger system. It purports to need no body to fly it or to be present to witness its effects personally. And yet every drone has, in fact, its pilot at a distance. The destruction and death that follows, moreover, is just the opposite of anonymous. It is carried out against people whom the remote operator has often surveilled for weeks or months before; he or she knows them in that sense, and has even seen them in intimate moments.[2] The kill is to that degree more personal than in normal warfare even as it is ostensibly detached and in every sense "remote."

At times operating out of military bases, at times in the form of contract employees working out of CIA buildings, the device's human controllers are

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in all cases free of public disputation. They are state actors subject to the scrutiny of their superiors but not the state.[3] Each plano-bomb—an "innovation" on the cruise missiles launched on Belgrade in the 1990s—cost as much as some small-arms wars in Colombia or central Africa. Alongside its ostensible use (destructive capacity in the "war on terrorism") lies its inner truth: the auto-incineration of materiel in a quest for more inflated military budgets. A powerful boon to the munitions industry, it symbolizes as well and (again) without irony the "health of the economy." Drones are, like language in Saussurean linguistics, the pretense of the self-contained and the circular, without correspondence. They contain the rationale for their own launching, independent of, if not irrelevant to, battle strategies, enemy coordinates, or geopolitical advantages. Their invention is itself the argument for their deployment, calling forth their targets as the device's necessary self-fulfillment. The targets are almost secondary, and frequently identified in retrospect as mistaken or unnecessary.[4]

The impersonality of drone warfare is a desire rather than a reality: an effort to insert mediation in order to distance doers from actions. We might think of it as a *real* symbol. For apart from being very real, physical objects, they contain at the same time all the dramatic irony of the system symbolically congealed within it, as though the logic of the power that devised them could not help betraying itself with its exposed figure. As above, the symbolic contents are complete: technologically minimalist, smoothly aerodynamic, impersonal, destructive of life, and perverse by being the effect that calls forth its own cause, bizarrely inverted like the rest of a system that pretends to serve those whom it enlists as servants of profitability. What connects it to *Citizens United* is the planned displacement, after the recent death of democratic illusions, of warriors as historical actors; or better, since the controllers are actors too (if at a distance), drone warfare, like the corporate person, is *mediated* life.

If one were to locate the core idea of the market system today, it would be this *im*person—and that must be a dialectical surprise for a bourgeois worldview of social engineers, intrepid inventors, and entrepreneurs. For there is little here of that very different kind of actor we have heard so much about in the decades of the Reagan restoration. The latter is portrayed memorably by John Gray in *False Dawn,* who observes that in Thatcher's Britain, entrepreneurs came to be thought of as "the sublime mediums of 'tacit knowledge,' channeling its deep truths to other market actors." Commentators and journalists of the time endowed them with an "almost poetic vision." "Entrepreneurial insight or perception," explained Gray, was a matter not of book learning but of "serendipity and flair" (28).

For the editors of the *Wall Street Journal,* similarly, the gold standard of economic value is "intelligence" and "knowledge." For it is not so much the

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skills one possesses, nor the strenuousness of the effort, as the entrepreneurial invention of the footloose employee willing to conquer a task by redefining the game to be played. The ideal employee is one who continually re-applies concepts and readjusts themes. "Work" in such an environment is, as management lingo has it, largely a process of "producing oneself." Employees make and re-make their subjectivity to keep pace with the morphing networks that surround them and which they seek to enter. The degree of overlap here with the academic discourses of cultural theory is startling. And if this sounds very much like the language of autonomist communism today, third-wave feminism, special issues of humanities journals on "new identities," and the Deleuzian philosophy of modalities, it is not a quaint dovetailing of the postmodern and the corporate so much as a graphic illustration of dissident theory's market life.

We might reconcile these apparently conflicting accounts by noticing that the capitalist image pursues the different, although related, need today of plausible deniability. For we cannot really deny that pop-management manuals and the prolific genre of the CEO hagiography extol a kind of rebel wisdom. For all their bathos, books like *Renegades of the Empire, Bill Gates Speaks: Wisdom from the World's Greatest Entrepreneur, The New New Thing: A Silicon Valley Story,* and so on, are utterly sincere about innovative thinking and quick action, about the need to be antinomian, subversive, unpredictable, flexible (see also Drummond). Their heroes are not at all conservatives, but radicals, who frankly want to change the world. The organic intellectuals of capital do not give a damn about maintaining the cultural signifiers that mark class differences in a logical social order of inequality. They are rather utopians who see their work as manipulating the current system to achieve what libertarian philosophies of the past, including Marxism, unrealistically (from their point of view), and by way of a stodgy ethics, failed to achieve. An intensely activist spirit, a virtually unlimited range is given to the power of individual will—an unmistakable element in the visionary plain-speaking of Jack Welch, Steve Jobs, Ted Turner, Lee Iacocca, Bill Gates, and Ross Perot. What amplifies their force, as well as their techno-religious aura, is that the figureheads are precisely not presented as individuals but rather (as Gray implied) as prophetic mediums: conduits for larger energies.[5] It is only natural, in this sense, that Ayn Rand by way of "John Galt" calls her theory "Objectivism" as though hysterical egoism and a paean to the accumulation of wealth found its basis in a rational law of objects—a "closed system not subject to change," in the words of Leonard Peikoff, Rand's major intellectual heir.

For contemporary bourgeois thought, objective reality is the only subjectivity, relying on an authorship impersonally mediated, as though if one watches the dead the drone has killed by remote control on a video screen,

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there can be no perpetrator of the act. For the authorship of the command to strike has been usefully scattered along the chain of command with the ultimate responsibility to kill assumed by those farthest away—in Nevada. In an interlocking network of decentered centers of power—the logic of Arnold's "vast industrial organizations"—local operatives who give the go-ahead for the strike alongside those with their hand on the trigger can take refuge in the fact that they have not really acted willfully: they are merely "drones." Trickery, now as a spiritual principle of neither-nor-ness, is demanded to establish the right to irresponsibility. The high instances of PTSD for controllers of UAVs ("unmanned aerial vehicles," as drones are officially called) may well be related to this double-think. And this relationship of convenience—now you see it, now you don't—replicates itself across capitalism's symbolic terrain. For instance, apart from the few indictments associated with the 2008 mortgage collapse and Wall Street speculative fraud, financial markets for the most part, like the legislature itself, are widely perceived as operating (in Bruno Latour's pernicious phrase) as "human fabrications no human has made" (70).

This concept of impersonal action is much more than legal evasion. The chameleon shift between two incompatible public faces finds its pattern in the bourgeois as unsentimental and efficient cog in the machine of capital, on the one hand, and on the other, the bourgeois as poet, rebel, and avant philosopher (as in Jobs's widely quoted praise of being among "the crazy ones, the misfits, the rebels, the troublemakers, the round pegs in the square holes . . . they push the human race forward").[6] So speak today's monopolists, sweatshop owners, and tax-dodgers. Is this not a parody that has found its form? Are these not definite features of the bourgeois today, as tangible as the top hat and *Geltsack* of yesterday? As a real symbol, the drone captures this slippage, which is the ideological centerpiece of capitalism in its contemporary, anarchist phase. Intensely mercenary and subjectivist appetites demand the symbolic sacrifice of the subject. The person must be killed so that the capitalist might live; the historical actor must be paralyzed so that his or her unconscionable acts can proceed without reprisal. Why else would there be such confusion among those who, subjectively at any rate, want nothing to do with capitalism, who express their hatred of capitalism, and yet who subversively share this same evacuation of spirit's ethical will *as a protest against capital*?[7] Sharing this anarchist spirit, posthumanism finds its foe in only one side of capitalism: its Enlightenment arrogance entrepreneurially setting out to master nature. But here it misses what accompanies these gestures dialectically: the negation of nature and the erasure of persons—the unnamed and underpaid ones who make the product, the consumers coerced to buy it, the spiritual impoverishment of owning it, the state surveillance it complicitly enables, and by means of the product, the equation of persons with pilfered sales

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data. It neglects the counter-Enlightenment directive of capitalism, where all responsibility is necessarily ambiguated, testimony selectively forgotten, information privatized, and intellectual skills apotheosized as market genius.

THE INVENTION OF POWERLESSNESS

This intellectual convergence (or left-right amalgam as I have referred to it elsewhere) is clearest in the astounding growth in recent decades of philosophies of the posthuman. Drawn to models from the technical and managerial sciences, and seeking the authority they generate, this trend is defined above all by the proposal that historical agency is over. It sees itself in fact as an innovation on earlier reservations with humanism, an ideology that their appeals to impersonaliity want to foreclose. Agency is perceived, in this thinking, as the very element of capitalism they wish to annul on the grounds that it is the will to submit nature to one's designs, to managerially plot out every detail of society in order to "improve" it, and so on, that derived from the celebratory humanism of the European tradition, which placed no limits on (Western) "Man," and upon which all entrepreneurial initiative ultimately rests. To arrest the forward march of ecological destruction, the monopolization of strategic resources, and the spread of commercial banalities on a global scale, no mere political strategy, party, or program is sufficient. Our impediments are not simply political: they are the result of what Pier Paolo Pasolini once called an "anthropological mutation" (qtd. in Ricciardi 2).[8] And so the antidote to capitalist rapacity, although not Pasolini's antidote as it turns out, is to hit the system where it hurts by disarticulating the human actor himself.

Across a broad spectrum of disciplines and movements today, we find elements of this general prognosis. Some of these philosophies include, for example, political ecology, returns to Spinozan *conatus* (impulse, instinct), animal studies, systems theory, third-wave cybernetics, new schools of history based on natural objects rather than people, and a host of self-proclaimed *anti*philosophies in literary criticism and the arts: among them, "thing" theory, digital humanities, object-oriented criticism, surface reading, distant reading. These of course cannot be reduced to similar goals, nor can they even be said to have the same scope or ambition; however, all of them partake of the techno-scientific alleviation of neoliberal dominance in a frankly political gesture of demoting human doing, thinking, and making. Franco Moretti, for instance, widely associated with distant reading, presents himself as an outlier swimming against the stream of an American setting dominated by "close reading." But the truth is just the opposite. His success lies in conforming to the quantifiable, de-subjectified, anonymous human trace with which the capitalist (and especially American) soul has always been enraptured.

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The range of assertions by posthumanism today is vast, and only listing them all at once prepares us for the radical claims that attend its general theory. I am thinking, for example, of the tendency to posit randomness or irresolvable uncertainty when analyzing any non-linear or complex system as though the latter automatically entailed the former (Niklas Luhmann); the tendency to posit *autopoiesis* in human and natural systems—that is, the claim not only that organisms make themselves by recycling their own outputs as inputs, but that they respond to their environment in ways determined by their internal self-organization, and are therefore powerless to recognize anything outside their internal points of reference (Francisco Varela and Alberto Maturana); redefining "communication" so that it no longer means the intentional exchange of information but the bio-mechanical exchange of chemical or electronic signals (Norbert Wiener); proposing that once human systems become so large they cannot be controlled by planning they have superseded the human entirely, leaving it essentially behind or irrelevant to its structures (Bruno Latour); redefining the term "environment" to mean a hybrid of the natural and human worlds, not only without priority but without distinction (Ludwig von Bertalanffy); or to postulate that the definition of *life* is "information," and that these information signals are immaterial: that messages that allow systems to function depend on no material substrate for their transmission (what Katherine Hayles aptly calls "disembodiment"). It would be hard to overestimate the influence of these ideas today in philosophical circles, or the ways in which they have come to assert themselves subtly and with little debate in the humanities, the art world, and contemporary fiction, film, and video culture.

There is no space here to pursue the connections between early systems theory in Bertalanffy or cybernetics in Wiener, on the one hand, and the managing of industrial labor on the other. The connections are, however, intimate and uncontroversial. Posthumanism's own parentage has been truncated. While some do indeed trace their origins to first-wave cybernetics, they tend to evacuate their continuities with an earlier anthropological antihumanism of the late nineteenth century, just as they occlude the single thing that cybernetics was always explicitly about: labor. And by that I mean organized labor and the political movements allied with it. Systems theory at its inception was eagerly taken on by industrial psychology and industrial engineering as a form of labor management, and Bertalanffy's research very consciously understood this to be one of its principal uses. In Wiener, this connection was expressed openly as a fear, although one that seems not to have impeded his pursuit. His anxiety about the corporate domestication of applied science and its harmful effects on organized labor—he relates how he even approached the leadership of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) to warn them of what was coming—is developed by Wiener himself in

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his classic study of 1948, where he states forcibly that the bourgeois dream of factories run without humans is today "within reach," and that if realized, portends a future of enslavement (159). This is true since the exploitation of machines in a competitive environment necessarily means the exploitation of the humans trying to keep pace with them in order to avoid unemployment: the spurious comparison of humans to machines. In short, the apparatus of the present conjuncture—although deceptively filtered through the projects of contemporary physics, biotechnology, and cybernetics in their immediate post-WWII variants—are all slightly modified obsessions from the time capsule of the philosophical scene of interwar Europe. When Wiener speaks of the random and the game-like in his study, these are not at all positive in his vision (as they are in contemporary posthumanist theories): the game of randomness simply *is* capitalism in his view.

In *General Systems Theory* (1945), Bertalanffy set out to create a paradigm for re-thinking scientific method in an attempt to establish a theory of organizations. Naturally, the stated impetus for this inquiry lay in the field of industrial psychology. He was after a theory of the configuration of parts held together by a web of relationships. The views of precursors like Weber and Durkheim were deemed too focused, ultimately, on individuals rather than the entirety of the network. Bertalanffy's focus on the units within the whole led to a rhetoric of openness. The point was less to create models of closed systems whose predictability might be assured by controlled conditions than to construct an image of "open systems" where the interactions among parts were not static but dynamic, constantly changing and reconfiguring. In other words (although he shows no awareness of the fact), he was discovering social metaphor—the rhetoric of a democratic *openness* that could nevertheless be managed. Was there a theory, he wondered, that could fit every organizational system of whatever type given their complexity (or to put this uncharitably, could one theorize a controlled openness, or a dynamic, always-identical same)? He wondered whether he could establish that "there exist models, principles, and laws that apply to generalized systems or their subclasses, irrespective of their particular kind, the nature of their component elements, and the relationships or 'forces' between them" (32). Thus a biological system of cells could be—and frequently was—compared to a society of individuals. His work, as he posed it, involved a move from absolute principles to relative and general conceptual and perceptual knowledge. And yet, the latter had about it a dependable absoluteness in the sense that the laws he arrived at were useful only insofar as they were applicable everywhere at all times. The sciences had found a way to make "mathematical" the ideology of a society of free individuals operating with all the patterned certainties of cellular division and with a complexity subject to governing

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laws indifferent to the non-normative vagaries of subjects. The sciences had entered political philosophy without saying so.

Twentieth-century philosophy is characterized, in fact, by this discovery by scientists working on practical applications in the corporate world of the disciplines of sociology, literary theory, and speculative philosophy. These areas of study, ripped from the humanities, are reduced in this process to quantities. Max Horkheimer, in one of the most elaborate and least pursued aspects of Critical Theory, responded to this invasion and displacement, and is joined by others in the Institute for Social Research like Theodor W. Adorno's critique of a scientized sociology and Erich Fromm's study of the medicalization of psychology. In complementary (and opposite) fashion there arose a vigorous scientism within the humanities—a direct carryover from nineteenth-century positivism and its spiritualist offshoots in the vitalism of Wilhelm Dilthey, for instance—evident in Saussurean linguistics, logical positivism, symbolic logic, the common language philosophy of Wittgenstein, and the ontological turn in interwar phenomenology. A progressive and corrective air could be detected among the first practitioners of every one of these schools, as in Wiener's first-wave cybernetics, but in studying the effect of environments on systems, systems theory (with others following suit) ultimately failed to theorize adequately the environment of the market economy on its own inquiry, failing to acquaint itself with the critique of this ideology at all levels by the major currents of twentieth-century Marxism. The latter, especially the Frankfurt School and its disciples, targeted the spurious "materialism" of the sciences, pointing out that the concept of *totality* in Marxism, along with its generalist methods, prefigured and superseded the more mechanized and dehumanizing variant concept of *system.* This last became, nevertheless, the dominant paradigm in a scientizing humanities.

THE BOURGEOIS FAMILY PORTRAIT

We can see, then, that "corporate personhood," although a biographical issue, is not about the biography of persons. When the state is the exclusive agent of corporate interests, and all social authority derives from them, the person, without agency, achieves personhood only in corporateness. I do not mean the habits, tastes, and values of wealthy, connected, investing, owners of the world, but the personality of imaginary humans—new or post humans, one version of which are corporations. We cannot, then, exactly go back to the genre that once flourished between the late 1890s and 1930s—the mocking anatomies of the bourgeoisie in memoirs, sociological classics, and canonical novels which include *Buddenbrooks, McTeague, The Rise of Silas Lapham, Oblomov, The Great Gatsby, L'Argent, Pere Goriot,* and *The Forsyte Saga.* All

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set out to map bourgeois coordinates as their very theme. We can emulate, though, the genre's powerful countermyth of vituperation and unyielding antipathy. The bourgeois is "beastly" in the famous poetic tirade by D. H. Lawrence; he is Jack the Ripper in Brecht and Weill's *Three Penny Opera*; the "man-belly! the man-buttocks" in the manifestoes of Mario de Andrade. For Aimé Césaire in *Discourse on Colonialism*, he is the sadist perched on "a throne made of excrement and gold," the hypocrite, the debauchee, the idler who "eats the bread of others" and who from time to time is found dead drunk, "drunk as a bedbug who swallowed three barrels of blood during the night." Flipping the script on the dystopianism of contemporary teen vampire films, Césaire brings the myth crashing back to earth: "[I]t will be understood that it is not beyond the clouds that one must look for the creator, but that we are more likely to find him in Desfossé's business directory and on some comfortable executive board" (48–49). Tristan Tzara, when outlining the program of dada, is even more unrelenting:

> Every bourgeois is a little playwright, who *invents different subjects* and who, instead of situating suitable characters on the level of his own intelligence, like chrysalises on chairs, tries to find causes or objects (according to whichever psychoanalytic method he practices) to give weight to his plot, a talking and self-defining story . . . . The bourgeois resemble one another—they're all alike. They used not to be alike. They have been taught to steal—stealing has become a function—the most convenient and least dangerous thing is *to steal oneself.* (4, 38, my emphasis)

The imperson might be said to derive from such self-stealing. Edward L. Bernays, in 1928, is the first to call this type, simply, the "Booboisie" (17).[9] The images from the time are as indelible as they appear today irrecuperable: the miser, the pretender, the materialist, the leering pig, the industrious bore. These portraits were angry calls to action, and sought to follow the counsel of Tacitus in *Germania*: "Odia in longum jaciens, quae reconderet, auctaque promeret" [stor(e) up (resentments) to bring them forward with greater bitterness] (96).

For all that, it has become a mark of sophistication today to deny that the bourgeoisie even exists. In *The Origins of Postmodernity*, Perry Anderson seizes on Schumpeter's point (c. 1945) that the bourgeoisie still relies on pre-capitalist, nobiliary manners to make its distinctive ideological take on the world coherent. Anderson dissents. Giving voice to a powerful consensus, he declares that "the bourgeoisie as Baudelaire or Marx, Ibsen or Rimbaud, Grosz or Brecht—or even Sartre or O'Hara—knew it, is a thing of the past. In place of that solid ampitheatre is an aquarium of floating, evanescent forms" (85). The insight is undeniable, but how to read it? Has the bourgeois today morphed, become indistinct in the generalization of a kind

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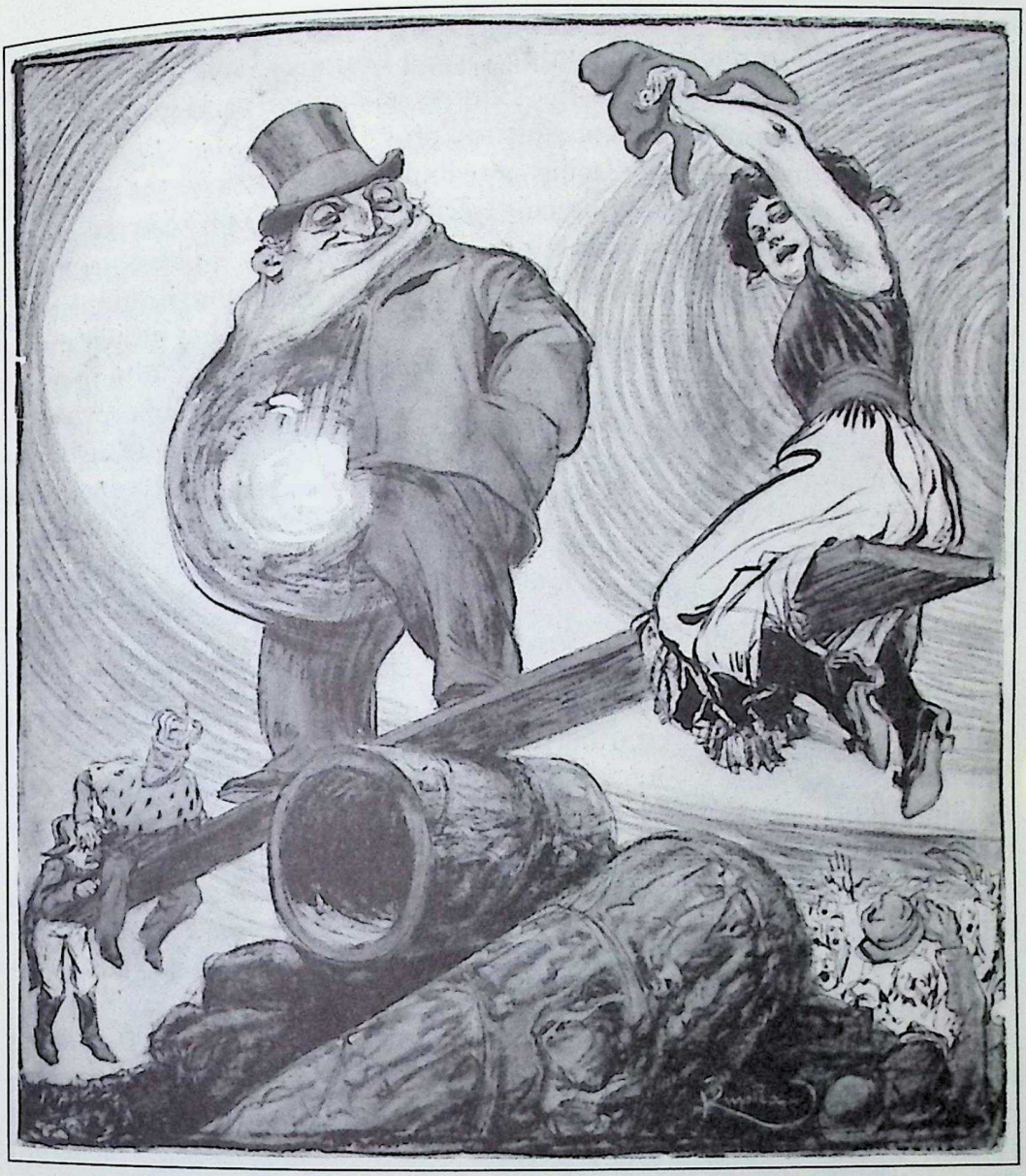

Frantizek Kupka, *Balançoires que tout ça* [That's how the see-saw works], 1901.
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of neoliberal populism, as implied by Thomas J. Stanley and William D. Danko's book, *The Millionaire Next Door,* or as suggested by disenchanted novels critical of capitalism like *American Psycho, Gain,* and *Cosmopolis* where the protagonists are miscreant versions of a culture common to its readers, and not from an alien class? Has the bourgeois, as Moretti argues, distinguished itself only by its indistinctness, its "permeability"? (2). Agreeing with Anderson, he declares that the type lacks all internal unity as a social group,

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and has become, or perhaps always was, generalized throughout society, making it impossible to pin down anything like a bourgeois style, character, or worldview. Moretti asks rhetorically "Bourgeois 'opinions and ideals'—what *are* they?" as though it were impossible to know (1).

The argument I have been laying out would have us reverse the question. My argument would be that bourgeois spirit depends less on material goods and hard efficiencies than on "floating, evanescent forms." The abstraction that Arnold observed, in other words, has moved on, developing into the anonymity and impersonality of capitalist spirit. This, in turn, has grown moribund by feeding on itself in the absence of serious rivals, having nothing more to conquer than its own entrepreneurial self. This is the logic appropriate to monopolization, where competition exists only when the state's antitrust division steps in artificially to ensure it: the state here, paradoxically, acting not as the absence of market competition but its only guarantor. Capital's new collective subject is based on prestidigitation—"a product of artifice, design and political coercion," as Gray puts it (29)—concealing the specificity of its interests and the crudeness of its methods in much the way that American empire, by way of its legal structures, sees itself less as controlling than as *being* the world. As the Al Pacino character, another image of the bourgeois as gangster, puts it in *Scarface*: "I tell the truth even when I lie." The "permeability" (in Moretti's terms) of its class boundaries is perspectival rather than actual: it is the illusion created after forced identification and submission to an authority that has become absolute in the absence of challengers.

Although they no longer capture every feature of the new dispensation, the classics of that earlier genre exposing the vileness of bourgeois character—a contemporary version of which Anderson and Moretti suggest is impossible—were prescient of what would come to be, even in their details. Any critique of capitalism will have to re-enchant these portraits. Belonging to their larger constellation are major sociological and historical investigations like Georg Simmel's *Philosophie des Geldes [The Philosophy of Money]* (1900), Werner Sombart's *Der Bourgeois: Zur Geistesgeschichte des modernen Wirtschaftsmenschen [The Quintessence of Capitalism]* (1913), Bernard Groethuysen's *Origines de l'esprit bourgeois en France* [*The Origins of the Bourgeois Spirit in France*] (1927), Berl's *Mort de la pensée bourgeoise* [*Death of Bourgeois Thought*] (1929), and Aníbal Ponce's *El humanismo burgués y el humanismo proletario* [*Bourgeois Humanism and Proletarian Humanism*] (1935). But the genre includes also the barrage of needling asides, off-handed antibourgeois scorn found throughout the essays, poetry, and novels of the period from Kurt Tucholsky to Nicolás Guillén, through Walter Benjamin to Larissa Reisner, and then into the postwar period with Mary McCarthy, Amiri Baraka, and Gore Vidal.

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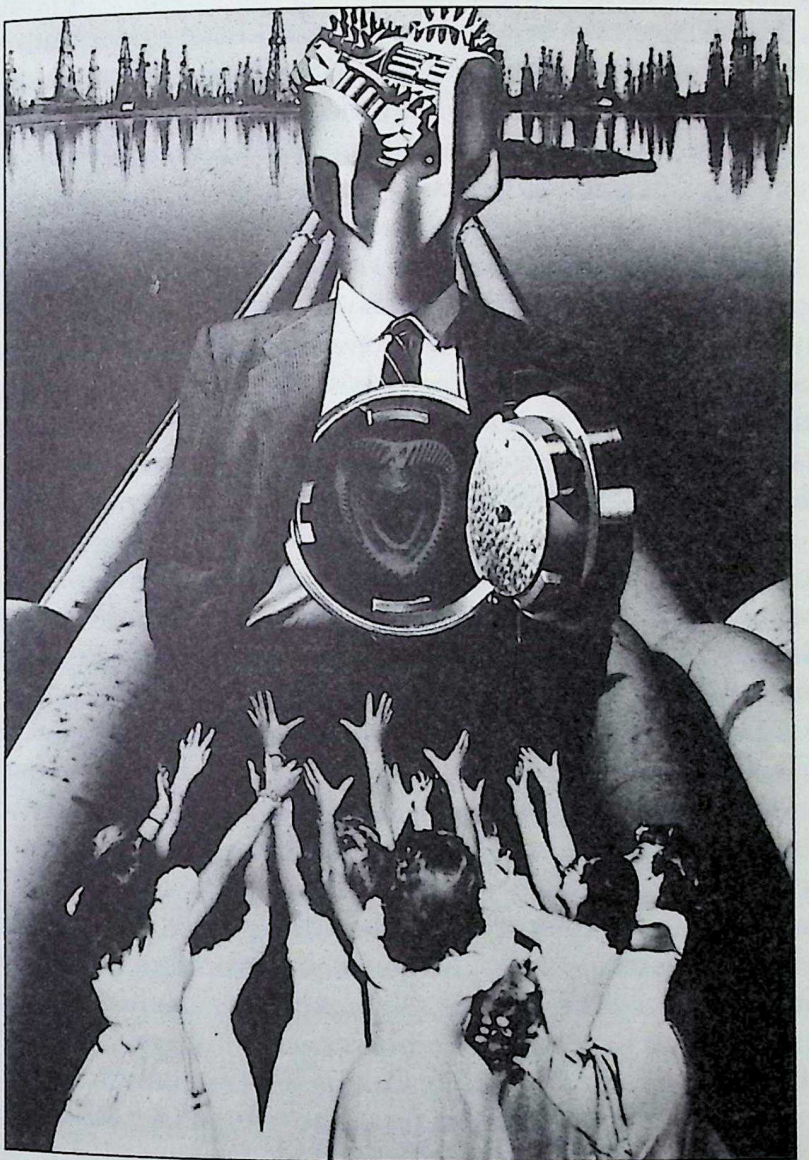
In this wealth of healthy revulsion, "bringing up to date" is often only rediscovering older arguments long ignored. There are few finer illustrations of the continued vitality of hating the bourgeoisie than in the Spanish, and later Mexican, painter and illustrator Josep Renau. For it is here we see visualized very clearly the imperson of capitalism—the conquest of romantic love by money, the larger-than-life machismo of a cyborg with an oil drill bit for a head and a bank vault for a heart, who towering above his sycophants, has left the landscape a swamp of girdered wells and industrial effluvia.



Josep Renau, *El Fascinante Rey del Petróleo* [The Charming Oil Tycoon], 1977. © and reproduced by courtesy of the Fundació Josep Renau, Valencia, and by the the Institut Valencià d'Art Modern, IVAM, where the work is housed.

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Gesturing to this vision of the near past, recognizing this changelessness within change is, in fact, one of the prophylaxes against the tyranny of market novelty. It is neither nostalgia nor recidivism to hold onto the concept of an unfinished former reckoning. The extraordinary study of Sombart in 1913—the most famous sociologist of his day, now barely read—lays out the historical evolution of bourgeois form, piercing the contradictory capitalist self.

Sombart asks if there is a "capitalist style," how it began, and who created what? Are its rampages taught or are they simply cultivated aspects of the personality? Is not the justification of capitalism's impoverishment of others, its reliance on foreign plunder, its take-no-prisoners ruthlessness against competitors (what the Tom Hanks character in *You've Got Mail* recommends to his small-bookstore-owning friend in a nod to the mafia, "take it to the mattresses") itself fundamentally a quarrel over the nature of a person? Significantly, Adam Smith, a professor of moral philosophy, after all, and not an economist, wrote *Theory of Moral Sentiments* almost two decades before *Wealth of Nations*, recognizing that all economic judgment depends on a theory of the human—in his case, a theory of necessary sympathy among individuals in society (what Hegel would later develop as *Sittlichkeit,* ethical life). Sombart persuasively shows how the justifications of capitalism common in the early twentieth century had offended the sensibilities of almost everyone in earlier times, including the traders, speculators, and businessmen of the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The business enterprise at the beginning of the century, he argues, is based on principles abjured in earlier eras, even by proto-capitalists, because they ate up everyone's time, reduced pleasure to gain, and put honest toilers out of work. Modern bourgeois principles, he contends, have to do with absolute rationalism (a strict planning and record-keeping unknown earlier), the triumph of exchange over production, searching out the customer and "attacking him," selling as cheaply as you can, and demanding complete freedom of action without regulation, which can only mean "emancipation from the trammels of law or morality" (184). Reflecting the emergent scientism of his era, however, he disappointingly locates the origins of "bourgeois temperament"—just as early sociologists had regarded (not coincidentally) criminal behavior—in biology. The greed of the bourgeois, his sociopathic apathy, his desire for a wealth past all possible use, had its origins in a genetic inheritance, an irregularity. Sombart even compares bourgeois character with that of children. Both single-mindedly value physical bigness, confusing it with greatness, quick movement, novelty, and a sense of power, as when schoolboys pull off the legs of flies (in his image) (176).

Think too of Berl's extraordinary analysis from 1929, which anticipates in some of its details what I have been arguing here. If Leibniz had been

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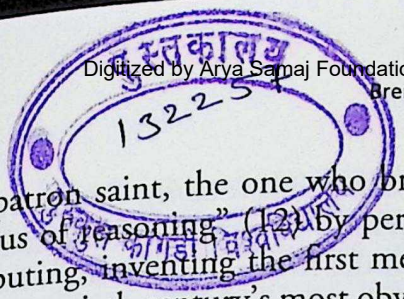

Wiener's patron saint, the one who brought about a "universal symbolism and calculus of reasoning" (12) by perfecting the binary number system of later computing, inventing the first mechanical calculator, and anticipating one of the twentieth century's most obvious and influential scientisms within the humanities (analytic philosophy), Berl senses the uses to which he would be put after World War II. With acuity, Berl calls Leibniz the "metaphysician of the bourgeoisie" for reasons that posthumanism would later make clear unintentionally. What Berl does not stress is that Leibniz, although central, is only one figure in the seventeenth-century Enlightenment around which so many ostensibly critical philosophies are now being assembled. Descartes has never stopped being the icon of a de-historicizing, theologico-intellectual interiority stamped with the authority of science.

But since at least the 1960s, it is especially Spinoza who has been triumphantly welcomed into an ostensibly post-capitalist theoretical environment in circles not obviously representative of scientistic trends. Even Berl, despite his prescience, says nothing about the other half of the bourgeois dialectic: the theological gloss on individualism that accompanies its paean to mathematical order. That is, Leibniz's theory of monads—those elementary, immaterial particles that Leibniz thought of in terms suggestive of Bertalanffy: eternal, individual, subject to their own laws, non-interacting, and existing as a microcosm of the rest of the universe in "a pre-established harmony" (Jolley 131). Gilles Deleuze will later latch onto Leibniz (and of course Spinoza) with the same enthusiasm as Wiener, speaking of "centers of force" with neither material nor spatial dimension, completely independent of their others. Monads "know" what to do according to their own instructions, and yet they are in harmony. For Leibniz God is a monad. A human is a monad. Ponce accounts for this sort of move in general terms: "[i]t was always the *defense of abstract man* that the bourgeois humanist had created; the defense of man free from the contingencies of practical and social life . . . its kingdom is in the air" (288, my emphasis and translation). Yes, but the abstraction, he forgot to add, is not merely social but ontological in accordance with the utopia, following Latour (and Margaret Thatcher), that there is no such thing as society. In this way of thinking, anti-bourgeois philosophy does not consist in a critique of the Enlightenment but in the embrace of the naturalizing, dehumanizing, counterhistorical dimensions of the scientific, rather than political, Enlightenment.[10]

Generational shifts in popular culture bear witness to a class struggle over the portrait of bourgeois character. A number of films, for instance, take on capitalism as such, not as background but as the very theme of the film: among them, *Barbarians at the Gates, The Bank, A Shock to the System, Erin Brockovich, Love Crime, Brother from Another Planet, Michael Clayton, The*

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Constant Gardner, The Insider, and *Killing Them Softly.* These were the descendants (slightly defensive, and certainly "topical") of films that in a more organic and internalized way portrayed the ruthlessness of corporate interests in earlier decades of protest—above all, *Network, Alien,* and (a little later) *Blade Runner.* Poised against them was a different genre entirely, ones about heroic CEOs or skillful and ambitious nobodys who outthink everyone on their way up (a literal take on Bethany McLean and Peter Elkind's ironically titled documentary, *Enron: The Smartest Guys in the Room*). The most insidious of these is probably *The Edge* (with Anthony Hopkins and Alec Baldwin), a variant on the Crusoe myth, in which the billionaire Hopkins is not only the sole resourceful survivor in the Alaskan wilderness when he and others are stranded after a small plane crash, but the bravest, most moral, kind, forgiving, and modest. The more usual variant throughout the 1980s annexed bourgeois entrepreneurial norms to youth, to women, and to the working-class. In the 1980s, there was room for everyone, apparently, to be a millionaire, where striving to be one was a genuinely populist protest against elitism: *Working Girl, The Secret of My Success, Big, Top Gun.* Oliver Stone's *Wall Street* might be seen as a deliberate response to that kind of movie, carrying on a long-standing public war in popular culture over the image of bourgeois honor.

This struggle over bourgeois image, I am suggesting, militates against seeing the bourgeois self as conceptually meaningless or hopelessly diffuse. That view is a version of the equally widespread claim that a post-capitalist society has become difficult to imagine. Just as with Anderson and Moretti, this argument feels its way to truth, and is hardly without foundation; but it is imprecise. The bourgeois is absent only because it is selfless—which is to say, deliberately without self, a monad through which nature expresses its energies.

This position at first appears to depart, then, from the traditional accounts of bourgeois character, typically tied to calculation, number, measure, the pecuniary restraint and efficiency of the Protestant ethic, or appeals to the accretiousness of human nature. In Ponce's words, "the economy founded on money brought one to think that everything could be told in the idiom of numbers" (241). As we saw already in Berl, though, those very qualities have come to take on the coloring of an achieved end of an earlier intimation. Mathematical man proves the natural character of man, which is to say, it leads to the proposition of animal man. Animal is not sloppy, unruly, and impulsive in this narrative, as we first might suspect, but the preprogrammed organic machine. Hannah Arendt points out that this quintessentially bourgeois appeal to animal "nature" as, curiously, one of profit and calculation, is as old as Hobbes, for whom

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> "Reason . . . is nothing but Reckoning"; "a free Subject, a free Will . . . [are] words . . . without meaning; that is to say, Absurd." *A being without reason, without the capacity for truth, and without free will*—that is, without the capacity for responsibility—man is essentially a function of society and judged therefore according to his "value or worth . . . his price." (139, my emphasis)

But bourgeois thought, she might have gone on to say, here encounters a contradiction. The only thing left to exploit, after all, in the severing of all will from constraint is Hobbes's natural human. The bourgeois is predicated not (as in the nineteenth century) on Darwinian "life" that cannot but dominate, devour, and accumulate; it is predicated on purifying the human of all planning and strategy in a perfect order of natural impulse. The entrepreneur may well continue initiatives and resourcefulness, but its self-portrait is a populist, faceless, collective subject.

This combination of anonymity and entrepreneurial edginess is, of course, paradoxical. If we have always been taught that the bourgeois stands for individualism and the socialist for communal rights, here the bourgeois stands for the collective—although not an empathetic, legally constrained, socialist collective but a biologically predictable species-life. Given the attractions of ontological politics to the cultural Left, it appears that only the Right as a whole understands the stakes of controlling the state; only it appeals openly to class solidarities. By abstaining from the civic, posthumanism settles for the pure negativity of critique. Showing no interest at all in the labor movements, it emulates the working-class hero who lives morally in an immoral world. In this, it follows the bad side of the bourgeois dialectic: individualism and private redemption.

As Berl would say of Jean Giraudoux and Jean Cocteau, the social critic of their type "pretends he is neither right nor left, dallying in between, countering with the force of the one when the other is ascribed to him" (85). He diagnoses a "conformism to the laws of inversion, to its language, and among these laws . . . a conformism to ideas already in the air because the exercise and care of its passions diminish" (85). This, instead of ideas acquiring "the critical power of inversion" (85). In this way, the bourgeois self is often entwined with the anti-bourgeois self, denying while failing to recognize itself. Alejo Carpentier portrays inversion memorably in *The Lost Steps,* whose character Mouche he calls the "archetypal bourgeoise." Mouche, he relates, "applied 'bourgeois' as the final insult to anyone who opposed to her criterion anything that smacked of duty or principles, who refused to go along with certain physical indulgences or was concerned with religious problems or a world of order" (124). Freedom from authority was, as so often today, considered radical when it was really just the principle of deregulation in miniature.

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THE BOURGEOIS PHILOSOPHY OF THE IMPERSON

To resign oneself to monotony is to experience everything as forever new. The bourgeois vision of life is the scientific vision, since everything is indeed always new, and before this day this day never existed.

Fernando Pessoa[11]

In "On Bourgeois Philosophy and the Concept of Criticism" in *Politics and the Imagination*, Raymond Geuss seeks to define "bourgeois" by way of contrasts. He does so by declaring that the term is typically set against three types: "aristocratic," "bohemian," and "radical" (169). By doing so, he conspicuously leaves out constituencies we would most expect to be there—"worker" or "peasant," for example—but even more, appears not to entertain the possibility of the bourgeois as a *radical* who challenges not only social equality but (as Marx had argued in 1844) the "species-being" of humans themselves. From my perspective, his view is conventional in a sense very different from the one I am urging in that he maintains (quite unlike Berl, Sombart, Arnold, and others) that bohemians are anti-bourgeois.

Is it not precisely the bohemian (by other names) from which the current image of bourgeois value has been drawn?—gen-x rocker, anarcho-artiste, Silicon Valley nerd, poststructuralist theorist? This linkage is actually very old—for example, Thomas de Quincey, the rebel, drug-taking, pop author (original bohemian) who wrote Tory tracts for *Blackwood's* magazine; the aristocratic *incroyables* of the French revolution; the vegetarian back-to-the-land shock troops of German fascism in the 1920s; the countercultural Nietzsche who applauded the German military's crushing of the Paris Commune; Andy Warhol, the commercial salesman par excellence and the celebrant of consumer culture. All may be said to prepare the way for the idolization of the "revenge of the nerds" of Silicon Valley, replete with the photograph, widely circulated after his death, of Steve Jobs in a beard and baggy shirt, leaning on an Apple prototype in his friend's garage.

A regime of anonymity mandates ambiguity. To explain this particular spin on the principle of not differentiating between the bourgeois and the bohemian that Anderson, in his own way, was alluding to above—and which I am connecting to something more pervasive—let me turn to an extended example. An essay for the *New York Times Magazine*, "The Newest Mandarins" includes an inset that reads: "In China, the ancient classics have become nationalist icons. But what about the texts' *real* meaning." The author, Annping Chin, tells the story of one Lei Bo, a philosophy graduate student in China. The article describes how he was sitting in the School of Management at his university in Beijing "when students began to amble in for their

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class on Sun Tzu's *Art of War*" (34). Several things are notable at this point in the essay. First, although we would expect it to, the essay says nothing about why a philosophy student was in a management class. Was he there to do a thought experiment on the inadequate ways in which business students utilize philosophy—bringing it to bear on contemporary problems with little scholarly understanding of the ideas with which they are working? Or had he, realizing the drift of the times, decided to abandon philosophy to begin a degree in business?

At any rate, the article describes how bullish the students and teacher were when hearing Lei Bo's learned interventions from the floor—"They wanted [him] back every week for as long as they were reading *The Art of War*"—and that indeed this interlude was familiar elsewhere in China, where the business world had set out to study the country's classical texts (34). Posed by the essay as a meaningful new trend in a turn to a "national style" in China (the skittishness of the US press about any tendencies to improve that country's business performance lurks as a subtext), the story clearly means to grab its audience on the grounds that it is surprising for philosophy to be taken seriously in the world of business.

But is it? In fact, isn't it already a cliché for innovative businessmen to consult *The Art of War,* which everyone knows from the Gordon Gecko character in *Wall Street*? Are there not already special issues of business journals on the ethics of Jacques Derrida (Mølbjerg Jørgensen and Boje)? The businesses, at any rate, are paying tens of thousands of yuan to be trained in texts from the Confucian and Daoist canon. It would be more reasonable to look for possible parallels with the western philosophical scene in the academy, where endowed professorships and highly-funded institutes sprang up in the usually underfunded humanities to encourage the study of philosophers whose dedication to the classical past, and whose passions, were couched in a rhetoric of a Copernican revolution in thought throughout the 1980s and 1990s—a rejection of historicism, humanism, and the solitary Western subject. The advent of the "digital humanities" in a number of universities has been similarly accompanied by the conspicuous material encouragement of administrations who see the new field as a softening of the science/humanities divide in favor of the former, as a spur to technologizing classrooms, and the creation of potentially lucrative on-line distance learning.

The *NYTM* article continues by establishing a different and more interesting parallel. Lei Bo is said to have flourished as a philosophy student—one who had been "disenchanted with communism"—because it was in philosophy that one found widely accessible readings from the Western tradition. With graphic symmetry, the readings are, with a few exceptions, by theorists widely used in recent theories of the posthuman. According to the article,

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"most popular" in China at the time (from the mid-1990s to mid-2000s) were Jürgen Habermas, Martin Heidegger, Hannah Arendt, Carl Popper, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. And since then, "Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss have been added to the list" (35). Remarkable list! And not only because it shows that in the "age of globalization" the road to classical knowledge has, for the likes of Lei Bo at any rate, been paved by Western philosophy . . . or rather, this highly selective, and altogether tendentious, sampling of it.[13]

Why these thinkers are deemed useful to business, and what they have in common, is perhaps the task for philosophy at present, and a major concern of this essay. There is no space here to discuss the problem in detail, but we can at least call to mind certain values that have played a role in the argument thus far: ambiguity (in Derrida), political ontology (in Heidegger and Arendt), the autopoietic (in Foucault), training a conspiratorial elite by drawing lessons from the Western classics (in Strauss and Schmitt), and in the apparently anomalous case of Popper, the facticity of scientism given a philosophical gloss. Why in the market logic of China's nationalism does it Westernize, and why in this Westernizing are there no excited welcomes extended to the work of Antonio Gramsci, Frantz Fanon, Giovanni Arrighi, Pierre Bourdieu, Edward Said, Gillian Rose, Herbert Marcuse, or, for that matter, Alain Badiou and Slavoj Zizek? And this question bears on another: namely, how exactly does a notion of science as materialities, utilities, predictabilities come to find a place within ambiguity and disembodiment, and what does the merging tell us about bourgeois value?

As in Bartalannfy's concept of system, in Heidegger's and Foucault's mentor Nietzsche, humans, animals, and plants, together with inanimate objects, were conceived as "spaces filled with force of will . . . beyond 'individuation' and 'sufficient reason' without distinct position in space and time and not subject to the laws of causality" (Geuss and Nehamas xvi). The politics of a lineage of theory (described in the story of Lei Bo as "popular") is, again, centered around oblivion and a version of freedom understood precisely as a freedom from agency.

In "Systems and Things," Jane Bennett—to take one spokesperson for political ontology today—faithfully represents this emergent corpus of philosophy, latching onto a "materialism" represented by Spinoza, Latour, and neuroscience to affirm "a vitality or creative power of bodies and forces at all ranges or scales" to "cut against the hubris of human exceptionalism" (230–322). Just as things are endowed with creative force, so are humans now, in this conception, undifferentiated things (except perhaps in the obvious sense overlooked by Bennett, that none of them, as she has, involve themselves in theorizing their own non-exceptional materiality). In this mode of arguing,

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any mediation possesses the same reality as its creator. Hence, poems are (in her words) "non-human agents"—the type of move we have already witnessed above in Latour's "human fabrications no human has made," and the sort of apotheosis of alienated human labor once eloquently exposed in the mid-nineteenth century by Marx, and now belatedly revived with a predictably literary turn worthy of a Nietzschean disciple.

Not unlike the logic of Spinoza, Bennett dissolves the rift that divides the human and things to create an atmosphere or environment of non-differentiated heterogeneities (the utopian vision of society under bourgeois life). In this way the multiple expresses itself, and has in reality become by sleight-of-hand the unitary, just as a purely subjective willfulness had (as we saw earlier) learned to express itself through a philosophy of impersonality. The vision is nothing if not techno-religious. It is the identical logic, in fact, of one of her mentors, Deleuze, who in a neo-Leibnizian moment of *Pure Immanence* (2001), writes: "We will say of pure immanence that it is *a life*, and nothing else. It is not immanence to life, but the immanent that is in nothing is itself a life. . . . [I]t is complete power, complete bliss" (27). The ecstasy of oblivion. But the religious element is secondary to the expression of a sublime based, as I have been saying, on the arresting of all planning or intention, all action as transformation—in short, on the evacuation of personhood. Deleuze articulates this evacuation as a conundrum that prefigures the contradiction of Bennett's conformist *one-ness*. The dynamism that Deleuze's philosophy attributes to the force of nature implies movement but deliberately not progression; it is rather a frenetic oscillation whose whole point is to go nowhere in order to ensure that truth and untruth remain self-identical.

For just these reasons, it has been possible for quasi-theology to be welcomed within religion proper, as by the Orthodox theologian David Bentley Hart. Citing his own embrace of the ontological turn of interwar phenomenology, he praises Heidegger's assault on the nihilism of Western thought, explaining that for Heidegger, as for him, "the reduction of being to an object of the intellect, subject to the will . . . has brought us at last to the age of technology, for which reality is just so many quanta of power, the world a representation of consciousness, and the earth a mere reserve awaiting exploitation." Imperious Man who sees himself arrogantly as the lord of nature is the precondition for imperialist men in this way of thinking, which is one element of Heidegger that has made him so frequent a resource, for example, in postcolonial theory. The most effective counterattack against bad actions is inaction.

But this is why Walter Benjamin, Georg Lukács, Ernst Bloch, and Adorno spent so many angry words denouncing the less-than-forthright inversions of Heidegger and his followers. And it is why the much less well-known Berl identifies "inversion" as a central feature of bourgeois character. For just as

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Derrida's claims of logocentrism invert the truth—since Western philosophy is stamped throughout by a tendentious priority to writing: the written word, the text, the holy Book, the law, which have always been given a privileged place over speech in Western discourse, not the other way around—so is it upside down to argue that the rise of bourgeois "Man" is characterized by an ambitious and self-congratulatory humanism.

For while it is true that bourgeois ideology relies on a thinking, acting subject who chooses, fashions, and imagines—there can be no entrepreneurship without it—the history of Western thought is continuously marked by the desire to demote the human, to cast it within an indifferent nature as one of its minor and expendable features, to blur its boundaries, and repossess for humans the image of their own bestiality and insignificance. This was true of the reception of Darwin in the nineteenth century and is the defining gesture as well of the philosophy of Nietzsche,[14] and the reason why Adorno and Horkheimer, and later Lukács, explicitly charge him with defending the bourgeois order: as being, in fact, its last philosophical line of defense. This fundamental posthumanism, intimated in Nietzsche's forerunners but brought into a vectoring force by his philosophy, plays a central role in the cyborg fascinations of early science fiction, currently fashioned throughout popular culture in a cinema and television industry that displaces humans to other planets or machine-worlds where their distinctness or superiority (from and to aliens and machines) is ambiguous, and to post-apocalyptic scenarios where their pack instincts, and supposedly antisocial cores, can revealingly play themselves out. The central justification for the predatory lending that characterized the recent banking collapse was that (as I said above) the perpetrators were drones—that is, part of something larger, structural, which directed them. There were no culpable agents since the forces at work were too mediated and systemic. Humanity as humanism understood it is for bourgeois thought laughably obsolete.

In some articulations of posthumanism (for example, in political ecology), we similarly find the intention of purifying inquiry by way of a desired oblivion of the social world by contemplating the happy end of the entire species, obviating in this way any commitment or affiliation with a political force that would situate the inquirer on behalf of the human itself. The human being who we cannot but be, on the other hand—the choosing being we cannot escape from being even in the act of positing our lack of choice, the free, responsible, human—is the sine qua non, one should think, of any science, including the science of the posthuman.

Although the connections are of course mitigated by significant differences, the calculations of the military regarding acceptable collateral fallout, of finding families or villages slaughtered by drone aircraft expendable, is a

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variant of the ideology of the posthuman within the same cultural milieu. A similar point can be made about the unfolding strategies only now becoming apparent in the biotechnology industries, which have moved beyond robotics and prostheses to cloning (with human cloning as its supposedly "inevitable" destination), to an ever more refined form of eugenics, and the commercially driven invention of entirely new forms of life.

THE STYLE OF PERSONALITY

Nicely groomed, like a mushroom standing there so sleek and erect and eyeable—
and like a fungus, living on the remains of a bygone life
sucking his life out of the dead leaves of greater life than his own.
And even so, he's stale, he's been there too long.
Touch him, and you'll find he's all gone inside
just like an old mushroom, all wormy inside, and hollow
under a smooth skin and an upright appearance.
Full of seething, wormy, hollow feelings
rather nasty—
How beastly the bourgeois is!
—D. H. Lawrence

To think of bourgeois character in terms of the values of "efficiency," "saving," "diligence," productivity, or risk does, in fact, seem belated today. And so those who proclaim the death of that older bourgeoisie have a valid point. The move from hardware to software in developed economies, to take only one example, has led to compatibility glitches and dormant workforces that underwrite a massive and endemic inefficiency; Western war economies (especially in the United States) are predicated on strategic long-term wastefulness rather than saving, as we saw above in the case of drones. That is their whole point, in fact. Productivity has given way to the profitability of exchanging financial "instruments"; and de-regulation promotes the consolidation of forces to abolish risk in the name of monopoly certainties. Interwar thinkers, we recall, had already moved beyond Weber's and Durkheim's classic studies by finding the essence of capitalism in calculation (in every sense), which Sombart summarized as a setting where "man has ceased to be what he was until the end of the early capitalist period—the measure of all things" (172).

But then, what is bourgeois style now? I have tried to identify one of its central characteristics in this essay: impersonality. Were there space, I would develop under this rubric a series of satellite concepts. Among these, and as vivid features of bourgeois character, I would include the following: the language of inversion, the promise that never arrives, the transformation of means into principles, and retro or *recyclage*. To dwell on these here would be impossible, so let me close on a different note.

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Along with his other insights, Berl succinctly observed that "[c]apitalism can only be thought by communism. The former is the force and at the same time the weakness of the latter" (99). This assertion contests the notion that a post-capitalist society is today unthinkable, or that the bourgeoisie has bled into the pattern of the social carpet. How far we are from the time of the insurgent bourgeoisie, and how much we have to learn from it! In the early twentieth century, many struggled to make their case with indignant clarity and in a mood that John Milton, in a very different revolutionary moment, described as "sacred vehemence." With the exception of a brief interlude in Paris in 1871, after all, Marx knew only bourgeois revolution. Who can say that he did not model his own polemical plain-speaking on the entrepreneurial confidence of the 1830s that bristles in Hazlitt's unforgettable essay "On the Connexion between Toad-eaters and Tyrants"?

> To be a true Jacobin, one must be a good hater; but this is the most difficult and least amiable of virtues. . . . The love of liberty consists in the hatred of tyrants. The true Jacobin hates the enemies of liberty as they hate liberty. His memory is as long and his will is as strong as theirs, although his hands are shorter. . . . He makes neither peace nor truce with them. His hatred of wrong only ceases with the wrong. The sense of it and the barefaced assumption of the right to inflict it, deprives him of his rest. It stagnates in his blood. . . . It settles in his brain—it puts him beside himself. (361)[15]

Were the critic of capitalism today to emulate the other side of that dialectic—namely, bourgeois plotting, maneuvering, and calculation, the logic of adventure, invention, innovation, its taste for bottom-line material effects—it would have entered the desirable realm of what we might call "venture socialism."

Hazlitt was not ignorant of the dangers of hatred or the manner in which it betrays a form of weakness. In "The Pleasure of Hating," he spends the brunt of the essay examining its many risks, wondering if it does not come from simple pride or envy, "a secret affinity, a *hankering*, after evil in the human mind. . . . The pleasure of hating, like a poisonous mineral, eats into the heart of religion, and turns it to rankling spleen and bigotry" (88). Nevertheless, after a long build-up, he brings himself round again to expressing the spirit proper to Césaire, Lawrence, Berl, Kupka, and Renau:

> Seeing custom prevail over all excellence, itself giving way to infamy—mistaken as I have been in my public and private hopes, calculating others from myself and calculating wrong; always disappointed where I placed most reliance; the dupe of friendship and the fool of love; have I not reason to hate and to despise myself? Indeed, I do; and for not having hated and despised the world enough. (94)

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Picking up on Berl's comment above, we might ask where those voices are today that allow us to see capitalism for what it is. They can be found, of course. They are eloquent and many, especially in small presses and underground journals; but so much of the intellectual milieu of the university and the arts—that is, the humanities—militates against their serious acceptance. So many portraits of the bourgeoisie, so few of socialists! What is a socialist if not a lover of poetry, a singer, someone who likes to work with his or her hands, earnest, empathetic, cooperative, a conversationalist, a person who doesn't mind roughing it, who is amazed by dreams, who studies the past, can tell a good story, speak *ex tempore*, finds tipping insulting, possesses a polemical spirit, is emotional reading newspapers, disdains dissembling, judges too much, is moral to a fault. The socialist wishes to live *now* in the very world capitalism denies, and goes about acting as though he or she were already living within it. His and her heroism is to live in spite of the present, bravely acting against the drift of interest. This is their resolve rather than harnessing competition and self-interest for different ends, counterposing violence to violence in Newtonian fashion, organizing to defeat defeatism.

From the vantage point of a pre-1980s setting—and all the more from a pre-World War II setting—we are too defensive, too reactive, taking it as a sign of good taste to abjure power. The politics of the Western left is to hate politics. And this is why the Left finds it so hard to win, for it tries to win too much—an immediate world beyond all states and laws, leaping to the commune before stabilizing a few shreds of social democracy. For this is the logic of many anarchisms today, of Giorgio Agamben and Derrida with their hatred of all law, of the autonomist politics of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri with their fatuous calls to "love" and their covert return to an image of the multitude drawn ostensibly from Spinoza but based more on a fantasy of St. Francis from Negri's youth; the anonymous collective "The Coming Insurrection," where verbal radicalism seems to be itself the utopia achieved; and the liberal indecisionism of thinkers like Simon Critchley, Ernest Laclau, and Chantal Mouffe, who are more bent on eradicating Jacobinism from the democratic Left than rousing their audience to anger against the latest NATOpolitan military adventure. Not allowed individual freedom, they proclaim the end of individuality as though it were an organizing slogan; faced with unemployment, they pretend to subvert norms by demanding "an end to work"; threatened with extinction, they defy power by killing themselves. Paralyzed by their own dispiriting self-critiques, ethically proud of their hard-hitting "realism" in regard to socialist prospects that involve harsh reckonings with earlier socialist experiments, they extol renegacy while underwriting stasis.

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In that milieu, we are not filled with the spirit of bitter conviction or conspiratorial elan. We refuse to learn from what precedes us and now manages our present. We do not venture like the entrepreneurs; we do not hate reality enough, and therefore lack a proper love for making our ideas a reality. We forego the healthy hatred of competition. We do not hate capitalism enough. We do not hate enough.

NOTES

1. The phrase is Cockburn's. He uses it as the title of a collection of his essays and columns *The Corruptions of Empire: Life Studies and the Reagan Era.*
2. Medea Benjamin explains: "[T]hose who pilot Predator and Reaper drones see almost everything when they fire a missile. 'You watch it all the way to impact, and I mean it's very vivid, it's right there and *personal*,' said Aimar." And later, "Man has never experienced this before—watching someone from above for so long without them knowing it, almost in a God-like way," said Rushing. 'Then one day the decision comes down that you've got to take them out. You hit the button and kill them. But you knew these people in a way, so it can become *quite personal*'" (Kindle locations 1092 and 1096, my emphasis).
3. Benjamin reports that "at the nearby CIA headquarters, meanwhile, civilians working for the spy agency work closely with agents in the field, as well as private military contractors, everywhere from Somalia to Pakistan, to target both high profile terror suspects, such as US citizen Anwar al-Awlaki, as well as those who merely fit the '*pattern of life*' profile of a militant" (Kindle location 1042, my emphasis).
4. For example, the incident in Afghanistan on Februrary 21, 2010, when drones incinerated a supposed convoy of Taliban militants that turned out to be two dozen unarmed worshipers, among them women, children and the elderly (Benjamin, Kindle location 1115). "Adams thinks that the speed, confusion and information overload of modern-day war will soon move the whole process *outside 'human space'*" (Kindle location 1215, my emphasis).
5. It is no coincidence that the titles of the hagiographic genre often intimate divinity: see, for example, Daniel J. Kadlec, *Masters of the Universe: Winning Strategies of America's Greatest Deal Makers*, and Alan Deutscher, *The Second Coming of Steve Jobs.*
6. The words open Apple's 1997 "Think Different" campaign, a commercial ("Steve Jobs").
7. The ontological resistance to capitalism, the refusal to work, the celebration of consumer culture as the production of "new subjectivities," and the allure of the posthuman are all elaborated, for example, in Chris Kraus and Sylvère Lotringer's collection *Hatred of Capitalism: A Semiotext(e) Reader.* Its arguments are hardly unique.
8. Pasolini's analysis of the "anthropological mutation" can be found in *Scritti Corsari* [*Corsair Writings*] (1975) and *Lettere luterane* [*Lutheran Letters*] (1976).
9. In *Propaganda*, Bernays comments that in *Life* magazine, an American answers a Britisher who praises the United States for having no upper or lower classes. The American responds, Bernays notes: "Yeah, all we have is the Four Hundred, the White-Collar Men, Bootleggers, Wall Street Barons, Criminals, the D. A. R., the K.K.K, the Colonial

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Dames, the Masons, Kiwanis and Rotarians, the K. of C., the Elks, the Censors, the Cognoscenti, the Morons, Heroes like Lindy, the W.C.T.U., Politicians, Menckenites, the Booboisie, Immigrants, Broadcasters and—the Rich and Poor" (17).

10. Which is not to say that a critical counterculture along Berl's lines does not still exist. Efforts to explore what might exist beyond bourgeois character mark the work, among others, of Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge's *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung: Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerliche und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit* [*Public Sphere and Experience*] (1972 [1993]), Thomas Frank's articles for *The Baffler* (1997), Ellen Meiksins Wood's *The Pristine Culture of Capitalism* (1991), and Susan Buck-Morss's *Dream World and Catastrophe* (2002). Such efforts are also brilliantly imagined in the paintings, among others, of Renau, as I said above: for example, his mural "Portrait of the Bourgeoisie" (1939–40), found at the Mexican Electricians Union building in Mexico City.
11. From posthumous prose translated and assembled by Richard Zenith in the October 2009 issue of *Poetry Magazine*.
12. David Brooks on this, and probably no other, point had it right in *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There*, where he writes about the "bourgeois bohemians" of the newly rich 1960–'80s corporate set, largely computer driven. The definitive study linking the bourgeois and the bohemian, though, is Frank's *The Conquest of Cool*.
13. To get a sense, for example, of the reliance of posthuman thought on Derrida, see how deeply he is woven into the argument of Cary Wolfe's *What is Posthumanism?*.
14. "Consider the cattle, grazing as they pass you by: they do not know what is meant by yesterday or today, they leap about, eat, rest, digest. . . . This is a hard sight for man to see, for, though he thinks himself better than the animals . . . he cannot help envying them their happiness" (*Untimely Meditations* 60).
15. Again, although he exposes hatred's self-immolating qualities, he notes also its redemptive clarity when directed at heredity monarchy and Tory politics. Above all, he stresses its essential role to politics as such: "Nature seems, the more we look at it, made up of antipathies: without something to hate, we should lose the very spring of thought and action" ("Pleasures of Hating" 85).

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NEW AND IMPROVED: THE ZERO-SUM GAME OF CORPORATE PERSONHOOD

RICHARD HARDACK

This is how to get free sticks and strings and clothes and gear from Dunlop, Inc., as long as you let them spraypaint the distinctive Dunlop logo on your sticks' strings and sew logos on your shoulder and the left pocket of your shorts and use a Dunlop gear-bag, and you become a walking lunging sweating advertisement for Dunlop, Inc; [as long as you keep your rank, the] New New England Regional Athletic Rep will address you as 'Our gray swan.'

———David Foster Wallace, *Infinite Jest* (175–76)

1. CORPOGRAPHY

In this article, I focus on the ways advertising language has helped precipitate the idea of corporate personhood, and how corporate personality has come to supplant human personality in particular aspects of U.S. culture. Corporations use advertising to create an impersonal persona to convince people they have a relationship with the things (products) they buy.[1] Drawing on Sharon Cameron's work regarding impersonality in a somewhat different context, I argue that the mechanisms of advertising, which simulate and manipulate human emotions and relations, are intertwined with the creation of corporate personhood and corporate biography. While noting that the concept is fluid, Cameron proposes that "representations of the impersonal suspend, eclipse and even destroy the idea of the person as such, who is not treated as a social, political or individual entity" (ix). In addition to the "nonhuman" attributes Cameron identifies with the impersonal, I would add, in the context of corporate personhood, the mechanical, generic, and parasitic: that is, impersonal systems function as simulacra of the personal and siphon personal qualities from people or imitate human processes (x). Advertising, the corporate speech I depict as

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impersonal and depersonalizing, provides a primary register for creating corporate "autobiographies," which I define as the networks of representation that reify corporations as coherent and personalized entities, rather than treat them as legal fabrications. As one would expect in a zero-sum game, these issues related to advertising, language, and corporations are intimately connected—one can't apprehend the corporate person separately from the corporate language of advertising. I argue that, though it is mediated, advertising is the most (quasi-)autobiographical utterance a corporation can make; most biographical representations of a "corporation" embody and ratify it as a coherent entity.

"Corpography" is a term I use to refer to the forms of life writing that corporations use to disseminate semblances of personality and personhood, and to identify a series of specific memes and effects involving advertising, the legal status of the corporation, and corporate modes of representation. But "life writing" is an oxymoron in the corporate context—the corporation has no life, self, being, or agency, and its personhood exists only as a fiction and contrivance.[2] The corporation can be represented only by partial surrogates, most obviously advertisers, officers, accountants, and lawyers.[3] None of these figures are the corporation, or can author its autobiography. However, their external "biographical" representations retroactively create the corporation, in much the way one might say priests create a god. In this sense, advertising and corporate autobiographies and biographies do not describe or correspond to existing "persons," but generate them.

Because the corporation is a fictional contrivance, it cannot be described literally, but through or even as a series of seemingly fluid metaphors. The apparent inconsistencies in these metaphors actually constitute and define the corporate form in its cultural contexts. Because corporations aren't coherent entities, but artificial non-entities, they rely on ontologically and culturally mixed metaphors, but relatively stable legal tropes regarding their exceptional or enhanced rights. That is, corporations are less coherent forms with wholly defined features than Mephistophelean structures whose legal status allows them to take on superhuman and often contradictory attributes. The similes that best evoke the corporate "person," however, remain consistent in their connotations; phantoms, shadows, and scarecrows, for example, are either ghostly or ventriloquized forms that lack independent interiority.

I first want to provide an overview of my argument about the connections between corporate status, corporate advertising, and social personhood. The corporation represents an ongoing mutation of what Ralph Waldo Emerson first formulated as the impersonal transcendental collective in U.S. culture, which he designated Nature, natural law, the Over-Soul, and the All. The contemporary U.S. corporation functions as a unifying fiction that replaces Emerson's concept of nature. Perhaps surprisingly, when allied with both

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nature and the corporation, the impersonal aspects of the self in U.S. culture tend to represent the universal, and the personal aspects of the self only a form of less valued particularity. Cameron claims that "the impersonal speaks despite us *through* us" and thereby destabilizes the notion of a fixed self (99, emphasis in original).[4] My overarching thesis is that corporate personhood is part of a zero-sum game in which human traits and privileges—including privacy, legal rights and exemptions, and traditional forms of continuity—are being transferred to corporations; conversely, actual persons are becoming, largely without their realization, more impersonal and generic, and increasingly defined by their relations to things. Consequently, much of what I propose regarding corporations begins with the premise that their status and actions are rarely contingent, but axiomatic.

In addition, I try to illustrate the skein between advertising and corporate personhood and assess the allure of an allegiance with the forces that oppress us. The corporation here represents both the cause and effect of a semiotic, ontological, and psychological erosion of culture and language, a series of intercalated phenomena. Tellingly, while all the Supreme Court majority opinions addressing the status of corporations have yet to make explicit reference to corporate personhood, they enforce and extend the idea; corporate personhood is a ghost in the economic and legal machine, but the ghost of something that was never alive. I primarily address the legal framework that creates and protects corporations in the context of the cultural background I discuss initially. Throughout this article, my analysis takes as its basic unit the large corporation: the effects I address are generally visible or at issue only in corporations that have achieved sufficient market domination to operate across time zones and begin to appear always and everywhere—that is, beyond culture as a force of simulated nature.

Addressing how corporations have been afforded the First Amendment rights of persons, I contend that *all* corporate speech should be treated as commercial speech—it is the only kind a corporation is legally capable of making, or ultimately authorized to proffer. I am not contending that corporations have no political interests, or that commerce isn't itself political. But in the context both of ontology and the legal framework that creates and defines it, corporations are fictional constructs engaged in exclusively commercial enterprises. If natural persons under U.S. law and the U.S. cultural ethos were imbued by god or nature with certain inalienable rights, corporations were granted those rights unnaturally, through legal fictions and various forms of graft(s). Legislatures and courts have developed the law related to corporations in that commercial context—to allow them to make contracts, own property, and sue and be sued, and to differentiate them from people, especially their shareholders, in virtually all scenarios. Corporations, however, endemically invoke the right of "free

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speech" to escape scrutiny for advertising and spending under the First Amendment; but because their form of personhood is, or at least should be deemed, exclusively commercial, their speech should be wholly regulable under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution. (Under Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 of the Constitution, congress has the authority to regulate interstate commerce.) Throughout the critical recent holding of *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, infra,* the Court's majority unequivocally claimed it was protecting political speech, but I maintain that corporations by their very nature cannot, unless they represent the fourth estate, engage in political speech.[5]

CORPORATE PERSONS AS SIMULACRA

The corporation that has limited liability should also be designated as having limited labiality—it is an unspeakable and unspeaking thing that is spoken for.[6] Certain people must have authority or legal agency to act on behalf of a corporation; but in the vast majority of instances, the corporation produces communication without an authentic speaker, and with which no one can be fully identified except through fictions. This disrupted lineage of speech and culpability is connected to the issue of the corporate simulacra, and the always reified corporate biography: when, e.g., Sony disclaims, "the views expressed in this production do not necessarily reflect those of the Sony corporation," it implies that the Sony corporation could have non-economic views—if so, what would they entail? "Who" would have them? How would those views be ratified without turning corporations into substantially different entities whose pronouncements would have to be approved by shareholder majorities, in a process that would remain problematic in terms of the corporation's charter and legal status? Would such views be synecdochic, with some part of the corporation representing a whole that doesn't exist? Corporate agents are phantoms, shadows thrown by nothing.

Exemplifying a poststructuralist principle, corporate speech can never have an actual author. For example, when a flight attendant or any corporate spokesperson says, we appreciate your loyalty, there is no "we," no locatable intent behind the utterance even if the speaker is sincere.[7] Such first person plural statements are simulacra *of* simulacra, often written by intermediaries about media constructs. Even when one could say that a corporation is led by a single voice or intention, as some would claim Apple was under Steve Jobs, a CEO never coincides with the actual corporation: some uncontainable surplus always remains. CEOs, especially those with distinct personalities and business strategies, can direct many aspects of their companies, but most operate within fixed structures of law, governance, and corporate "self"-representation or advertising. As Laura E. Lyons demonstrates in "'I'd Like My Life Back':

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Corporate Personhood and the BP Oil Disaster," CEOs must simultaneously personify corporations and distance themselves from their decisions. She notes, for example, that with regards to the Gulf oil spill, BP CEO

> [Tony] Hayward's statement, with its pronominal slippage from the singular "I" who speaks on behalf of the corporation to the collective "we" of the corporation itself and back to an individuated "I" emblematizes the ways in which BP, and corporations more generally, enact strategies of intimacy and distance, individuation and collectivity, as they attempt to manage public perceptions about their operations. (96)

As Lyons concludes, "When he speaks for himself, he can't say anything right; when he speaks for BP, under the watchful eyes of his legal advisors, he can't say anything at all" (102–103). That CEO's dilemma reflects a variation of the zero-sum game of corporate identity (as well as the polarization between the universal and the particular). In corpography, any "single" voice is a reification of a non-existent corporate person, leaving the corporate biography always ghostwritten.[8]

Yet it is precisely this conflation between corporeal persons and corporations that Justice Scalia, joined by Justice Alito and Justice Thomas, supposes in his concurrence in the *Citizens United* case. Because they employ people to act on their behalf, Scalia believes that corporations can also speak for those employees:

> The dissent says that "'speech'" refers to oral communications of human beings, and since corporations are not human beings they cannot speak. (Citation omitted). This is sophistry. The authorized spokesman of a corporation is a human being . . . just as the spokesman of an unincorporated association speaks on behalf of its members. The power to publish thoughts . . . belongs only to human beings, but the dissent sees no problem with a corporation's enjoying the freedom of the press.

Citizens United v. Fed. Election Comm'n, 130 S. Ct. 876, 928 n7 (2010). (Any such privileging of speech over the written word would indeed be misguided.) How is a corporation different from a trade association or any other unincorporated group? It is not simply that a corporation is typically owned by its shareholders (who can usually sell their interest in the corporation) and run by a board of directors, but that it has no center by definition; the shareholders have no liability, and in most instances, the corporation exists independently of those who own it. The law creates the corporation to be, as Melville might put it, "diffused through time and space" (*Moby-Dick* 159). Even in the case of closely-held corporations, which are owned by a small group of "insiders," the legal structure allows the corporation to maintain a separate, virtually ventriloquized identity. In both the legal and cultural spheres, almost all representations of corporations rely on a pernicious form of prosopopoeia. Judges

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especially tend to engage in a kind of category misprision when they address corporate speech. The artificially consolidated corporate person is created solely for commercial activity, and bestowed with certain rights, immunities, and restrictions exclusively in that context. Yet courts usually treat corporations as if they could selectively attain the positive attributes of actual people without relinquishing the artificial privileges the law affords to purely corporate entities.

ADVERTISING AS CORPOGRAPHY

While not the only form of corporate life writing—which includes such genres as corporate biographies, CEO autobiographies, press releases, and archives and other historical or material commemorations—advertising is the only one that might be situated as truly autobiographical. These other genres function, I would argue, as forms of biography. As I address it, advertising is closely related to the construction of corporate biography, but advertising also illustrates the paradox that no corporate "auto" exists. Though not attributable to any individual consciousness or consciousness in any form, advertising is the life writing or autobiography of a company—it is a central component of its public pronouncements and self-representation. The corporation has no self from which to write an autobiography, so I contend that most writing or speech allegedly "by" a corporation other than advertising pertains to a specific kind of biography, which I have been calling corpography.[9]

Advertising is of course always a mediated expression or "self-representation" of a corporation for two reasons: one, because most corporations outsource their ad campaigns, and two, because there is no corporation, in traditional ontological terms, beyond the representation the ad creates. While advertising seemingly originates from an actual person's agency, it emanates from an ad agency and reifies the idea of corporate (spokes)personhood. Impersonal and replaceable in terms of their interiority, advertising spokespersons can only be simulacra: s/he could be a CGI creation, and it would make little difference. The spokesperson is not the puppet of a real master, but of an empty constellation of space.[10]

One consequence of the exigent corporate reliance on advertising is the degradation of linguistic consistency, neutrality, and nuance, and of what one might call a reliable matrix of communication in contemporary culture. By manipulating language and the precepts of ontology—for example, by incessantly assuring consumers that novelty and nostalgia, and excitement and familiarity, can be commensurate—advertising helps fashion a self that is as corporatized as itself. Although the meanings of words always change as part of a vibrant culture, our language and conceptual vocabulary have been largely co-opted by corporations in unprecedented ways; in mainstream

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culture, for example, progressive has been transformed into a word primarily connoting insurance rather than a political movement. This process of linguistic appropriation and disenfranchisement is also an integral part of a pervasive corporatization of what was once public space and rhetoric, especially in politics. In an array of contexts, language itself has become sponsored. When the Democrats met in August 2008, for example, one heard the phrase "Pepsi Center" at least as often as "Democratic National Convention": that center unfortunately can only hold.

In addition, an advertisement is by necessity fungible: it has no inherent connection to the product it promotes, and in fact that structurally insurmountable gap is all that allows ads to work. Ad campaigns that sought to be purely informational (or function as labels) could never work as ads. Imagine, for example, a corporation trying to sell a beer brand by listing only its ingredients, nutritional information, price, and where and how it was made. Advertisers generally do not sell a product, but a fantasy and a series of relations surrounding a product involving self-perception, envy, status, desire, and so forth. That dissonance between the materiality of the commodity and the fantasies the commodity embodies echoes the disconnection between a corporation and its "biography." The gap between ad and product is also homologous to the one between the corporation and its employees. To work, the ad can have nothing inherently to do with the product. The same applies to corporate personhood, since a corporate person can be represented only by/as a fiction. In other words, corporate language has to function like an advertisement: what's on the package or in the ad, or the corporate signifier—which includes any corporate representation of an aspect of the corporation's functions—has no intrinsic relation to what's inside, or signified.

Many U.S. courts in the twentieth century have acknowledged the highly artificial nature of the corporate entity; as one holding notes, ""The word 'corporation' is but a collective name for the corporators or members who compose an incorporated association," and the protections associated with that designation can be set aside when the notion of such as "legal entity" is used to "defeat public convenience, justify wrong, protect fraud, or defend crime, the law will regard this corporation as an association of persons."" *United States v. Milwaukee Refrigerator Transit Co.,* 142 Fed. 247, 255 (C.C.E.D. Wis. 1905). Standard treatises add, "where it is said that a corporation is itself a person, or being, or creature, this must be understood in a figurative sense only" (Morawetz, sec. 1). Because courts stress not only the artificiality of the corporation's status, but its fictive nature, it is appropriate to consider fictional as well as legal representations of corporations. What does this fictionality of the corporation entail in terms of corporate biography? As I explain in the next section, corpography becomes the narrative justification for immortality and impersonation.

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2. IMMORTALITY AND IMPERSONATION

Beginning roughly in the two decades before the Civil War, the corporation starts to take over the function of nature in U.S. culture—it becomes ubiquitous and impersonal, and, most oddly, seems to speak to and instead of people. The emblematically-artificial corporation is the final materialization of a commercial, historical, and epistemological teleology begun in antebellum America. It is the corporation's impersonality, which is related to a myriad of legal contrivances afforded to it, that allows it to manipulate personal desire. Though the corporation precisely can have no body, in a number of senses, it is defined by its "incorporation," a magical and pseudo-numinous term; in law and literature, the most critical enabling fiction or artifice is that the corporation can be located geographically and personified.

This fiction is tethered to a trope that situates the U.S. as the apotheosis of the new world, developed in and as a series of propositions that were generated as part of a corporate origin fantasy whose purpose, as Edward Said might put it, is to elide historical beginnings (10, 13, 19–24). As it was initiated and enacted, the idea of the new world contains both the allure and taint of the corporate enterprise from its inception. That enterprise represents a second, less overt or explicit form of the slavery on which the new world was built—a more socially-acceptable, moderate, and sustainable variation of the slave trade, particularly in the context of debt, hierarchy, and depersonalization. Further, if pre-Civil Rights legislation and Jim Crow laws unduly narrowed the definition of citizenship and personhood, the corporate highjacking of the Fourteenth Amendment, which was used to codify the idea that corporations should be treated as people under the law, unduly widened it. This traversal is all the more ironic since civil rights legislation in the U.S. was constitutionally validated not under the aegis of equal protection, but under the regulation of interstate commerce, a kind of "any means necessary" legal maneuver. It tells us a good deal about our culture that corporations were able to invoke the Fourteenth Amendment to achieve equal protection as "persons" under the law, while civil rights advocates had to rely on business law—the Commerce Clause—to achieve equal protection for minorities.[11]

Distinguished from partnerships, which generally are run by a small number of people who have incentives to monitor their behavior and risks, corporations are impersonal not only in their operative organization, but their chartered creation. In legal contexts, the phrase "corporate veil" refers to the schema that corporations invoke to attain a kind of immunity from liability; beneath that screen, the individuals who run corporations generally are not personally liable for the actions they take on their behalf. In legal terms, a court can pierce the corporate veil only if it finds individuals in management acting outside, or

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in contravention of, their role in running the business. But at a social and ontological level, no one is behind the veil—in terms of biography, the corporation emerges as the ultimate trickster, a dummy without a ventriloquist, a confidence person, a person without qualities—depending on one's perspective, the fulfillment or final degradation of the Republican tradition. In unusual instances (e.g., where figures such as the Koch Brothers closely control them), corporations can serve as what we might call personhood exoskeletons that enhance individual rights, and allow specific individuals to act with minimal liability and accountability. But in the vast majority of cases, one could say of the corporation that there's no their there. Both scenarios pose invidious social problems.

A veil is a disguise that pertains only to agents—that is, people: only a person can be veiled. Corporate actors can hide behind this veil, in the context of donning another disguise or invoking another fiction. This conceit of the corporate veil conveys not just a disturbing form of pathetic fallacy in imbuing an entity with human qualities, but more nefariously fosters a pretense that a person resides behind the corporate Oz. The trope also has an exigent, uncanny, and ironic resonance with the Fourteenth Amendment and slavery, as W. E. B. Du Bois of course situated African Americans as being born beneath the veil.[12] Du Bois treats the veil as an emblem of alienated African American subjectivity, and describes his son as being born "within the veil": "the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with a second-sight in this American world . . . [a] double consciousness" (227, 46). That double consciousness has a second consonance in the context of corporations, which also affect our notion of personal sovereignty and personhood: they become our collective Others. Corporations now are "born" beneath a new veil, things of property that have become uncanny imitations of life. Slaves were human beings legally treated as inanimate things and three-fifths of human beings; corporations are things legally treated as animate and super beings.[13] Beyond the constraints of human reproduction, the corporation can initiate a never-ending parthenogenetic expansion that transcends life. In resonant cultural contexts, the corporation adapts some of the key ontological and economic tropes of slavery;[14] in a reified conception of slavery, things of property, to use Harriet Beecher Stowe's language, simply "growed"—that is, they could self-propagate forever (238). (And despite the "agrarian" veneer of the South and the small-scale operation of many slave holders, slavery was in many ways a corporate enterprise from Africa to Europe and the Americas.) Well before *Citizens United,* corporations had achieved personhood by effectively co-opting the emancipation of slaves.

As we have seen, the corporation is both a legal and a fictive entity, two seemingly disparate considerations I try to align in specific contexts. Under Chief Justice John Marshall's definition in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward,* "A corporation is an artificial being, invisible, intangible, and existing only in

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contemplation of law." 4 Wheat. 518, 636 (1819). Because the corporation was created as an artificial person, many popular cultural references to artificial and monstrous life contain some corporate residue. The corporation is a kind of science fiction entity—an artificial, collective being that is both immaterial and hyper-materialized, like the Borg, but also personified and ubiquitous, and incessantly accreting to itself. For example, the amorphous and seemingly immortal corporation, revenant in many guises yet always the same, didn't create the alien in the eponymous films—it *is* the alien. (It is not accidental that the corporation is paired with the alien in each of those films; the alien is also a kind of corporate spokesperson.) In the above science fiction contexts, a corporation is an inhuman thing or parasite that manipulates human emotions to alter behavior (a thing telling men to be more masculine by buying an impersonal corporate product, or to envy, desire, emulate, and so on). The "being" that foments that fantasy effectively siphons the traits of human personality from people to objects. The ad campaign tries to graft a human personality onto the impersonal person, the thing, that the corporation must be.

As part of the zero-sum game between corporate and human biography, the premises of self-representation at the extremes become destabilized and sometimes even change "position." The impersonality of corporate language, which is the dominant form of communication in U.S. culture, affects the modes of other self-representation: it is like a black hole whose gravity distorts everything around it. In these contexts, Purnima Bose locates the ways corporations foster a fantasy of "entrepreneurial individualism" (30–31). Ironically, if, as Bose suggests, corporations promulgated the idea of "corporate personhood as citizenship" in the 1950s to achieve a form of social credit, the reverse principle more recently has often shielded corporations from blame (41). This notion of corporate exceptionalism was more diffusely applied during the recent banking scandals, when not only the political process but the legal system left financial institutions, which were able to accept all credit and no risk, protected from virtually any prosecution. In the U.S. democratic ethos, citizenship generally implies an egalitarian status and a form of shared responsibility to the state and other citizens; the recent financial meltdown confirmed that corporations—at least large financial corporations—are not citizens, but subject to exceptional entitlement. They were always "too" something to be treated as citizens, for example too big to fail or prosecute. Such an outcome again was largely neither circumstantial nor incidental, but constitutively ineluctable. Any corporation worthy of its status has become a dispersed and interconnected network. Lyons observes that "Corporate personhood works to the advantage of big business by crystallizing the corporate form into a singular rights bearing individual while . . . distributing legal liability across and within the corporation" (105). Further,

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I would argue that the fictional corporate person is not only irresponsible, but orchestrated to be pathological, not simply in terms of pursuing profit regardless of social harm, but in being programmed to lie. As Joel Bakan notes, the corporation's drive to privatize is coterminous with an attempt to enforce its "particular conception of humanity" as mirroring itself—"an artificial person made in the image of a human psychopath" (135, 136). Bakan assesses a representative "corporate person" as someone whose defining characteristics are a lack of empathy, antisocial aggression, a proclivity to dishonesty, and an inability to evaluate one's own behavior. While it might seem contradictory to ascribe human pathologies to corporations I situate as inhuman, my point is that they are engineered to simulate the worst of human behavior: they are like anti-saints who commit infractions in their shareholders' names.

In practice, the corporate "personality" emerges as a kind of immortalized but also normalized sociopath (a pathology without a person). Here, the market provides what Frederic Jameson calls "an interpersonal mechanism" that is actually an impersonal network that "substitutes" for human behavior and ethics (273). If corporations were people, we would consider many of them pathological liars, and in some cases mass murdering serial killers: Exxon, Enron, Union Carbide, GE, Haliburton, Lockheed Martin, Monsanto, Philip Morris, Chevron, BP, PG&E, and, less directly, corporations such as McDonalds and Archer Daniels Midland, are responsible for taking and ruining tens of thousands of lives. Even when a corporation such as Google proclaims its imperative is to "do no evil," it has the ring of "arbeit macht frei."

Personhood is a contested site between corporations and people, with corporations finally, in effect, cannibalizing personhood. Though they obviously have people working for them, corporations usually function as impersonal mechanisms, and it is no accident that individuals have become increasingly disenfranchised as corporations gain more power, influence, and especially rights. Increasingly, most of us are corporate employees, paid in what has figuratively become corporate scrip, working under corporate rules, entertained by corporate products, and living in corporate zones.[15] As part of a series of by now familiar appraisals, Nelson Schwartz reported that in 2013, corporate profits had reached an all-time high as a share of national income, while the share going to employee wages had reached its lowest point in almost fifty years (1). Corporations are the center of a series of such polarizing relationships, through which assets, including personhood, are redistributed in a zero-sum game. For example, corporations increasingly operate as secretly as possible, under the penumbra of protecting trade secrets and business information; but they also rarely disclose their non-confidential, non-business activities, especially their political contributions and acts. Simultaneously, individuals across a broad spectrum, and with accelerating frequency, voluntarily

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publicize and consume private information in corporate fora online, and symbolically through reality TV shows, even as their private information is mined by corporations and the government. The sponsored person is the final progeny of the corporation, and the mascot of the corporate biography—what indeed is in a name? People have recently been naming their children after corporate products, and for a while were selling advertising space on their cars.[16] Such corporate creep represents not simply an encroachment on public space, but on every facet of private personhood. There is only so much space—and in our society, so much personhood—to go around.

An inverse relationship then exists between corporate and personal freedom, and, as Melville might say, corporations guarantee immortality *to* impersonality at the expense of individuals; as the corporation's impersonal rights and attributes accrete, personal freedoms and attributes for individuals generally diminish.[17] In its very creation, the corporation welds and wields two incommensurate qualities: immortality and individuality. Individuals cannot be immortal, and corporations (or other transcendentally impersonal entities) cannot be individuals; imbuing a single entity with both qualities is itself monstrous. This kind of corporate raiding of the elements of personhood again fulfills an arc Melville traced in *Moby-Dick*, which situates the failing ubiquity of nature against the rising ubiquity of the corporate enterprise. In that novel's sustained image of a kind of quantum Moby Dick—which is omnipresent and immortal, but never can be located at specific coordinates—the leviathan in part represents the demonological transition between a U.S. conception of Nature as an American provenance that serves to guarantee a universal natural law, and its conception of the transnational corporation that has no residence, exists everywhere, and is everywhere the same.

For purposes of diversity jurisdiction, a corporation is a *citizen* of the state where it is incorporated or in which it has its principal place of business (28 USC. § 1332(c)), but it can be sued wherever it does business. Under a frequently cited case of civil procedure, *World-Wide Volkswagen Corp. v. Woodson,* 444 U.S. 286, 297 (1980), the Court held that in product liability cases, a corporation could be hauled into court in any state where a legal action was foreseeable because it was marketing its products there, or purposefully availing itself of that state's laws. That holding benefits consumers in a variety of locations who are injured by a corporation: it also effectively acknowledges that the corporate person has become omnipresent.

3. CORPORATE EXCEPTIONALISM

Too systemic to fail, the corporation that is too immortal to die can only be rebranded. It has disturbing affinities with the eternal "übermensch" or

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superman, all the more ironically since those figures are highly nationalistic, and it becomes a super being with super rights, exceptionalism embodied. As a kind of enhanced entity or super person, the typical corporation can be a resident of everywhere and nowhere, transnational in scope and reach, and unlimited in its spending on speech. It also exigently perverts the ideals of unfettered capitalist individualism it putatively advances, since it is predicated on aggregation, uniformity, mass production, and impersonal discourses that impersonate human communication. Legally created as a screen for individuals—to shield them from liability—the corporation actually has come to serve as a screen for the expropriation and demotion of the individual. We again encounter a new kind of impersonal immortality, which in popular culture is sometimes configured as a Matrix of false consciousness.[18] As Christopher Stone concludes, "more than ever, we are in the hands of institutions . . . [that] can transcend and survive changes in the consciousness of individual humans who supposedly comprise them, and whom they supposedly serve. (It is more and more the individual human being, with his [or her] consciousness, that is the legal fiction") (47). Ironically, corporations are the kind of stateless, nomadic, and post-human entities that theorists such as Deleuze might have endorsed. Again, corporations seem able to co-opt those human qualities that will benefit them, while maximizing their "post"-human or supra-human attributes and denying characteristics that could expose them to liability.

By endowing corporations with ubiquity and immortality, the law also allows them to exist in an exceptional sphere separate from historically bound people. In the aforementioned *Dartmouth College v. Woodward,* 4 Wheat. at 636, Chief Justice John Marshall wrote that being

> the mere creature of law, [the corporation] possesses only those properties which the charter of its creation confers upon it, either expressly or as incidental to its very existence. . . . Among the most important are *immortality,* and, if the expression may be allowed, *individuality*; properties by which a perpetual succession of many persons are considered as the same, and may act as a single individual. They enable a corporation to manage its own affairs and to hold property without . . . [the] endless necessity of perpetual conveyances for the purpose of transmitting it from hand to hand. It is chiefly for the purpose of clothing bodies of men, *in succession,* with these qualities and capacities that corporations were invented and are in use.

This language echoes that of the Bill of Rights, which reserves to the states those unenumerated powers not delegated to the federal government. Herbert Hovenkamp reminds us of the fact that courts often forget: that

> the corporation has only those powers granted to it by the sovereign. Already in 1880, a Maryland court held that while a legislature may not forbid natural persons

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> from paying non-cash wages, it could do so to corporate employers, as long as the state had retained the power to amend the corporate charter. "A corporation has no inherent or natural rights like a citizen. It has no rights but those which are expressly conferred upon it, or are necessarily inferrible [*sic*] from the powers actually granted, or such as may be indispensible [*sic*] to the exercise of such as are granted."

The Classical Corporation in American Legal Thought, 76 GEO. L.J. 1593, 1645-46 (1988) (citation omitted)). The corporation's undying qualities make it incomparable to persons in virtually all registers. As Amy J. Sepinwall attests, for example, "Whereas individual humans die and have their estates taxed before bequest, corporations can, in principle, exist forever, and accumulate wealth over that duration without ever facing the equivalent of an estate tax. This capacity for wealth accumulation should indeed give us pause." *Citizens United and the Ineluctable Question of Corporate Citizenship*, 44 CONN. L. REV. 575, 589 (2012). The corporation represents a kind of family dynasty, but increasingly without the actual family.

This idea of impersonal immortality affects many spheres, especially those of individual and "familial" subjectivity. Roland Marchand observes that in the 1940s, U.S. corporations that wanted to be perceived as "corporations with a soul" moved from invoking images of teams to images of a Victorian family to create an image of a paternalistic hierarchy, here particularly in the context of codifying workers' roles (107). As Bose and Lyons contend, corporate narratives "invoke the trope of the family to obfuscate the actual relations of production and the division of labor that they must organize and regulate" ("Introduction" 9). Consider the dissonance, for example, of repeatedly hearing about "S.C. Johnson, a Family Company," and the frequency with which corporations rely on terminology such as "parent corporation." Ironically, the family is set up as an antithesis or antidote to the corporation, but it is also used to humanize or even authorize corporate behavior.[19] Blurring the boundaries between people and things, the dead and the living, corporations have further developed a newly impersonal personality and personhood by advertising a new world.

4. THE WHOLE WORLD IS AN AMERICA, A NEW WORLD

In the *Second Treatise on Civil Government* (1690), the British political theorist John Locke asserted that "in the beginning all the world was America" (29). Thoreau then updates Locke by asserting that "The whole world is an America, a *New World*" (*Journal* 4: 421). In this arc from "was" to "is" to "new," we can also trace the development of a critical aspect of the modern capitalist economy and its notion of the new world: it is predicated on a form of advertising that turns history into a palimpsest billboard and idealizes the

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putatively new as long as it still feels familiar. New world novelty must offer the faddishly current as part of an economy of planned obsolescence, but must connect that novelty to the comfortably recognizable. Modern advertising's obsession with next year's model is connected to the imperative to find allegedly new narratives, but is also indistinguishable from the discovery of the new (and improved) world. This rhetoric of novelty is also connected to the cultural geography of the brave new world of America. The "new world" itself is a kind of foundational advertising slogan. The new world was settled in part by the predecessors of corporations, joint stock companies—for example the Virginia Company. (Malick Ghachem proposes that the "forever companies" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—quasi state enterprises such as the Dutch, French and British East India Companies that merged colonialism and commerce—were already too big too fail). As I have argued elsewhere, it is no longer nature that takes us beyond the time and space of nations, but the ubiquitous transcendental corporation—which represents the impersonal imbued with personhood.[20]

The quintessential tagline "new *and* improved," which is at the heart of American advertising, tells us a great deal about the mendacity and gullibility of our culture as it relates to corporations. The phrase is willfully tautological: by definition, something can't simultaneously be new and improved. If something is new, nothing existed to improve. If it's improved, it already existed and can't be new. But advertisers assume no one would buy something old and improved. Inserts announce you have been pre-approved for a credit card rather than approved. The phrase "free gift" represents another in a nearly inexhaustible array of redundancies and misprisions that are necessary to advertising; the giver of the free gift, as opposed to the expensive one, asks us for trust by exaggerating, repeating, barraging, and distorting. Such language is different from the advertising euphemism—a claim, for example, that a car is pre-owned rather than used; in the examples I address, the language does not merely obfuscate, but enacts what we might call the circular logic of circulars.

In fact, advertising's emphasis on novelty masks a distinctly reflexive mode of atavism; the "new" largely depends on an unalterable set of assumptions and practices. As many have noted, advertising trades on a form of nostalgia for a world it creates. The word "advertisement" originally conveyed a warning, reflecting a cultural ambivalence regarding novelty. (Advertisements also publicized the names and locations of a manufacturer or product—they demarcated things as specific rather than universal, and correlated a service or product with a person). Manfred Görlach points out that at one stage "the product name, or the producer, was the only text left" in advertisements—the ad was still a form of identification (87). But as Alan Trachtenberg notes in *The Incorporation of*

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America, by the gilded age, "the older function simply to inform had swiftly given way to a mode in which information as such fused with a message about the product, together with a message about the potential consumer, that he or she *required* the product in order to satisfy a need incited and articulated by the advertisement itself" (137, emphasis in original). Trachtenberg also posits that advertising fully emerges at the "critical point" when "society shifts from production to consumption" (135). That shift coincides with an increasing erosion of barriers and conflation of categories—between facts and ads, news and entertainment, private and public, and persons and corporate persons. Nineteenth-century advertising often attached specific products and services to places and individuals (that is, it assured consumers that an actual person backed a product); but it also soon began generating fictitious people such as "Aunt Jemima" and "Betty Crocker" as stand-ins for corporate persons, that is, as simulacra of simulacra (see, e.g., Manring 116, 112).

5. HABEAS CORPORATION

In this section, I assess what corporate personhood tells us about individual personhood in contemporary U.S. culture. One of the most disingenuous and misguided pronouncements in the *Citizens United* holding is Justice Kennedy's assertion that "Corporations, like individuals, do not have monolithic views." 130 S. Ct. at 912. As I argue throughout, such views are the only kind that a corporation can legally, or in most cases ontologically, have. But under current law, the corporation can never be held fully accountable for the actions taken on its behalf; it resides in some parallel universe of legal theory. In the following sections, I briefly address the legal precedents, and especially the protections for false advertising, that serve as a prelude to the judicial validation of corporate personhood. Here, one should note that most advertising is constructed so that claims cannot be evaluated or verified, while readers expect autobiographies and biographies to document "the truth" of their subjects' lives. Corporate advertising is then a mutation of life writing that differs radically from traditional forms. To represent themselves, corporations have to attach themselves to spokespeople—typically celebrities, since they come with profiles the public already knows, but sometimes equally fabricated cartoon characters, from a Gecko to the most interesting man in the world—virtually none of whom have connections with or authentic "biographies" in relation to the corporation.

It is also useful to consider who can sue a corporation for false advertising, and why, in the context of legal standing and a variety of kinds of personhood. That is, the critical fiction is not simply that the corporation is a person, but that it is not a specific and delimited association of persons

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(which, in that context, could not have personhood). Republicans often assert they oppose gay marriage because it would propel us down a slippery slope to allowing people to marry cows or trees: yet they rarely apply the same argument to corporations, and particularly their standing to sue or status as legal persons. This is an important contrast, as Justice Douglas implies in his dissent to *Sierra Club v. Morton,* 405 U.S. 727, 742–43 (1972). Ironically, the Court in *Morton* held that the Sierra Club, as a corporation, had no standing to sue to stop development in a federal park, but that it could file suit on behalf of any member who had suffered individual harm, in this case anomalously deciding corporations could have no collective, "non-economic" interest in such an issue. *Id.* at 734, 739–40. Such assumptions about standing and the non-economic interests of corporations have been eroding, as evident in the spate of recent lawsuits regarding the religious and moral rights of corporations. (In the context of religious faith, one might say that the corporation represents one fiction arguing for the right to believe in another). In his dissent, Justice Douglas asserted that

> Inanimate objects are sometimes parties in litigation. A ship has a legal personality, a fiction found useful for maritime purposes. . . . The ordinary corporation is a "person" for purposes of the adjudicatory processes, whether it represents proprietary, spiritual, aesthetic, or charitable causes. So it should be as respects valleys, alpine meadows, rivers, lakes, estuaries, beaches, ridges, groves of trees, swampland, or even air that feels the destructive pressures of modern technology and modern life.[21]

Id. at 742–743. As Christopher Stone elaborates, the world of law is "peopled with inanimate rights holders: trusts, corporations, joint ventures, municipalities, Subchapter R partnerships, and nation states, to name just a few" (5). But it is different to speak for, as a guardian or stand-in, the subaltern in nature or aspects of the environment—for those without a voice—than to confer a voice upon a thing (see, e.g., Stone 25–27). (And, first, we must always acknowledge that we speak for "nature" exclusively from some contestable human perspective.) If a corporation has standing as a person, why doesn't an abused cow or tree, which at least has the distinction of being alive? The ontological justification for awarding standing to corporations is not flimsy, but purposefully contradictory and arbitrary, and utilitarian at best, from a legal and philosophical perspective. It is a critical, foundational tenet of our jurisprudence that we have awarded standing to the artificially created constructs of business, but denied it to almost every aspect of nature, however we situate them as cultural constructs.

Ironically, corporate personhood requires the serial transfers of assets from some form of transcendental Nature, and finally from people, *to* corporations; they have taken on the role of personified, impersonal Nature

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becoming universal, omnipresent, intractable. In this trajectory, the corporation imitates and supersedes nature. In his novel *Pierre,* for example, Melville's protagonist declaimed, "[T]hou inconceivable coxcomb of a Goethe. . . . Already the universe gets on without thee, and could still spare a million more of the same identical kidney. Corporations have no souls, and thy Pantheism [Nature-worship], what was that?" (302). (I invoke Melville here as a shorthand to help locate the critical transition from Nature to corporations as a guarantor of identity in U.S. culture.) Such language has at least a partly legal origin. As Robert Sprague and Mary Ellen Wells note, "In 1612, England's Chief Justice Coke declared that corporations have no souls. Nearly four hundred years later, in *Citizens United* . . . Justice Kennedy declared that corporations are disadvantaged persons because the government had intruded upon their freedom of speech."[22] Melville also probably derives this language from James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Bravo,* which vilifies the "soulless corporation[s]" of secret deliberative bodies (170). Among other things, the pantheism that Melville narrativizes represents a failed attempt to merge with a transcendental Nature that turns out to be precisely corporate and indifferent to individuals.

In *Citizens United,* a case less concerned than *Morton* with standing and the scope of a corporation's non-economic interests, the issue was whether the government can regulate otherwise unbridled corporate speech. In his concurrence, 130 S. Ct. at 928, Scalia claims speech need not emanate from an individual to receive strict First Amendment protection:

> [T]he individual person's right to speak includes the right to speak in association with other individual persons. Surely the dissent does not believe that speech by the Republican Party or the Democratic Party can be censored because it is not the speech of "an individual American." It is the speech of many individual Americans, who have associated in a common cause . . . . The association of individuals in a business corporation is no different—or at least it cannot be denied the right to speak on the simplistic ground that it is not "an individual American."

As consistently inconsistent as ever, Scalia here does not develop any originalist or historical argument; his claim involves a categorical, ontological, and epistemological assertion that a corporation is an association that represents individuals. The ironically named *Citizens United* of course reflects the posture and status of a united corporation that completely displaces individual citizens. In addition, according to Amy Sepinwall, "the *Citizens United* decision does not rest on a conception of the corporation as a citizen; instead, the majority opinion grounds corporate free speech rights largely on the right of listeners to hear speech from as many different voices as possible." 44 Conn. L. Rev. at 581 (citation omitted). As Matthew Allman notes, all the

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more ironically and uncannily given the title at issue, an "interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment [that does not include corporations] was likewise recognized by the Court, which held that "[t]he term citizens . . . applies only to natural persons, members of the body politic, owing allegiance to the State, not to artificial persons created by the legislature, and possessing only the attributes which the legislature has prescribed." *Paul v. Virginia*, 75 U.S. (8 Wall.) 168, 177 (1868)." *Note: Swift Boat Captains of Industry for Truth, Citizens United and the Illogic of the Natural Person Theory of Corporate Personhood*, 38 FLA. ST. U.L. REV. 387, n135 (2011) (citations omitted).

Scalia also disingenuously equates placing limits on speech with an absolute denial of a right to speak, which was never at stake in *Citizens United* but moreover legally unavailing in the context of the Court's validation of numerous time, place, and manner restrictions on all forms of speech.[23] Corporations also do not speak on anyone's behalf, even their shareholders. Illustrating a kind of judicial bootstrapping, the concept of corporate personhood had no originally citable precedent, as the idea effectively emanated from dicta in *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Co.*, 118 U.S. 394 (1886); it was added to the case headnotes by a court reporter who had been president of a railway company, and should never have been included as a citable part of a Court opinion.[24] Contingency had been elevated to historical necessity, and the validation of the concept reflected a kind of payment due for the original bill of rights.

The fiction of personhood is part of the apparatus that grants a corporation full rights of political speech, even though a corporation is a purely commercial enterprise. A corporation cannot (officially) hold office or vote, and these restrictions on personhood have not been controversial; why does the Court single out speech as an exceptional right that cannot be regulated? Given the way courts now treat corporations as people, corporate speech—though primarily if not exclusively commercial, and differentiable when not commercial—cannot be easily regulated, if at all. In other words, corporations are mistakenly categorized as if they were in the marketplace of ideas instead of products. (Or rather, one should say the way they are treated in this context is quite deliberate.) While some would contend that corporate communications related to business involve political ideas and come under the aegis of protected speech, or that all associations have absolute free speech rights, such assertions rely on another conflation of law and fiction. Because of the nature of the speaker and the kind of utterances it can produce, all the speech of a corporation—including its spending—should be regulable as wholly commercial in nature.

Contrary to the holding in *Citizens United,* courts should be able to regulate corporate speech in the same way they regulate false advertising, because

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nearly all corporate speech is a form of advertising. A corporation's speech promotes its own business—that is a corporation's *only* function under the law that recognizes it is commercial. Indeed, shareholders can, and often do, object to speech that doesn't promote a corporation's bottom line. A corporation is thereby granted specific rights, protections, and limitations as a commercial enterprise, and should not be allowed to claim such status only when it is convenient, while claiming full personhood only whenever that is convenient. The corporation's status, in context, should determine the nature of its speech.

While the Supreme Court recognizes the difficulty in distinguishing commercial from non-commercial speech, *Metromedia, Inc. v. San Diego,* 453 U.S. 490 (1981) (Brennan, J., concurring), it has also held that "speech need not closely resemble a typical advertisement to be commercial." *Semco, Inc. v. Amcast, Inc.*, 52 F.3d 108, 112, 6th Cir. 1995. Citing the Supreme Court, the Sixth Circuit here observed that in

> *Bolger* [*v. Youngs Drug Products Corp.*], 463 U.S. [60], 67 [(1983)] . . . the only reference to [the] product [at issue] is contained at the very bottom of the last page. . . . The Court decided that the pamphlet's lack of specificity did not render it noncommercial. 'That a product is referred to generically does not, however, remove it from the realm of commercial speech. For example, a company with sufficient control of the market for a product may be able to promote the product without reference to its own brand names.'

A corporation participating in any way in the political process—perhaps often in direct relation to its "lack of specificity" or its studied anonymity—is also always and only promoting its product—i.e., engaged in commercial speech. As the Sixth Circuit held in this case involving "informational" business pamphlets and commercially motivated press releases,

> "no law of man or nature makes it impossible" to explain the process for manufacturing . . . without describing [a manufacturer's] own products, history, quality standards, safety standards, and commitment to [labor practices]. Such additions promote [the product] and invite commercial transactions, and they represent commercial speech. . . . [P]roducts or techniques may often be newsworthy, but that status does not permit their manufacturers to lie. The phrase "free advertising" . . . describes the publicity manufacturers may receive in press releases, news interviews, or trade publications. The Lanham Act does not prohibit or hamper such advertising; it requires only that manufacturers describe their products truthfully.

Id. at 113–114. As with environmental regulations, restraints on corporate speech—which under *Citizens United* means spending on political campaigns—can be narrowly tailored to be content neutral; rather than stifling

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free speech, such constraints are its prerequisites. It seems unnecessary to elaborate that as a matter of policy—as well as a matter of constitutional intention for those who think such a justification is necessary—the vast majority of individuals will not be able to compete with corporate persons in voicing their speech, or in having it heard.

In addition, courts have emphasized that corporations should not escape regulation simply by trying to insulate their speech within the context of public debate: "The Supreme Court has repeatedly "made clear that advertising which 'links a product to a current public debate' is not thereby entitled to the constitutional protection afforded noncommercial speech. . . . Advertisers should not be permitted to immunize false or misleading product information from government regulation simply by including references to public issues."" *Semco,* 52 F.3d at 113 (citing Bolger, 463 U.S. at 68 (citation omitted)).[25] A corporation has no business making speech unless it is commercial, i.e., an advertisement; while it should be allowed to lobby for and freely articulate its commercial interests, as a threshold issue, all a corporation's acts, including its political spending or "speech," should be regulable under the Commerce Clause and commercial speech doctrines. Those regulations of course must still be constitutional, but commercial speech is afforded less protection, and commercial speech regulations are subject to less judicial scrutiny, than other forms of speech because of the vital public interests at stake, which courts have long recognized, and because corporations were not, until recently, considered full public citizens under the law.

Under the test the Ninth Circuit adopted in *Association of National Advertisers v. Lundgren,* 44 F.3d 726, 731 (1994), holding that informational pamphlets making factual claims about a product's environmental attributes constituted regulable commercial speech, four factors govern

> whether commercial speech enjoys the protection of the First Amendment: (i) whether the speech restricted is devoid of "intrinsic meaning"; *Friedman v. Rogers,* 440 U.S. 1, 12 (1978) (ii) the "possibilities for deception[,]" *id.* at 13; (iii) whether "experience has proved that in fact such advertising is subject to abuse," *In re R.M.J.,* 455 U.S. 191, 203 (1982); (iv) "the ability of the intended audience to evaluate the claims made." *Id.*

The mistake of this approach is that it tries to siphon off the corporation's politically protected speech from its advertising. The threshold issue is whether one can classify all a corporation's speech as subject to evaluation under this test, not whether some utterances fall afoul of it. All a corporation's speech is commercial. In the same way that the Court allows time, place, and manner restrictions on many kinds of public speech, it could regulate corporate

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speech in a content-neutral manner, not through any nexus or multifactor tests, but by identifying whether a speaker is corporate, which can be easily determined as a matter of law.

In *Virginia State Bd. of Pharmacy v. Virginia Citizens Consumer Council, Inc.*, 425 U.S. 748, 770 (1976), the Court held content-based restrictions on the dissemination of pharmaceutical prices were unconstitutional. The Court stressed, however, that

> Untruthful speech, commercial or otherwise, has never been protected for its own sake. *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*, 418 U.S. 323, 340 (1974); *Konigsberg v. State Bar*, 366 U.S. 36, 49, and n. 10 (1961). Obviously, much commercial speech is not provably false, or even wholly false, but only deceptive or misleading. We foresee no obstacle to a State's dealing effectively with this problem. The First Amendment, as we construe it today, does not prohibit the State from insuring that the stream of commercial information flow [*sic*] cleanly as well as freely.

Id. at 771. If the stream of commercial information can, and needs to, be regulated, the same reasoning should hold for corporate spending masquerading as speech. If the Court treated corporate political spending as commercial, it would never need to address its content, unless a regulation on its face or as applied favored or penalized certain points of view. Justice Stewart wrote persuasively in his concurrence to *Virginia State Bd.* that

> Since the factual claims contained in commercial price or product advertisements relate to tangible goods or services, they may be tested empirically and corrected to reflect the truth without in any manner jeopardizing the free dissemination of thought. Indeed, the elimination of false and deceptive claims serves to promote the one facet of commercial price and product advertising that warrants First Amendment protection—its contribution to the flow of accurate and reliable information relevant to public and private decisionmaking.

Id. at 780. The Seventh Circuit has also held that "the public and private benefits from commercial speech derive from confidence in its accuracy and reliability. Thus, the leeway for untruthful or misleading expression that has been allowed in other contexts has little force in the commercial arena." *Nat'l Comm'n on Egg Nutrition v. Fed. Trade Comm'n*, 570 F.2d 157, 161 (7th Cir. 1977). The same principle should apply even more forcefully to the regulation of corporate spending on political ads or campaigns, as well as other kinds of corporate speech, most critically to address issues of saturation, domination, and media control. But what about corporate speech outside the commercial arena? To make such a distinction between kinds of corporate speech creates invidious problems and misapprehends the legal and ontological limits of

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corporate personhood. When a corporation subsidizes political campaigns, it is not engaged in public debate; it is a void ventriloquizing commercial speech as political speech.

To assess what one might call the leviathan effect of corporate speech, one can consider the consequences of allowing a corporation an unfettered right to political speech, first by looking at the deleterious effects of corporate speech even in commercial contexts.[26] Courts have been better at addressing what they view as identifiable advertisements than other forms of corporate speech, in part because they make specious threshold distinctions regarding the kind of speech corporations can make. In *Lundgren,* 44 F.3d at 727–728, the Ninth Circuit noted the "potential for abuse" raised by the increasing popularity of socially conscious advertising, and the "growing confusion surrounding many environmental marketing claims" (citing *Ass'n of Nat'l Advertisers, Inc. v. Lundgren,* 809 F. Supp 747, 750 (N.D. Cal. 1992)). The court found that

> editorializing [i]s not essential to product advertising. *Lundgren,* 809 F. Supp. at 753 ("while statements that a firm supports recycling, for instance, are undoubtedly included in advertisements as a marketing tool and may in fact augment sales, firms can nevertheless sell their wares without editorializing about the environment"). Conversely, the district court persuasively reasoned that a firm can editorialize about the environment, lambast[e] the statute or laud recycling without advertising or otherwise making commercial representations about one of its products. [*Id.*] at 754.

Lundgren, 44 F.3d at 730. Such a strategy to separate kinds of speech might help regulate false claims if it were properly enforced. But such an approach carves out a critical and uncontainable area of unregulated commercial activity—as we empirically know, many corporations will exploit any loophole to avoid tax or liabilities, or to try to buy elections. One straightforward legislative solution would be to treat all corporate speech involving campaign spending as a form of advertising, and corporate personhood as a purely commercial form of being.

Courts, however, instrumentally and ill-advisedly tend to differentiate allegedly diverse kinds of corporate speech on the basis of content, rather than the status of the speaker. They do so in part because they have no coherent definition of personhood, but also to justify ends and outcomes already determined to be desirable. According to Reza Dibadj, "Not having a theory of constitutional personhood is unsettling. . . . What Justice Black once pointed out in the context of the Fourteenth Amendment applies more generally: "[i]t requires distortion to read 'person' as meaning one thing, then another within

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the same clause and from clause to clause." Put bluntly, "the Court has never set forth a specific test to determine what a constitutional 'person' is." *(Mis)Conceptions of the Corporation*, 29 GA. ST. U.L. REV. 731, 749-50 (2013) (citations omitted). As Kathleen Sullivan comments, "These different approaches have raised the question whether the Court's corporate personhood jurisprudence is purely result oriented." *Note: What We Talk About When We Talk About Persons: The Language of a Legal Fiction*, 114 HARV. L. REV. 1745, 1754 (2001).[27] Regarding a related inconsistency, Matthew Allman observes that the Court's "mantra is that "the Government cannot restrict political speech based on the speaker's corporate identity" under the strictures of the First Amendment." 38 FLA. ST. U.L. REV. at 402. But as Anne Tucker proposes, "The Court's assertion that the law does not make distinctions based on the identity of the speaker is patently false in the context of corporate law; in fact a great deal of speech is regulated or compelled based upon the corporate identity of the speaker. The corporate charter filing requirements . . . along with the requisite continuing disclosures and securities regulations . . . create a slew of corporate speech based solely on the corporate identity of the entity." *Flawed Assumptions: A Corporate Law Analysis of Free Speech and Corporate Personhood in Citizens United*, 61 CASE W. RES. 497, 543-44 (2010) (citation omitted). The status of the speaker should be the threshold issue in the context of corporations, because the speaker is not a speaker: there is no person or identity about which to make distinctions.

As Justice Stevens, with whom Justice Ginsburg, Justice Breyer, and Justice Sotomayor joined, both concurred and dissented in part, the statutory ban at issue in *Citizens United* had

> no application to genuine issue advertising—a category of corporate speech Congress found to be far more substantial than election-related advertising, (citation omitted) or to Internet, telephone, and print advocacy. Like numerous statutes, it exempts media companies' news stories, commentaries, and editorials from its electioneering restrictions, in recognition of the unique role played by the institutional press in sustaining public debate. . . . [The statute] functions as a source restriction or a time, place, and manner restriction. It applies in a viewpoint-neutral fashion to a narrow subset of advocacy messages about clearly identified candidates for federal office, made during discrete time periods through discrete channels.

130 S. Ct. at 944. However, even if (even) these members of the Court fail to understand how corporate personhood affects the status of all corporate speech, they did object that the statute the Court struck down simply regulated corporations in the same permissible way it could have legally regulated individuals. In other words, corporations under *Citizens United* don't have the same rights as people—they have far more. If we once at least claimed to

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be a nation of laws rather than people, we are now a nation of corporations. I the U.S. considers itself exceptional in the world, *Citizens United* confirme that corporations are exceptional in this country.

Though beyond the scope of this article, the full implications of this legal corporate exceptionalism for human personhood are myriad and mortifying. The law relies on a series of often inchoate theories of personhood becaus our society has no coherent, accepted definition of what a person is or wha his/her rights are. One of the most disturbing but less obvious corollaries o the unprecedented transfer of rights, power, influence, status, once privat information, and money to corporations is the concomitant transfer of many aspects of human identity. For example, in the zero-sum game I've been de lineating, as people identify with or become ads, corporations and their prod ucts seem to become more human or gain personalities. And under corporat capitalism, desires are generally not spontaneous, but developed as part of structure of envy and manipulation, one increasingly regulated by increas ingly unregulated corporations. In such a system, biography can largely docu ment only rote and predetermined patterns of impersonal behavior. In some ways displacing both the artist and the community, the corporation has be come our chorus, the collective voice of our culture, dramatized in the reality TV shows that typically inculcate a corporate ethos of competition, which i applied to every aspect of what was once at least ostensibly personal and pri vate life. As these emblematic lives are exposed for public consumption, and effectively hollowed out, their subjectivities are symbolically transferred to the corporation, or contorted to satisfy the premises of corpography.

To put it bluntly, corporations are writing our lives. The regulations and behaviors that codify corporate personhood help erase and invert boundar ies—between private and public; personal and impersonal; political and com mercial; interested and disinterested; and human and simulacra. It might be too late to distinguish among private speech, political speech, and commer cial speech; corporations might already have become our shareholders.

NOTES

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1. Apple here serves as a useful example of an entire cult of impersonality.

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2. I would contend that fictions, such as Philip K. Dick's 1969 novel *Ubik* and Richard Powers's 1998 novel *Gain,* are often more germane to corporations in the context of life-writing than other forms of biography. *Gain,* for example, presents a Joycean history of advertising language as it evolves from the personal and familial—starting with a period when a family could ostensibly own, run and represent a company—to the corporate form, under which only the family name remained.
3. It is worth reflecting on the fact that most people would see executives, yet not employees, as representing a corporation, but that perception conflates forms of ownership with forms of identity.
4. Corporations ventriloquize or "speak us" in much the way Nature once did in a specific but influential strain of transcendental U.S. culture. In the context of corporations, however, I situate the impersonal as the deficit, rather than any Lacanian excess, of individuality.
5. However, as Chief Justice Roberts writes in his concurrence, one must consider media corporations separately. *Citizens United,* 130 S. Ct. at 917, 924. Their speech would be categorically different, in part because their business, unlike that of most corporations, is, at least theoretically, speech.
6. I here think of the title and narrator of Harlan Ellison's short story "I Have No Mouth and I Must Scream" as applying perversely to the corporate person.
7. The corporate self-representation I address is different from that of the CEO biographies (that now overlap with celebrity biographies) that Purnima Bose and Laura E. Lyons discuss in "Toward a Critical Corporate Studies," and that many authors address in their collection, *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation.*
8. As Paola Catenaccio and Chiara Degano also indicate, corporate speech often tries to reconcile incommensurate goals or voices, leaving spokespersons trying to balance "two opposing orientations: investors must be persuaded that CSR [corporate social responsibility] will not be pursued to the detriment of profit, and at the same time the doubts of activists must be assuaged by providing convincing proof of the company's commitment to social responsibility" (85).
9. It is worth noting, for example, that a study by the American Association of Advertising Agencies, more than twenty five years old, indicated that an average consumer viewed 1,600 advertisements daily, which now has likely reached over 3,000 (Fox 328; Sivulka xiii). What many of us see, hear, and read most are not the utterances of people, but of corporations.

Corpography here also represents a final manifestation of the U.S. genre of the confidence autobiography or forged memoir. As I elaborate in "The Franklin-Stein Monster," a kind of trickster use of the third-person, impersonal impersonation, and outright ventriloquism are endemic to one configuration of U.S. autobiography, begun by Governor John Winthrop and perfected by Ben Franklin. As part of the republican tradition, the U.S. autobiographer often situated himself—and this was a largely gendered trope until the twentieth century—using constitutional language to construct a (sometimes mock) public discourse that embodies "we the people." As I note, "from Winthrop to Franklin, Emerson, Henry Adams and Gertrude Stein, one strain of American autobiography chronicles the subject trying to be a representative American,

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or, as Joseph Fichtelberg says of Franklin, to live a "corporate life"" (17; Fichtelberg 83). But these writers also willfully constructed selves, and ventriloquized others, to stand in for their own lives; they wrote of themselves in the third person, as others, and as impersonations. They began a displacement of the self, which they often treated as an object rather than the subject, of autobiographical representation. In this sense, these writers begin the corporate conflation of biography with autobiography.

10. Corporations need to maintain the fanciful premise that their spokespeople are representative surrogates, and a scandal can quickly end an endorsement deal. But such spokespeople are simply and solely actors: one can not identify their interiority with that of a corporation in the same way one can not identify an actor's life with the life of a character she portrays. To assume that a scandal in a spokesperson's life somehow reflects negatively on a corporation is to validate the fantasy of corporate personhood—it is the equivalent of blaming Jon Hamm for false advertising. Corporations benefit from such "guilt by association" because it bolsters the supposition that they can gain personhood by association. While it might gain market share, a corporation does not gain athletic prowess or credibility by paying an Olympic athlete to wear its headband, nor is it morally tarnished if that athlete uses that headband to shoot heroin. Like those of the president's press secretary, the job of such actors is categorically never to indicate what they actually think, but impersonally to promote the interests of their employers through their public personae. In this sense, in a form of ontological prostitution, spokespeople—perhaps only to a greater extent than any corporate employee—sell the semblance and use of their personhood to a thing that can never have its own.

11. Responding to a challenge to the Civil Rights Act in 1964, for example, the Court stated that "Section 201 (a) of Title II commands that all persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods and services of any place of public accommodation without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin, and § 201 (b) defines establishments as places of public accommodation if their operations affect commerce or segregation by them is supported by state action." *Katzenbach v. McClung,* 379 U.S. 294, 298 (1964). In effect, the Court had to address the district court's assertion that it was not required to protect civil rights, but to find a "demonstrable connection between food purchased in interstate commerce and sold in a restaurant and the conclusion of Congress that discrimination in the restaurant would affect that commerce." *Id.* at 297. Because of precedent, the Court decided that it could uphold the law only on the grounds that discrimination cumulatively affected interstate commerce. Even in the 1960s, the Court remained constrained by a perceived lack of congressional authority to legislate issues of civil rights as issues of rights rather than commerce.

12. In her introduction to Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* Lydia Maria Child already associated the veil with slavery, observing that "this peculiar phase of Slavery [the abuse of women] has generally been kept veiled; but the public ought to be made acquainted with its monstrous features, and I willingly take the responsibility of presenting them with the veil withdrawn" (xii).

13. As Ishmael Reed writes in his 1976 novel *Flight to Canada,* paraphrasing Frederick Douglass, "Isn't it strange? Whitman desires to fuse with nature, and here I am, involuntarily, the comrade of the inanimate, but not by choice. . . . I am property. I am a thing" (75). Reed also notes that Harriet Beecher's Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

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was originally subtitled "The Man Who Was a Thing" (93). Again, we can glimpse the process in which the properties of nature and corporations are conflated; instead of "fusing" with or transcending the limited individual self in nature, one can "transcend" the limited individual self by becoming a corporate person. Pivoting around the Fourteenth Amendment, the law treated slaves as things, or degraded imitations of life, but now treats corporations, which are things, as enhanced imitations of life.

14. Regarding the ways corporations developed management techniques derived from the operations of slave plantations, see the work of Caitlin Rosenthal, who argues, for example, that "the power of masters over their slaves gave them power as managers. Plantations became laboratories for agricultural experimentation, and planters and overseers measured and monitored human capital with great precision. Through accounting, human figures became figures on paper, appearing as interchangeable inputs of production" (735).

15. In certain parts of the U.S., with regard to certain kinds of goods, corporations have become effective monopolies—the corporate product is the only available option, and even many government services, from food stamps to a Medicare appeal, can be obtained only through a corporate outsource. In that sense, our money has increasingly become a figurative form of corporate scrip, something that we can use primarily in corporate contexts.

16. Such practices go back father than one might think. Peter Zheutlin recently commented in a letter to *The New Yorker* that in 1894 his great-grandaunt, Annie Kopochovsky, who was a professional cyclist, "traveled under the name Annie Londonderry" when she was being sponsored by the makers of that spring-water (5).

17. As Michael D. Kennedy demonstrates in his essay in this volume, "Rewriting the Death and Afterlife of a Corporation: Bethlehem Steel," corporations historically can die, sometimes slowly and then all at once, but they are legally and conceptually founded to be immortal.

18. Because the corporation was created as an artificial person under the law, many popular cultural referents to artificial life in various forms contain some corporate residue. It is of course part of corporate symbolism that a corporation now uses the aptly named Agent Smith, the villain from *The Matrix,* who is also a corporate proxy, to advertise health care (of all things). This move is akin to members of the final version of the band Starship complaining, in a song none of its members wrote, that corporations are always changing their names.

19. Though outside the scope of this article, in the zero-sum game of personhood, I argue that some widely-proliferating contemporary configurations of the undead and zombies are cathected to the undying aspects and disenfranchisements of corporate personhood. Like corporations, zombies are, for example, depersonalized, immortal, and collectivized; have a relentless drive to accrete; and cannot reproduce, but replace the family ("Inverted"). In a recent radio ad, for example, an announcer proclaims "AAA lives to help": figures such as Colonel Sanders and Orville Raedenbacher achieve a corporate immortality in personifying undead animation.

20. See "The Pan-American Zone: Imperialism in Transcendental American Geographies," an online chapter to be read between chapters three and four of *Not Altogether Human.*

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21. In his dissent, Justice Douglas proposes that "Those who have that intimate relation wi the inanimate object about to be injured, polluted, or otherwise despoiled are its legi mate spokesmen." *Sierra Club v. Morton,* 405 U.S. at 745. Justice Douglas's approac however, relies on a form of commodity fetishism, as he justifies attributing human pe sonality not only to aspects of nature, but to things such as ships. *See, e.g., id.* at 753, n It makes eminent sense, as Justice Douglas argues, that "Permitting a court to appoin representative of an inanimate object would not be significantly different from customa judicial appointments of guardians *ad litem,* executors, conservators, receivers, or coun for indigents." *Id.* Justice Douglas does not seem to want to confer the same "high artificial" status on inanimate objects that corporations achieve, but rather to allow su rogates to speak for them. *Id.* Expanding standing rights to the natural world through th mechanism could have significant environmental benefits, but might not provide a ba for remediating the effects of corporate personhood. Indigenous peoples outside the U have tried to have personhood granted to aspects of the natural world in order to ga then legal protections, but it is unclear how effective that strategy will prove.

22. See also Sprague and Wells regarding attempts to regulate corporate campaign expe ditures. As many critics have noted, Edward Thurlow, Lord Chancellor of Engla and member of parliament at the end of the eighteenth century, also asserted that t corporation "has no soul to be damned and no body to be kicked."

23. *See generally, e.g., Cent. Hudson Gas & Elec. Corp. v. Pub. Serv. Comm'n,* 447 U.S. 55 558–559 (1980) (holding that regulations of commercial speech serving a substanti government interest, and not more extensive or burdensome than necessary, are cons tutional); *see also Fla. Bar v. Went For It, Inc.*, 515 U.S. 618, 628 (1995) (holding th such restrictions can be justified "based solely on history, consensus, and 'simple co mon sense'").

24. In fact, the Court didn't decide the validity of the personhood concept at that poi instead, forming another perfectly closed loop, it later incrementally adopted and e panded the general principle and legitimized it retrospectively, which was a bit li validating the results of a discredited election.

25. Courts, however, attempt to parse the content of corporate speech, rather than fi evaluating the nature of the speaker. The California Supreme Court, for example, h noted that the Court explained "in Riley [that] "the commercial speech (if it was th [at issue] was 'inextricably intertwined' [only] because the state law required it to be i cluded" and that commercial and noncommercial messages are not "inextricable" unl there is some legal or practical compulsion to combine them. (citation omitted.) No l required [a business] to combine factual representations about its own labor practi with expressions of opinion about economic globalization, nor was it impossible . . . address those subjects separately." *Kasky v. Nike, Inc.*, 27 Cal. 4th 939, 967 (2002). I stead of focusing on how the source affects speech, in the context of corporations cou often misguidedly evaluate speech without context.

26. As Justice Stevens, with whom Justices Ginsburg, Breyer, and Sotomayor joined, co curred in part and dissented in part in *Citizens United,* "The legal structure of corpor tions allows them to amass and deploy financial resources on a scale few natural perso can match. [It also] draws a line between the corporation's economic interests and t political preferences of the individuals associated with the corporation; the corporati

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must engage the electoral process . . . "to enhance the profitability of the company, no matter how persuasive the arguments"" for other priorities. 130 S. Ct. at 974. Even in that limited regard, the corporation's speech would be commercial.

27. Sullivan provides a useful précis of the "haphazard" theories courts use to justify corporate personhood:

> American courts—particularly the United States Supreme Court—have employed various theories to conceptualize corporate personhood. In some cases, courts have emphasized the artificiality of corporations, holding that rights that inhere in humans as humans may not be extended to nonhuman entities. . . . Alternatively, courts have emphasized the human individuals that [*sic*] constitute the corporation, deploying the corporate personhood metaphor as a means of protecting those individuals' rights. . . . A third approach conceives of the corporation as an autonomous entity, with an existence prior to—or at least separate from—its creation . . . . This theory provides the most robust version of corporate personhood, and courts invoke it when attempting to extend to corporations the full panoply of legal rights.

114 HARV. L. REV. at 1752-54 (citations omitted). By contrast, Allman notes that a ""natural person theory" or "natural entity theory,"" which I argue literalizes and reifies a fiction, "proposes that the existence of a corporation is no different than that of a natural-born person. Under a natural person theory, a corporation "is a full-fledged, living reality that exists as an objective fact and has a real personality in society." 38 FLA. ST. U.L. REV at 395 (citation omitted).

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IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO: ROBERT HART, THE CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS SERVICE, AND ITS (SELF-)REPRESENTATIONS

HENK VYNCKIER AND CHIHYUN CHANG

INTRODUCTION: THE CHINESE MARITIME CUSTOMS SERVICE

Historians of China/East Asia agree that the Chinese Maritime Customs Service (CMCS) is a key topic for the study of Sino-Western relations during the age of empire from 1850 to 1950.[1] Yet, when the CMCS was first created in 1854, few could have predicted that it would survive for almost a century, as it was not born at a particularly auspicious time, coming into existence during the aftermath of the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, when five ports in China were opened to foreign trade. China, it seemed, was being imposed on once again by the foreign powers, and the literati in the capital, Peking, disliked having to work with this institution and the foreign employees who entered its service. To make matters worse, the first Inspector General (IG), Horatio Nelson Lay, continually rubbed his Chinese superiors the wrong way and was replaced in 1863 by his young deputy, Robert Hart. In spite of these troubled beginnings, however, the CMCS flourished under the leadership of IG Hart, and soon became the main financial support of the late Qing Dynasty government. Functioning as an intermediary between the Chinese government and the many foreign businessmen who sought access to Chinese markets, the CMCS grew into a powerful quasi-corporate institution at the heart of the Chinese empire and was referred to by some of its foreign employees as the "*imperium in imperio*"—the empire within the empire—a new application of an old phrase with deep roots in European history.[2]

The close relations between Hart and the central government authorities became evident when the headquarters of the CMCS, the Inspectorate

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General of Customs, which was initially located in Shanghai, China's most important harbor but also the site of the growing and dynamic International Settlement, was moved to the capital, Peking. From that time onward, the CMCS solidified its position, and IG Hart and his colleagues became responsible for more than fifty customs stations in the Chinese mainland, three stations in Korea and—until the Japanese takeover of Taiwan in 1895—two stations in Taiwan. The CMCS, moreover, employed staff members representing more than twenty nationalities and generally hailing from the nations that had signed treaties and conventions with the Chinese. Half of these foreign employees were British, but there were also Americans, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Austrians, Japanese, and still others. Not only did these multinational CMCS employees live in treaty ports or inland stations as far away as Tibet, they also relied on the Chinese staff members to provide them with local knowledge and serve as a bridge to the Chinese government and the gentry class. Considering the unique position of these foreign employees, who belonged in some way to China and yet were from elsewhere, the CMCS constitutes a remarkable microcosm of the late imperial East-West encounter.

During Hart's long tenure as IG (1863–1911), the CMCS quickly outgrew its original brief, which was to function as a tax collection agency, and took on a much wider range of tasks on behalf of the Chinese government, including diplomacy, finance, statecraft, infrastructure building, modernizing the military, policing the waterways and harbors, map making, weather reporting, developing a postal system, organizing international trade exhibitions, reforming education, and other types of knowledge building (Chang 1–2). Key to this ever-expanding mandate was the CMCS's ability to promote China's external trade and generate significant profits. From this mission, it derived the prestige and power to influence government policy, develop regulatory powers and enforcement mechanisms, and generally intervene in any public dossier that it perceived to be of interest to its own position and that of the Chinese state. Though initially conceived as a rather makeshift enterprise to which the Chinese government temporarily outsourced its customs operations, the foreign-led CMCS lasted, and only reluctantly gave way to a fully Chinese customs service in the mid-twentieth century. As such, the CMCS functioned very much as a monopolistic corporation that, while having been contracted for one specific task, worked assiduously to expand its reach and penetrate key sectors of government and society. Many interests were at stake, including those of the foreign powers and the treaty port regime they had imposed, and those of the foreign employees who entered the Customs Service. As for the imperial government in Peking, though it appreciated the significant sums contributed to its coffers

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by the CMCS, a considerable portion of the Customs' income was in fact not available to the Chinese for the purpose of national development, but rather was paid out to the allied Western nations as indemnities and foreign debts owed under the unequal treaties.

To many foreign residents of China and knowledgeable observers in Britain, Hart's distinguished career and the success of the institution which he led was an extraordinary story, but this was also a story that Hart and the CMCS cultivated by means of successful publishing projects and public relations work. The reality on the ground was not as straightforward, and the CMCS, which had been born in the 1850s amidst the chaos of the Taiping Rebellion, regularly saw its work disrupted by wars, uprisings and the frequent misunderstandings and violence which bedeviled contact between the Chinese and Westerners. Hart, who possessed a keen appreciation for literary culture and kept a diary from his first days in China till shortly before he returned to Britain in 1908, worked assiduously to project a positive image of the CMCS's civilizing mission and recruited like-minded men of letters for employment in the CMCS to help him in this effort. In addition to carrying out their official responsibilities, many English, American, French, German, and other employees developed significant expertise in a variety of literary, historical, scientific, and economic fields, and wrote essays, memoirs, and historical studies about Hart, the CMCS, and China. Some of these writings were published by a press established by the Service itself, and others by various missionary, commercial, or academic publishers in China and Europe; over time, an impressive body of writings in English and other European languages accumulated around the CMCS.

In highlighting the literary heritage of the CMCS, this study sheds light on the role played by life writing and historiography in empire building projects, and contributes a comparative and cross-cultural case study of a quasi-corporate institution that spans the nineteenth into the twentieth century. We map the important life writing and historical archive surrounding the figure of Hart; call attention to the formation of a hybrid corporate structure that was acceptable to the Chinese while manifestly also serving Western interests; and provide an analysis that complicates the relationship between the corporate form and the state. In spite of the CMCS claim to have been a neutral force for progress working on behalf of China, much of the CMCS life writing legacy constitutes a twilight production conjured into being to contend that, notwithstanding opium wars and brutal power plays, a happy coexistence between China and the West was being engineered in and around the open ports and rivers of the Middle Kingdom. We argue, in effect, that the CMCS archive aimed to legitimize its far-reaching activities in the daily life and economy of China.

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"OUR HART"

Though he was not involved in its founding, Sir Robert Hart (1835–1911), the second IG of the CMCS, was its real architect and the most significant figure in its one hundred year history. Hart was born in County Armagh, Ulster, the eldest of ten children and educated at Methodist schools. Admitted to Queens University Belfast (QUB) at the age of fifteen, he excelled in his studies, and was recommended for a post in the British Consular Service by the QUB Chancellor. When he arrived in China in 1854 at the age of nineteen, he initially served as a student interpreter, the most junior position in the Consular Service, and was sent to Ningpo, a commercial town in Chekiang Province with a small foreign community of not more than twenty-five consular officials, merchants, and missionaries. When he returned to Europe fifty-four years later at the age of seventy-three, he was the IG of the CMCS, a position in which he became, in the words of historian Jonathan Spence, "the most powerful Westerner in China" (93), and was seen off at the train station in Peking by Chinese government officials, diplomatic representatives from many nations, and Chinese, British, American, Italian, Dutch, and Japanese honor guards.

Hart served forty-eight years as IG, an extraordinarily long time, in a career without precedent. Though not Chinese, he managed one of the most important revenue streams accessible to the Chinese government, and his superior Prince Kung (1833–1898) and other high officials in the *Tsungli Yamen* (the predecessor of the current Ministry of Foreign Affairs) fondly called him "our Hart" and consulted with him on a wide range of issues. Remaining true to his Irish Methodist roots, Hart was a sober and reserved man, who liked to read, play the violin, and go for solitary walks. But he was also highly decorated by governments around the globe, becoming the object of a cult of sorts as relatives, former colleagues, and newspaper reporters wrote books and articles about him both during his career in China and following his death.

Hart kept a diary from his first days in China till shortly before he returned to Britain in 1908, and this valuable seventy-seven volume life writing archive, as well as many letters and other documents, have been preserved at his alma mater QUB. Notwithstanding this abundance of information, no complete modern biography of Hart's life exists, in part due to his efforts to keep historians and biographers at bay, and in part due to the immensity of the challenge involved in writing about such a career located between two civilizations. As Richard O'Leary has argued in a study of Hart's Irish roots, his Ulster Irish background in all likelihood prepared him well for his service as the main intermediary between the Chinese government and the Western powers, enabling him to have multiple identities, as an Irishman, Briton, and

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cosmopolitan European at the service of China: "because Hart by place of birth, social class and religion was not from the heart of the English establishment, he may have been more used to defending British administration because of what he believed were its benefits rather than arrogantly asserting Britain's right to rule. This seemed to allow Hart to be both pro-British while also retaining a critical perspective" (10).

Soon following his appointment as IG, Hart put in place two fundamental principles that would become his main administrative legacy: the neutrality of the CMCS and its subordination to the Chinese government. Neutrality meant that the CMCS treated all business dealings that fell under its jurisdiction in the same manner, and did not favor trade with one foreign nation over another. Subordination to the Chinese government required the CMCS to serve its host country loyally and not further British imperial policy or other Western political agendas. Immediately after being appointed as IG, Hart issued a twelve-page circular to remind his foreign Commissioners that "the Inspectorate of Customs is a Chinese and not a Foreign Service, and . . . as such, it is the duty of each of its members to conduct himself towards Chinese, people as well as officials, in such a way to avoid all cause of offence and ill-feeling. . . ." (Wright, *Robert Hart* 261). Both principles were essential given that a little over half of the foreign Customs staff were British (around 5,400) and might be inclined to give preferential treatment to their countrymen or to promote the interests of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

Whatever the intent of Hart's circular, the identity of the CMCS as a "Chinese" service would eventually become very controversial as both Western and Chinese scholars have argued that the CMCS served as a tool of Western imperialism. In her study of the CMCS, *Britain's Imperial Cornerstone: The Chinese Maritime Customs Service, 1854–1949,* Donna Brunero suggests that, while China was never a jewel in the British crown, it was still subject to British imperial initiatives through the intermediary agency of institutions such as the CMCS. As for the Chinese position regarding this question, the fact that the important CMCS archive at the Second Historical Archives in Nanking has been closed since 2008—thus making vital CMCS records inaccessible to both Chinese and Western scholars alike—is indicative of the official sensitivities. As the Vice Director of the General Office of the Archives stated in a presentation during a conference on "Foreign Officers of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service and Sino-Foreign Relations, 1854–1949," held at Sun Yat Sen University in Guangzhou on November 9, 2013, the records shed light on China's relations with foreign powers, questions of religion, and other matters that may affect social order, and thus will remain closed while they are being studied and digitized by Archive staff.

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Another important administrative legacy of Hart and his transnational Customs Service, which was reflected in the CMCS literary production, was that it insinuated itself deeply into many vital sectors of Chinese government and society and developed a much more robust public profile than could have been anticipated at its founding. Interesting connections exist in this respect with the manner in which corporations were profiling themselves in nineteenth-century America, claiming corporate personhood and the attendant legal rights and privileges under the US Constitution. To be sure, when Hart first took over the leadership of the CMCS from H. N. Lay in 1863, the notion of corporate personhood had not yet been established in the United States. The latter was only done, and rather controversially so, in an 1886 Supreme Court decision that held that corporations, like citizens, possess equal protection rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. By the time this decision was made, Hart was in mid-career and had already put in place many of his characteristic policies and administrative practices. Yet, some ideas about the way in which corporations functioned and existed as legal entities in the United States may have begun to filter through to China and influence the CMCS, though we should note that Hart himself does not explicitly reference US models of corporate personhood in his writing.

US debates about the legal standing of corporations in relation to personhood might have reached Hart through his American acquaintances. During his years in Peking, Hart worked closely with a number of Americans who held important positions in the diplomatic corps and missionary community, including the American minister to China Anson Burlingame (1820–1870) and the missionary W. A. P. Martin (1827–1916). There were also Americans in the CMCS, such as Hosea Ballou Morse and Edward B. Drew, both of whom were Harvard educated and served in the key position of Statistical Secretary in Shanghai. The most senior and powerful among the Americans Hart worked with was Burlingame, a lawyer who had served as a legislator before being appointed minister to China by Abraham Lincoln in 1861. He was generally considered a policy dove who, like Hart, strove for peaceful relations between China and the foreign powers. In 1867 Burlingame left the American diplomatic service to become the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of a Chinese mission to the US and Europe. Treaties favorable to China were signed in the US and several European countries during the course of the mission, but Burlingame died in St. Petersburg in 1870.

Hart and many other foreigners felt that efforts to educate the Chinese regarding Western principles of jurisprudence, international law, and political economy would enable all parties to find common ground for diplomatic

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and commercial interactions, and at one point he planned to translate into Chinese some works in the field of political economy. He never carried out his intention, but his American friend Martin pursued an ambitious translation program of key Western legal, economic, scientific, and educational materials as an aid to the modernization and possibly also Christianization of China. Like Hart, Martin had been a former consular service interpreter, and they had first met in Ningpo in Chekiang Province when Hart was still a student interpreter. One possible tool for achieving the educational program championed by Hart and Martin were the *Tongwenguan* (同文舘), new government schools for teaching Western languages, first established in Peking in 1862, and later also in Canton. Hart played an important role in the founding of these *Tongwenguan,* and would continue to be involved in their management and the recruitment of their teaching staff. Appointed as the third President of the Tongwenguan in Peking, a position he would hold for decades, Martin implemented the sort of translation and educational reform programs that Hart championed.[3] The missionary's personal achievements as translator, educator, Sinologist, and life writer were considerable. Over a career spanning half a century, he translated a number of important legal treatises and handbooks, such as Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* (1864), Theodore D. Woolsey's *Introduction to the Study of International Law* (1875), and W. E. Hall's *Treatise on International Law* (1903). All this work in translating classics of Western jurisprudence does not mean, though, that Hart and his inner circle had a clear understanding of notions of corporate personhood, nor were these notions even fully formed in the US at that time. Hart did, nevertheless, represent a very different tradition of administration, commercial enterprise, and legal personhood from the Chinese, and made efforts to promote that tradition in China.

THE CMCS LITERARY HERITAGE

Another remarkable aspect of the CMCS is that many of its foreign employees valued literary culture and had the intellectual drive and know-how to help shape the Service's public image and influence contemporary debates on China's foreign trade, diplomacy, and contributions to world history. They were, in the words of Customs Commissioner Paul King, "men who loved books" and who became accomplished novelists, life writers, linguists, statisticians, historians, Sinologists, China watchers, naturalists, bibliophiles, art collectors, translators, photographers, etc. (*In the Chinese Customs* 19). The key man in the development of a literary culture was once again IG Hart. By recruiting competent men, including university graduates, from Britain, North America, and continental Europe, and placing them in the Service

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in important professional capacities in key locations throughout East Asia, Hart set in motion a process that was bound to result sooner or later in a flood of writings. As Statistical Secretary Edward B. Drew commented in the first academic article published on Hart, "he encouraged such of his subordinates as might choose to write monographs on China, to do so," and no matter the subject, as long as the works were "meritorious," he would publish them "as a credit to their authors and a distinction to the service" (17–18). Within decades of its creation, the CMCS became an informal research and publishing powerhouse with an output similar to that of a major modern academic institution. Like a modern university or research institute, the Customs moreover had its own channels for publishing the scholarship it generated, through a printing division established, with strong support from Hart, by the Statistical Department (before 1873 it was the Printing Office and the Returns Department) of the Inspectorate General in Shanghai in 1859.

The bibliographies of Inspectorate publications compiled by the Chinese Maritime Customs Project of the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Bristol indicate the range of writing published under the auspices of the CMCS. While administrative and technical documents such as regulations, memoranda, instructions, notifications, proposals, trade reports, circulars, handbooks for shipmasters, and similar publications predominate, a surprising number of historical, cultural, and literary writings, including studies of place names in China, Chinese currency and banking, etiquette in Chinese official intercourse, silk manufacture, handbooks of documentary Chinese, and Chinese literature were also published (see "Bibliographies"). Many of these titles were not of immediate practical use to the CMCS staff, but rather reflected the larger public agendas of Hart and his successors, who strove to publicize the work of the Maritime Customs for an international public and to serve as a conduit for the dissemination of information about the Chinese cultural heritage. In addition to the official Inspectorate press in Shanghai, many CMCS employees also made use of other publication avenues, including commercial publishers in Shanghai and the West, and missionary societies and academic presses, publishing a diverse body of texts both during their years in the Service and following their retirement.

The subject is worthy of a major monograph, but some examples can be offered to indicate the range of writings of which the CMCS network was capable. An early Inspectorate publication such as *Chinese Music* (1884) by the Belgian Customs Commissioner J. A. Van Aalst bears no direct relationship to any aspects of the CMCS's official duties, but illuminates a subject that had been little studied in Western scholarship and brings to mind the musical

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interests of Van Aalst's superior, Hart, who organized a CMCS brass band in Peking with Chinese musicians and a Portuguese bandmaster. The Frenchman A. Théophile Piry (1851–1918) served in the Customs from 1874 to 1911, rising to the position of Commissioner of Customs and later becoming the first Postmaster General of the Imperial Postal Service when the latter was spun off from the CMCS and became an independent agency. As with many others in the higher ranks of the Customs, Piry also pursued an active literary and cultural agenda, becoming a translator, textbook writer, and photographer. In 1879, through the Inspectorate he published a French translation of a Chinese literary classic, *The Sacred Edict* (*Sheng Yu Kuang Hsun*; 聖諭廣訓), which he dedicated to Robert Hart. The following year he turned to fiction and translated the seventeenth-century Chinese novel *Erh-Tou-Mei, or the Marvelous Plum Trees* (*Erh-Tou-Mei, ou, Les Pruniers Merveilleux: Roman Chinois*), and in 1895 he prepared a French language *Manual of the Mandarin Language* (*Manuel de la Langue Mandarine*) for the Inspectorate.

As for Paul King, in spite of his bitterness about what he believed to be the ill treatment he received at the hands of the IG, he was fond of the institution he worked for, and published a novel directly related to his own career in China, *The Commissioner's Dilemma: An International Tale of the China of Yesterday* (1929), which he describes in a Foreword as "an attempt to depict in fancy something of the Old China that many of us love so well," and to illustrate "the daily round and common task of Consuls, Commissioners of Customs, and foreign merchants of divers nationalities" (7). Examples such as these indicate that as an organization the CMCS packed quite an intellectual punch and had all the necessary tools to communicate its agenda, defend its interests, and shape its own image and that of its Chinese employer, either through officially sanctioned Service publications or the work of individual employees who published during the course of their careers or following their retirement. Not only were these employees professionally committed to the CMCS, they also were intellectually engaged, and helped to keep the CMCS and China in the news.

HART'S DIARY AND HIS SELF-REPRESENTATIONS

One man who showed considerable enthusiasm for writing about China was Robert Hart himself, and nowhere more so than in the pages of his diary, which he began in 1854 as soon as he arrived in Hong Kong. It traveled with him along the various stages of his career, from Hong Kong to Ningpo, then on to Canton, Shanghai, and Peking, and finally to England. Hart wrote his diary for fifty-four years, from 1854 to 1908, which ranks him with some of the most productive life writers in English literary history, such as

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John Evelyn, the genre champion, who began his diary in 1641 when he was twenty-one and continued it for sixty-four years until shortly before his death in 1706. Life writers such as Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, James Boswell, and Virginia Woolf have long occupied a special position in English literary history, helping to shape and sometimes question traditional notions of Englishness, domesticity, and selfhood. In Hart's case, his diary, while reflecting the Chinese cultural context in which it was composed, similarly helped to anchor his Ulster/Irish/British identity and offered a space for self-fashioning, narrating lives, bearing witness, negotiating meaning, and interpreting China.

A dramatic moment in its transmission history took place in 1900, when Hart's house was incinerated during the Boxer Uprising and the diary was only saved in the nick of time by an employee who carried it from the burning house. From that moment on, the diary had been outed, as it were, and even Hart critic Paul King, while mocking the IG's Irish-accented references to his "dere Diry," understood its importance to knowing "the real Robert Hart" (*In the Chinese Customs* 343).[4]

What is at stake here, though, is not so much the diary itself—even though it has, indeed, proven to be a valuable source regarding the nineteenth century Sino-Western encounter, especially since becoming more accessible in recent years—but rather the manner in which Hart represented himself in various *fin de carrière* communications whenever he commented on his diary and its future uses. In a 6 April 1902 letter to his London Secretary and old confidant James Duncan Campbell, Hart reported that, now being seventy, his health was declining and the question of what might happen to the diary following his death troubled him. There had been press coverage in 1900 regarding the burning of his house and the rescue of the diary, and the IG contemplated the possibility that this "'precious' thing," as the newspapers had called it, would end up in the hands of strangers. In talking to Campbell, therefore, he wondered if it would not have been better if it had been swallowed by the flames after all:

> The only thing that gives me any worry—unfinished work and family griefs apart—is the existence of so many volumes of my Journal: I now wish it had gone to the flames with my other belongings, for, first of all, it may get into the wrong hands and possibly its pages contain some things that would be better let fall into oblivion, and, in the second place, after the way the newspapers etc. have referred to the 'precious' thing, I fear that not only would examination find it worthless, but indiscreet people might make a wrong use of what they could understand of its content, while even the discreet would fail to fully comprehend its brief references to various affairs, or, worse, would fail to make out or even misread my hastily written hieroglyphics. (Fairbank et al., 2: Letter 1236)

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Hart, who was educated in the classics at QUB and still read Virgil and Horace every day with his morning tea in Peking, could knock off periodic sentences with the best of them. Yet, though the above declaration marches on in periodic splendor and constructs a comprehensive and seemingly irrefutable argument as to why the diary should always remain private, one cannot escape the impression that the verbal accumulation is intended to obfuscate the main point, which is that "possibly its pages contain some things that would be better let fall into oblivion." Hart was obfuscating, and knew very well that the diary did, indeed, contain such things. In fact, some time before his death he destroyed two volumes himself, the ones covering the period from 1859 to mid-1863, almost certainly to remove evidence of his relationship with a Chinese concubine with whom he had three children. As the editors of diary volumes one to eight comment, "the great I. G. evidently did not want to embarrass his family with the record of a liaison that had preceded his marriage of 1866, some forty years before" (Bruner, Fairbank, and Smith 230). In his letter, Hart further instructs Campbell that in case of his death he would want his diary to be given to his son Bruce to be kept "as a family curio—and not to be either published or lent to writers of any kind: note this, please—'R.I.P.!'" Yet, as Hart probably understood, not all family curios are allowed to rest in peace; depending on their antiquity, rarity, and value, they may become highly prized and be collected by either private collectors or public institutions. The diary had already been called "precious" in the newspapers, and soon his own former Statistical Secretary H. B. Morse, who was developing into a formidable historian during his retirement, would ask to see the diary in the context of an important research project.

As evidenced in Drew's comments quoted earlier, Hart often acted as a commissioning editor for the Inspectorate Press, and his contacts with Morse, too, demonstrate his understanding of writing projects. Morse was a Harvard graduate who began his career in the Customs Station at Tamsui in Taiwan and later distinguished himself as Statistical Secretary in Shanghai. Following his retirement, he settled in England and devoted himself to historical studies, publishing important monographs on China and the British East India Company. His masterpiece was *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (1910–1918), a monumental three-volume study in which he discusses Hart as a "central figure" and the "connecting thread" between China and the international powers of the day. Before he started this work, Morse wrote Hart to ask for "his approval and support," and in the words of Morse, Hart "expressed his approval of the idea, but in characteristically modest terms" (2: vi–vii). More importantly, in his letter to Morse, Hart also assessed his own historical role, in a thoughtful and serious passage:

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> I know that I have been in touch with the launching and introduction of almost everything done the last four dozen years, and the long retention of the same man, myself, in the same position, Inspector General, has not only made for continuity, but has also given me a sort of causative appearance, while, as a matter of fact, I have been for the most part but a 'fly on the wheel' of evolution. Therefore it would be unwise to make too much of me, while, at the same time, my name and career might perhaps be as appropriate centre as you could find for logical, chronological, and artistic grouping of China's doings and movements during the last half century of her national life, and advance from seclusion and exclusion towards what later historians will recognise both as world power and world influence.

As in his communication with Campbell, Hart underplays his own role in China's rise to "world power" status, and characteristically does so with the help of an erudite image derived from the English statesman Francis Bacon. The first line of the latter's essay "Of Vain-glory" reads: "It was prettily devised of Aesop: The fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot-wheel, and said, What a dust do I raise!" (54). To be sure, much dust had been raised in China following decades of struggles with the so-called treaty powers, the Taiping Rebels, various tribal minorities, the newly confident Japanese Empire, the Boxers, republican revolutionaries, and others, but Hart questions his own causative influence and reduces his role to that of a modest fly that was swept up in the evolutionary process and bore little responsibility for all that had happened.

Further in the same letter, Hart also addresses his vulnerable spot, the famous seventy-seven volume diary, which Morse wanted to use in his research, and once again Hart's strategy is to suggest that the journals have no special value and are not worth the trouble of perusing. As in the letter to Campbell, he also comments that his entries are difficult to read and that there are matters which he wished to keep private and strike out:

> As to my journals, it is curious that they, being things which I wished to be burnt on my death, should have been preserved in the 1900 troubles when all else was lost: but that escape does not give them any special value, and I fear they would be not only difficult to read, but would also hardly repay the trouble of plodding through them: I think I am at the 70th volume now, & for even myself to read them again & strike out what is not to be used would probably require five or six years and there is not the slightest chance of my living so long. (Bruner, Fairbank, and Smith 150)

The use of the past tense in the phrase "things which I wished to be burnt on my death" suggests that since his return from China he no longer desired to see the diary go up in flames, and the seventy-seven volumes were, indeed,

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among the literary effects inherited by his widow and son. In an amusing paradox of history, therefore, the fact that the diary had survived the flames of Peking and been brought all the way to England made it difficult for Hart to destroy it himself in a domestic bonfire of the vanities. As for Morse, Hart's family saw to it that he had to make do without the diary, and so Morse completed his research without this precious resource.[5]

THE CMCS IN-HOUSE HISTORIANS

Hart left China in 1908 at the age of seventy-three, but even in retirement his situation revealed how complicated the marriage between Western and Chinese leadership roles and operational practices could be. He had been willing to resign for years and was finally back in England, but during this time of transition he still had to accept certain Chinese cultural protocols that governed the manner of his retirement. To honor Hart's contributions and safeguard its own prerogatives, the Qing court insisted that Hart was still the IG and only appointed an Acting IG, but without an actual IG in China to take charge and set a new direction, the CMCS became chaotic. The Qing court and most of the CMCS employees cherished the memory of the "autocrat," as Morse called him, and CMCS "in-house" historians and others connected to the CMCS network began to produce life writing texts and academic studies about Hart's life and career in China. In the opinion of historian Robert Bickers, these efforts indicate a project to "memorialise Hart" by members of the Service which he had shaped; Hart's nephew and successor Frederick Maze (1871–1959) especially devoted himself to this effort ("Purloined" 13).

The first book on Hart was *Sir Robert Hart: The Romance of a Great Career* by his niece Juliet Bredon, published in 1909 just one year after his return to Europe. Juliet Bredon was the right person to write this first book. She was the daughter of Hart's brother-in-law Robert Bredon, who temporarily succeeded him as Acting IG; she witnessed Hart's last years as IG; and she would go on to have a credible career as an author, publishing books about the chief places of interest in Peking, Chinese New Year festivals, and the novel *Hundred Altars*. In her book, which offers some interesting anecdotes regarding Hart's childhood in Ireland and long residence in China, Bredon lionizes him as a great Victorian, and highlights his work, ambition, and devotion to duty. Though not an autobiography, Bredon's narrative reflects the agenda of much Victorian autobiographical writing, which, as Linda Peterson observes, aimed to "find public uses for private experience" (xiv). In view of Bredon's kinship with the protagonist and adherence to contemporary literary and moral conventions, however, her work also borders on hagiography,

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and reflects the monument building that was beginning to emerge around the person of the IG. Hart aficionados owe to Bredon a famous verse that Hart wrote on his desk in the CMCS headquarters and "laughingly" called the"secret" of his success (119). First come two dates "1854–1908"—the years of his residence in China—and then the lines:

> If thou hast yesterday thy duty done.
> And thereby cleared firm footing for today,
> Whatever clouds may dark tomorrow's sun,
> Thou shalt not miss thy solitary way! (119)

Though not identified as such by Bredon, perhaps because she was not able to place the quotation, the verse comes from Goethe, and it seems noteworthy that Hart would choose as his personal motto a verse from this celebrated polymath and hero of nineteenth century culture.

Edward B. Drew (1843–1924), Hart's Statistical Secretary, was the next CMCS insider to quote this verse, when he published the first academic article written about Hart after the IG's death. Drew begins his fairly comprehensive article on Hart with a recent citation by another American academic that Hart was "the most remarkable and creditable of any European, perhaps, in Asia during the [nineteenth] century," a phrase that anticipates Jonathan Spence's later description of Hart as "the most powerful European in China" (1). Drew then examines Hart's career as "the builder and director of one of the most efficient administrative organisms, and perhaps altogether the most unique and peculiar—known to history." In offering this thesis, Drew reveals his understanding of the special character of the Service, which as a foreign-led branch of the Chinese government was indeed "unique and peculiar" (3). The year 1911 of course not only marked the death of Robert Hart, but also the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and the foundation of the Republic of China under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen and the Chinese nationalists. At this point, the debate regarding the shortage of Chinese in higher levels of the CMCS, which had begun several years earlier, was intensified, and Drew's use of the adjective "peculiar" in addition to "unique" to qualify the Service may indicate an acknowledgement of this more critical perspective, which questioned the foreign stewardship of the CMCS. Towards the end of his article Drew responds to the "resentment" (32) of some of the new rulers that Hart did not train Chinese for leadership in the Service: "Chinese official ideals of integrity must first be raised, as they will be; and when that time comes, the customs service will require no foreign stiffening" (33). This discussion regarding the foreign domination of the CMCS management would continue for several more

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decades, but in the long run was inevitably decided in favor of the Chinese, as the treaty port regime crumbled under the double impact of WW II and the Chinese Civil War.

More than a decade following the work of Bredon and Drew, other CMCS insiders would continue to be thwarted by lack of access to the Hart diary. In March 1923, his successors Sir Francis Aglen (1869–1932, 3rd IG 1911–1927) and Hart's nephew Sir Frederick Maze (1871–1959, 4th IG 1929–1941/1943) discussed writing a biography of Hart. Morse and Drew, the two Statistical Secretaries who had written about him, were still alive and could also contribute. Letters between Aglen and Hart's former personal secretary J. O. P. Bland discuss their plans to work together on a biography, and note the importance of the diaries for any such endeavor.[6] However, without those vital primary materials, the enterprise was a troubled one and soon fizzled out. Someone, though, must have made a start, as the Maze papers include an anonymous fifteen-page draft entitled "The Early Career of Robert Hart" (26).

Hart's successors, however, still managed to finish a book that would come close to a biography. Maze was appointed IG in 1929 and reestablished the Customs Reference Library in 1931, as the one established by Hart had been burnt down by the Boxers in 1900. Under Maze's orders, moreover, a number of major historical works regarding important aspects of the CMCS were completed, studies which would prove helpful to anyone wanting to reconstruct the history of the Service.[7] The rebirth of the Customs Reference Library also made it possible for Customs Commissioner and in-house historian Stanley Wright to research a comprehensive collection of records relating to Hart, thus laying the foundation for a biography of the IG. Yet Wright maintained that his monumental *Robert Hart and the Chinese Customs,* published for QUB in 1950, was not "an attempt to present a biography in the usual sense of the term seeing that Hart's private and family affairs have been but lightly touched upon" (xiii). Decades after Hart's death his diary, indeed, still remained off limits, as his descendants zealously guarded it.

In spite of this busy memorializing by Aglen, Maze, Wright, and other CMCS insiders, the China of the twenties and thirties increasingly turned against the foreign-directed CMCS, and by 1949 L. K. Little, the last foreign IG, was removed from his position by the nationalist government in Taipei. The CMCS esprit de corps was such, though, that as late as 1977—twenty-seven years following the abolition of the CMCS—Foster Hall, the long retired last Non-Resident Secretary of the London Office, still made the following comment on the legendary IG Hart, whom he had never met:

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> He had given his life to China, and with unswerving singleness of purpose had devoted all his great gifts to her service. He had watched the country of his adoption emerge from her ancient state of seclusion into the modern age of untrammelled intercourse with all the nations of the earth, and at every stage of this painful progress he had always been ready to render the aid of sound guidance. He was a staunch upholder of the desirability of a united China, and as the trusted head of the Customs Service he had the satisfaction of seeing that Service, as its activities spread through the Empire, recognised not only as the sign and symbol of the Central Government's authority but also as, in a very real sense, a unifying agency. (33)

Foster Hall's loyalty to the memory of Hart exemplifies the esprit de corps that reigned in the CMCS for much of its one hundred year history. Yet, in the twenty-first century, historians have begun to reevaluate Hart and question the large body of historical writings that amassed around his figure. In a study of the CMCS in-house historians, Robert Bickers argues that the sponsorship of Maze's and his Service colleagues' writings about Hart and the history of the CMCS basically constituted a "project of making informal empire respectable" ("Purloined" 23), and points out the irony of committing oneself to such a project at a time when empires were being dismantled around the world. Richard Horowitz, in a study of the period of transition from 1899–1911, concurs: "Sir Robert Hart was in some ways as fortunate in death as he was in life. Few public figures have received such positive treatment from so many historians. But his final fifteen years as inspector general were difficult, and in many respects Hart did not live up to his reputation" (289). Additionally, in Horowitz's view, much of the scholarship from the Republican period in the decades after Hart's death "focused on the Customs as an expression of British imperial power," and this at a time when "nationality mattered as never before" (290). These comments are consistent with our contention that the CMCS life writings were largely a troubled endeavor to create a belated and ultimately ineffective rationale for the foreign-led Customs Service and its far-flung activities in Chinese society and economy.

JOHN KING FAIRBANK AND THE "HART INDUSTRY"

While Wright and Maze were reconstructing the CMCS Reference Library and promoting in-house scholarship, a young American outsider, John King Fairbank, unexpectedly joined the conversation, setting in motion a process that would doom the CMCS self-representation among Western scholars. This Harvard graduate went to Oxford in 1929 in pursuit of a doctoral degree, and was introduced to the Dean of CMCS historians H. B. Morse, who generously agreed to provide him with letters of reference to bring him to the attention of academic leaders in England, the US, and China. This moment

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as Fairbank commented, proved to be a turning point in his studies, as it both presented him with a research field and a role model:

> This was a complete world in itself, half the globe away. If Dr Morse had not occupied himself as a historian, he would no doubt have withered and died as Sir Robert Hart did, after he returned in 1907 from fifty-five years of empire building in China to find himself an unneeded old man in the fancy chatter of his wife's London drawing room. . . . From this invaluable initiation I drew the erroneous conclusion that I could best get a running start on the Customs by studying its origin in the Foreign Inspectorate that was set up at Shanghai in 1854. (*Chinabound* 22)

It is noteworthy that Fairbank understood Hart's career in China as one of "empire building"—though whether that referred to the CMCS as the "*imperium in imperio*" or the larger British informal empire project is not clear. His remark regarding his "erroneous conclusion" alludes to what happened when he finished his B.Litt. thesis, "British Policy in Relation to the Origin of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service, 1850–1854" in 1930, and traveled to China in 1932 to improve his Chinese language skills and continue his research on the CMCS (Evans 18). Fairbank arrived in China at the best moment for him to study the CMCS, as the Customs Reference Library had just been reestablished and the Nationalist government had founded the Academia Sinica, which would become the premier research institute in China and revolutionize Chinese historiography. The young American scholar linked up with Morse's successor Stanley Wright, hoping to cooperate with him, but the latter perceived Fairbank as a threat to his dominant position in CMCS historical research and wrote others in the Service warning them against Fairbank. Wright's colleagues fell in line, and Fairbank was unable to obtain the primary resources he needed for his research. Confronted with this situation, Fairbank then focused his doctoral thesis on the pre-Inspectorate era from 1842–1854, resulting in his landmark book *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854*. Due to the continuing lack of cooperation from the CMCS insiders, moreover, between 1954 and 1970 he did very little research on the CMCS. The response by Wright and other CMCS agents exemplifies how the CMCS strove to protect its privileged position and control its own public image, history, and afterlife.

Yet, late in the century, when he was already one of the most senior and influential historians of China in the West, Fairbank would paradoxically become the central figure in a veritable academic "Hart Industry."[8] In 1965, the last foreign IG, the American Lester Knox Little (1892–1981; 5th IG 1943–1950), deposited in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London the complete correspondence between Hart and his London Secretary Campbell from 1868–1907. Convinced that "some use should be made of the

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copy," in 1968 he also approached the East Asian Research Center at Harvard. Fairbank showed a keen interest in the archive, and his encounter with Little marked the beginning of the modern Hart industry.[9] After eight years of hard work, Fairbank and his research team published a two volume edition of the correspondence, *The IG in Peking* (1975), which became an essential addition to the primary materials for the study of modern Chinese history, and made possible a critical debate with Mainland Chinese state-sanctioned historiography. In his introduction, Fairbank addressed what he called the "bifocal perspective" that confronts Western readers when they consider alongside one another "the Maoist world view" and "the Western record":

> There could hardly be a greater contrast between two views. In the People's Republic today the treaty era stands out as a time of foreign privilege, imperialist exploitation, and Chinese suffering and humiliation. A special series of volumes in Chinese has published translations of archival documents selected to illustrate the theme of "Imperialism and the Chinese Maritime Customs". In the Victorian view of Robert Hart's day the treaty system in China stood proudly as a product of the beneficent spread of commerce and progress, bringing modern science and civilization to a heathen and backward land. Times have changed. The historical scene in Shanghai of the late nineteenth century as pictured by foreigners at the time and by Chinese today, seems like two utterly different worlds. A wide gamut of interpretations is thus offered to the inquiring student, and much ambivalence hangs over the history of the late nineteenth century in China. (1: xii)

Fairbank here seems to presage the renaissance of CMCS scholarship that was about to take place, as far from being puzzled or disappointed by the incompatible schools of thought, he evinces intellectual excitement when considering the different interpretive paradigms available to young scholars venturing into the field.

An even more surprising development took place in 1970, however, when the Hart diaries suddenly surfaced after more than half a century, thus making possible an even more radical reappraisal of the CMCS life writing tradition. After passing away without heirs, the last Sir Robert, Hart's great-grandson, left the seventy-seven volumes of the Hart Journals to the Library of Hart's alma mater QUB, and in 1971 Fairbank sent a number of researchers to QUB to survey the diaries. One of these researchers reported on the "difficulty [of] reading Hart's cramped writing" but also "made out enough to take copious notes and to forget the cold autumnal temperature" (Cohen and Goldman 230). Fairbank and his team then decided to undertake the task of publishing the diary as well, and after some twenty years brought out a two volume scholarly edition of diary volumes one to eight, *Entering China's Service: Robert Hart's Journals, 1854–1863* (Bruner, Fairbank, and

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Smith) and *Robert Hart and China's Early Modernization: His Journals 1863–1866* (Smith, Fairbank, and Bruner). Following the publication of the second volume in 1991 and Fairbank's death the same year, however, the Harvard research team discontinued its work, leaving volumes nine to seventy-seven unpublished and largely unstudied. Though the Harvard Hart industry came to an end at that time, it had decisively broken the monopoly of the in-house historians and opened up the field to scholars around the world.

Hart and his successors believed that to thrive under the difficult circumstances of treaty-port China the CMCS needed to tell its story, and they brought in like-minded British, American, and European administrators and men of letters to help them in this enterprise. This endeavor also explains the creation by Hart of the position of Statistical Secretary and his support for the Inspectorate Press, as well as the establishment of the Customs Reference Library. The official Inspectorate publications, the larger body of writings by Customs employees published with non-Inspectorate publishers in China and around the world, and the Chinese exhibitions in various world fairs that were overseen by the CMCS aimed to promote the CMCS and validate its civilizing mission in China. Much of the time, however, the work undertaken by the CMCS clearly benefited the financial and geopolitical interests of the Western powers, and thus, for all the talk about neutrality, the CMCS essentially remained an instrument of Britain's informal empire, while at times also promoting the interests of France, the US, Russia, Portugal, Japan, and other foreign powers.[10] When assuming the leadership of the CMCS, moreover, Hart had insisted on a policy of respect for and service to the Chinese, yet he neglected to bring native customs employees into the higher ranks of his administration, and for decades the CMCS mainly offered promising career opportunities to expatriate job-seekers interested in carving out for themselves a privileged niche in Chinese society. Towards the end of his career, finally, the IG tarried, grew neglectful, and witnessed the turmoil of the Boxer Uprising and the subsequent looting of the imperial capital and Summer Palace by the allied powers. The vaunted CMCS had taken pride in its ability to foster greater understanding and cooperation between China and the West, but the events of 1900 made light of these claims and demonstrated that the chasm was as wide as ever. The CMCS literary production continued, nevertheless, and even intensified, as Hart himself published *These from the Land of Sinim: Essays on the Chinese Question*. Though well received and sincere in its efforts to represent the Chinese background to the Uprising, its title communicated the main point: China remained a question for the Western powers, and a fair and peaceful arrangement of the world order was still outstanding. The CMCS, in sum, had lost its magic, and not even an army of life writers and historians could obscure this reality and reverse its gradual descent.

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EPILOGUE: THE COMMEMORATION OF SIR ROBERT HART

On 22 February 2013, a "Sir Robert Hart Commemorative Event" took place in the small town of Bisham in Berkshire, population about one thousand, where Robert Hart and his wife Lady Hester Jane Hart are buried in the churchyard of All Saints Church along a peaceful stretch of the Thames. Their tombstone had been badly decayed, but it was restored with the support of the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, and rededicated in a service attended by some sixty guests, including descendants of Robert Hart and other foreign employees of the Chinese Maritime Customs, former diplomats, British Chinese Studies scholars, representatives from Hart's alma mater QUB, the Vice President of the China Customs Institute, and academics from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The pastor of Bisham's All Saints Church led the service, which included short addresses by historians from Cambridge and Bristol, and wreaths were laid by Hart's great-granddaughter and others whose destinies had been connected in some way with Hart's life story. Afterwards, lunch was served aboard a ship, which departed from a nearby landing and took the Bisham party on a pleasant two-hour cruise on the Thames.

The commemoration in Bisham and a Sino-British Roundtable on historical research about the CMCS at Royal Holloway University the next day suggested that, more than three decades after Fairbank's warning regarding the "bifocal perspective" of "the Maoist world view and Western record," an opportunity for a more globally conceived study of the CMCS was arising. It seems pertinent in this respect to consider whether the Commemoration and Roundtable would have been possible without the numerous writing projects—diaries, letters, memoirs, historical studies, etc.—which Hart and his colleagues engendered over the century-long existence of the CMCS. The answer suggested in Bisham and London is probably not. As Horace noted, those who erect enduring monuments, whether of bronze or paper, stand a chance of being remembered, and the CMCS archive, devised by Hart and company as a response to the insecurities of life and work in China, clearly endured. What is more, as was demonstrated that week, both Chinese and British academics and public funding agencies remain meaningfully invested in the CMCS dossier and its still relevant, though not yet fully decoded, narrative of East-West commerce and politics.

The commemoration in Bisham, meanwhile, was concluded with a performance by a local brass band, which presented a musical program that included some pieces that Hart's brass band in Peking was known to play. Bredon narrates how Hart's band appeared amidst the dignitaries and honor guards in the Peking train station in 1908 to serenade their departing employer one last time (117). This band, with its Portuguese bandmaster and

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Chinese musicians serenading an Irishman surrounded by government representatives from many countries, is an extraordinary example of the hybrid transcultural forms emerging within the cosmopolitan contact zones created in China during Hart's years at the helm of the CMCS. And, yes, the song they performed was—what else?—"Auld Lang Syne."

NOTES

1. The Maritime Customs Service was named the Imperial Maritime Customs Service when founded in 1854, and was renamed the Chinese Maritime Customs Service in 1911, a name that was maintained till 1950. Hereafter, the acronym CMCS will be used to indicate China's Customs Service from 1854–1950. Major studies of the CMCS include Brunero; van de Ven; and Bickers, "Revisiting." On the CMCS foreign staff, see Ladds, "'Life Career,'" *Empire Careers,* and "'Youthful, likely men.'" Bickers, Ladds, Carstairs, and Yee includes many photos from CMCS sources. On relations between foreign and Chinese staff, see Chang.
2. Paul King uses this phrase in his 1924 memoir *In the Chinese Customs: A Personal Record of Forty-seven Years* (195).
3. Wright discusses Hart's role in the creation of the Tongwenguan and the hiring of foreign professors, as well as the curriculum under W. A. P. Martin (*Robert Hart* 323–30). See also Spence (129–60) on Martin.
4. King, it should be noted, like his superior and many of his colleagues, was a steadfast diary writer himself and repeatedly quotes from his diary in his memoir.
5. Although he thought highly of Hart, Morse, as an outstanding historian, observed his former boss objectively: "Towards the end of his career the dissatisfaction in the service was very great, but he was strongly entrenched in the gratitude of the Chinese administration, and nothing could have availed to weaken him; no criticism served to modify the autocracy of his rule—a sic volo sic jubeo [thus I wish; thus I command] rule" (3: 404).
6. A file of letters in the Maze Papers at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) contains a letter from 1923 from Aglen to Maze, and three letters from 1923 and 1924 to Maze from Bland (1863–1945), who worked in the Customs Service from 1883 to 1896 and served as Hart's private secretary for three years.
7. These studies were all done by CMCS employees, such as T. R. Banister's *The Coastwise Lights of China* and Stanley Wright's *China's Customs Revenue Since the Revolution of 1911* and ten volume *Documents Illustrative of the Origin, Development and Activities of the Chinese Customs Service.*
8. Coined by Katherine F. Bruner, who was a member of Fairbank's research team at Harvard, the term "Hart industry" refers to the research projects initiated when Fairbank was contacted in 1968 by the last foreign IG, the American Lester Knox Little (qtd. in Cohen and Goldman 229).
9. The contact between Fairbank and Little is described in Fairbank et al. 1: xvii. For the history of the correspondence before it entered the collection of SOAS, see Bickers, "Purloined."

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10. See Brunero; Horowitz; and van de Ven.
11. Henk Vynckier attended the commemoration and presented in the Roundtable at Royal Holloway. See also Tsai.

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL IOU: ELIZABETH WARREN'S DEBTOR-CITIZEN AND THE RELIABLY LIABLE LIFE NARRATIVE

LYNN MIE ITAGAKI

The severity of the global financial crisis triggered in late 2007 and the so-called Great Recession in the United States has forced financial policymakers and business journalists to reexamine their earlier convictions and principles. These reexaminations take the form of public confessions of personal remorse by leading figures in the financial world: no less than Alan Greenspan, icon of free-market economics and Federal Reserve chair for almost two decades and four presidential administrations, admitted his "mistake" in not encouraging enough regulation to prevent the 2008 global economic meltdown; and no more than Joe Nocera, well-respected business journalist and author of the national bestseller *A Piece of the Action: How the Middle Class Joined the Money Class* (1994), revealed the precarity of his post-divorce, post-home improvement retirement future in an oft-cited 2012 *New York Times* op-ed, "My Faith-Based Retirement," to both loud praise and derision. Nocera expressed his error in judgment from the 1990s "bull market [that] gave me an inflated sense of my investing skills," and admitted the limitations and fallacies behind his first book's enthusiastic celebration of "the new investing culture" that would make possible what he termed "the democratization of money" (A19). Such confessions are a far cry from the heady times of the mid-1990s: the previous triumphant proclamations by those such as Nocera that the middle class was now moving into the wealthy class, or giddy projections of endlessly exponential growth and unimaginable wealth for the average investor, as in forecasts of "Dow 36,000." These were rosy economic times, occurring before the toll taken by the deflation of the tech bubble, the two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the mortgage meltdown, the global financial crisis, and the passing of "austerity" measures that would further liquidate the American dream and diminish the "American century."

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The clamor for formerly well-respected, even worshipped, "captains of industry" (or their umpires) and their play-by-play media analysts (or their fans) to confess to their misguided beliefs came from many constituencies: subprime mortgage and home equity payers who found their homes devalued and their loans "underwater," aging Baby Boomers who saw their retirement stock investments halved, and the students and thirty-somethings who struggled under large educational loans. These were just some of the many who began to realize they were never meant to profit conservatively, much less exponentially, and found themselves to be exploited by the financial elites who routinely and legally manipulated the system—often aided and abetted by tax loopholes, lax regulation, or its diffident enforcement. In these confessions, the consolidated notion of the indebted, maxed-out consumer and, ultimately, the *debtor-citizen* emerges with particular injuries, rights, and avenues for redress and whose conditions of citizenship are predicated on a notion of debt.[1] In turn, a new narrative mode appeared on the political and social landscape that appropriates and revises the conventions of the *Bildung* and (Christian) confession forms that traditionally have been at the core of the genre of life writing, producing a new narrative form that at once sets up the author as a debtor-citizen and is also deeply invested in individualist pathos. As a sign of transitional times, these confessional modes capture something unique and momentous about our current financial state of affairs: the significance of and reliance on the fully encumbered, overly indebted debtor-citizen, the figure of which appears to be the newest, distinctive manifestation of the US autobiographical voice, and for whom political and fiscal representatives are electing to speak.

In this milieu of fear, frustration, outrage, and desperation, Elizabeth Warren, former Harvard Law School professor and now first female US Senator from Massachusetts, serves as a unique source for my investigation of this new narrative form. Her storied career leaves a rich, eclectic trail of "autobiographical acts" aimed at teaching, persuading, and advocating. Credited with founding the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), Warren has been popularly regarded as the chief whistleblower for the financial services industry since 2007—one of *Time* magazine's "new sheriffs of Wall Street," demanding regulation for and consumer protection from toxic financial products (Scherer). Warren has posed such a threat to big-business-as-usual that she was famously overlooked as the director of the newly-created CFPB in 2011, and after her Senatorial election in November 2012, influential corporate donors unsuccessfully lobbied against her membership on the powerful Senate Banking Committee. On the one hand, Warren's trademark advocacy contrasts with the financial confessions of the usually male culprits such as Greenspan; on the other, Warren's confessions, much like Nocera's, are intended to connect with her public: other debtor-citizens who have suffered in the past and

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present. If the debtor-citizen is what I term "reliably liable," or always indebted to the state and civil financial institutions—and currently at unprecedented levels—I ask what impact does this new identity formation have on the representation of the liberal humanist subject—and his or her autonomy and freedom—through the self-narrating protagonist of autobiographical writings?

This essay focuses on Warren's writing and speeches, and the media responses to her presence on the political and financial scene. I analyze how a new hybrid narrative created from the often separated nonfiction genres of academic scholarship, memoirs, and self-help literature also bridges the imagined community of a "debtor nation" and a political movement of indignant debtor-citizens, connecting individual affect and collective action.[3] I look at the two books that Warren coauthored with her daughter, Amelia Warren Tyagi, *The Two-Income Trap: Why Middle-Class Parents Are Going Broke* (2004) and *All Your Worth: The Lifetime Money Plan* (2005), to examine how Warren constructs her biography as confessions of early economic hardship and her parents' unlucky financial history, and how, in turn, her mode of confession—the aggregate of her autobiographical acts—functions as a new form of political life narrative that reveals how public figures rhetorically negotiate the cultural politics of the current fiscal climate. This essay chronologically works through the financial self-help books generated from her earlier academic research on bankruptcy laws to Warren's successful 2012 Senatorial campaign; significantly, while her research and personal finance bestsellers are coauthored, only Warren rises meteorically to national prominence. In the first part, I identify Warren and Tyagi's structural analysis of US household debt, and in the second part, I examine the framing they use—the counter-addiction narrative—to politicize and mobilize millions of people who are debtor-citizens, an identity that has been markedly depoliticized as instead an economic, moral, and alienated category: people who lack political voice rather than American values of hard work and discipline. In the third part, I consider the genre of life writing through the more autobiographical elements of Warren's academic and political career, and consider how the 2012 campaign controversy over her unverifiable claims to Native American heritage reveals the costs of contested autobiographical acts during her Senatorial campaign. Warren exhorts these debtor-citizens to demand their political rights and assert their collective voice by protesting their economic exploitation; but in her attempt to make financial oversight and consumer protection the core of her campaign, all her personal disclosures and evaluations of her trustworthiness become salient in the debates over her racial identity. The controversy reveals the construction of the political candidate as an autobiographical debtor, indebted to her constituents through the veracity of her autobiographical acts and exposing the autobiographical "I" as instead the autobiographical "IOU."

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WARREN'S CONFESSIONS OF THE DEBTOR-CITIZEN AND THE MYTH OF THE ADDICTED CONSUMER

In her two coauthored texts, *The Two-Income Trap* and *All Your Worth*, Warren's occasional, yet often-used autobiographical anecdotes and her unique experience as a respected policy adviser show the intersection of practices of self and practices of government that can be located in the contemporary narrative mode being produced by public representatives. The stories that Warren tells are secondhand confessions and testimonies that relay both her family's downward mobility and other middle-class families filing for bankruptcy—the more detailed life narratives she would encounter as one of the principal investigators on the 2001 Consumer Bankruptcy Project.[4] These case studies are confessions of parents who all, in hindsight, spent too much on their homes, but their stories also serve as testimonies of the various ways that their finances were hit hard, often irreparably, by job loss, medical emergency, or divorce. As Warren demonstrates, the bankruptcy these families faced could have been prevented by a stronger social safety net or regulation of the financial industry. In this section, I read Warren and Tyagi's books in terms of their structural economic analysis so as to provide a context for the debtor-citizen's function in our current fiscal and political climate and to understand the importance of their advocacy and education. I foreground Warren's autobiographical acts in her rise to national prominence and elected office by briefly contextualizing Warren and Tyagi's arguments about how Americans came to do business as usual, and how these everyday policies and practices led to the global financial crisis beginning in late 2007, devastating the financial futures of so many Americans.

Warren's advocacy and expertise have clearly touched a nerve for US audiences deeply unsettled by the fallout from the 2007 global financial crisis. These circumstances have made Warren's research and writings crucial to the public discussion of bankruptcy, financial services, household debt, and the average US family. As Warren and Tyagi note in their first book, *The Two-Income Trap*: "No longer would credit be a prized commodity, doled out parsimoniously. By the mid-1980s, credit had become a highly profitable consumer product, like running shoes or soft drinks, and the new game was to sell as much as possible" (129). Warren and Tyagi assert from the first line of their second book, *All Your Worth*, and repeat again and again that "The rules of the game have changed," and with it a new rule has emerged: "Even as it has gotten easier to get in trouble with your basic monthly bills, it has also gotten easier for your spending on 'extras' to get out of control" (21, original emphasis). Even if real wages had not steadily declined since the 1960s, the

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credit consumer would have to be savvier than the financial experts, business journalists, and policymakers to withstand such tidal waves of economic optimism, hard sells, and social pressure.

The sizeable increase in autobiographical nonfiction has led to discussions of its heterogeneous forms, marking its widespread, everyday manifestations. The autobiographical acts on social media and personal websites indicate an expansion of the very definition of life writing and life narrative. Following Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson's definition, I am interested in the "acts of self-presentation of all kinds and in diverse media that take the producer's life as their subject, whether written, performative, visual, filmic, or digital" (4). Part of this expansion of life narrative is evidenced by the use of autobiographical narratives on behalf of politicians and their campaigns, especially as deployed through social media platforms that capitalize on the personal nature of autobiography to connect to broad-based audiences concerned about important social and economic issues such as the financial futures of middle-class families—issues that weighed the most heavily in the 2012 election year.

My approach to Warren's life narrative makes central her coauthored books, speeches, debates, and campaign websites instead of a more fixed, bounded authoritative text, such as her 2014 memoir, *A Fighting Chance*. I use this approach for three reasons. First, the books' data primarily rely on Warren's research that made her into a leading expert in personal bankruptcy law, and as such, Warren's academic and professional credentials are crucial to the trustworthiness of her arguments. Second, and perhaps paradoxically, Warren's coauthored books uniquely present and mediate her expertise with first-person confessional modes that aim to establish a connection with her audience apart from any deference given to her professional standing. And third, many of these anecdotes appear variously in Warren's later speeches and official memoir as a consumer advocate, policy adviser, political candidate, and national politician. As a result, these two texts are rich sources for unpacking how the professional and the personal conjoin both business "self help" and political discourse. Through her two coauthored books, Warren posits an understanding of debt and indebtedness, offers her readers autobiographical acts that dislodge notions of debt and financial precarity, replaces the deep personal shame and public ostracism associated with debt with collective indignation and political mobilization, and creates a blueprint for more robust institutional safeguards that can protect consumers.

Warren's diverse political career as an appointed adviser and elected official has spurred her to offer anecdotes from her private life via public channels. These anecdotes feature revelations about much of her life prior to her

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position at Harvard Law School: growing up in Oklahoma City, being married to her high school sweetheart at nineteen, going to law school with a toddler, working as a small-business owner with her own law practice, and identifying with certain populist ideals that carried her from the Republican Party early in life to the Democratic Party. But in explaining her ideas on bankruptcy and family finances, Warren reveals even more about her childhood and her family's experience of downward mobility in post-WWII Oklahoma: the family's loss of their life savings to a "crooked business partner," her father's heart attack and lingering health concerns, his job loss as a carpet salesman, and his reduced income as a janitor that required a nine-year-old Warren and her mother, after thirty years in the home, to work (*All Your Worth* 5). It is this story of early hardship in the US heartland, set against the high-growth boom of the US postwar economy, which Warren would increasingly invoke in her public appearances advocating for regulation reform of the financial services industry. In these cowritten bestsellers, Warren translated her research on personal bankruptcy for popular audiences, and then later, in her advocacy for establishing the CFPB, Warren (and her speechwriters) would revise these autobiographical anecdotes for her campaign speeches for US Senator (Ebbert).

These aspects of Warren's life narrative and her record of achievement would lead to statewide news media endorsements during her senatorial campaign, and would receive prominent placement on her campaign website, championing her as "a fearless consumer advocate who has made her life's work the fight for middle class families" and "the plainspoken voice of people getting crushed by so many predatory lenders and under regulated banks" ("Family"). *The Springfield Republican* said, "We need a voice for working families in Washington again. Elizabeth Warren will give us that voice" ("Editorial"). Perceived as fighting for "middle class families" and "working families," Warren is affirmed as a "voice" of the Davids matched against the Goliaths of the financial sector, with its exploitative profits and lobbying stranglehold on Congress.

Warren's legal research and the books cowritten with Tyagi have been part of a recent groundswell of scholarship revising the notion of consumption and debt in relation to US history, law, politics, and culture. Echoing Warren and Tyagi, a host of economic experts detail how credit consumers, from Baby Boomers to Millennials, have not been savvy; or more accurately, this scholarship identifies the transformation of the credit consumer into what I term the "debtor-citizen."[5] In *A Consumers' Republic* (2003), Lizabeth Cohen, for example, discusses the explicit linkages between citizen and consumer to describe the scope and entitlements of one's participation in "[a]n economy, culture, and politics built around the promises of mass

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consumption, both in terms of material life and the more idealistic goals of greater freedom, democracy, and equality" in the twentieth-century US economy (7). Cohen identifies how economic practices such as consumption are perceived as imperative to the pursuit of political ideals. According to Louis Hyman, such political and cultural attitudes toward consumption in turn create a "debtor nation" that depends on credit and debt.

Moreover, in a comparative study of the best practices and divergent policy goals of the US, Germany, and Japan, Sheldon Garon argues that the US has facilitated its consumer citizens to spend "beyond their means," instead of promoting the attitudes against consumer credit and household debt evident in the financial policies and practices of western European nations and Japan. Indeed, Devin Fergus deems the US the "land of the fee" in that the "financially ugly" US practices of banking and card fees, auto insurance, and usurious lending are now exported around the world through the global reach of these financial services institutions. In this land of the fee, the debtor-citizen is the average individual who is imbricated in the schemes of the lenders and also entangled by government policy, because the debtor-citizens' indebtedness purportedly underpins a healthy economy and enables upward mobility through more widespread access to credit. The contractual nature of this relationship establishes the debtor-citizen, conveniently, as "reliably liable" to the lenders and to the debtor nation. In other words, the financialized economy depends on debt-credit exchanges; thus, the debtor nation, reflecting the prerogatives of its most influential industry, facilitates and promotes both consistent indebtedness as an everyday, routine condition for consumers and as a naturalized privilege and responsibility of citizenship.[6]

Such indebtedness has estranged debtor-citizens from one another in their belief that their financial failures are wholly their own faults rather than a structural and regulatory problem in need of remedy. Americans are often characterized by a deep-seated passion for individualism, manifested in both strong notions of self-reliance, and a distrust of governmental interference. There is the perpetual exhortation to "pull oneself up by one's bootstraps." Touting the US political system's constitutional guarantees of freedoms and rights, Americans show a deep skepticism of the welfare state and the social safety net, which are often derided as creating the infantilizing "nanny state." That said, the fifth freedom that has increasingly become evident within US consumer discourse is the freedom to fail. Scott Sandage's *Born Loser: A History of Failure in America* (2005) traces how failure once defined the event of a business going under but now connotes pathology and determinism irrevocably entrenched, even predestined in the Calvinist sense, in one's character. In this way, the traditions of Max Weber's "Protestant work ethic," translating religious fervor into economic diligence, and the specific US roots

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of Puritan moralism combine to exclude those who fail from the financial moral "elect." Such a privatization and moralization of failure on the part individual actors turns national and political attention away from structura analyses and assessments of public policy outcomes. Here, US exceptiona ism functions in a paradoxical way in that making mistakes is encouraged a a character trait of persistence, and yet one's financial failure is condemne at every turn. In touting one's freedom to fail, the US government incentiv izes economic precarity while damning the consequences of such failure an further shaming one's financial instability into secrecy, only grudgingly ac knowledged within one's nuclear family.

In response to what they perceive to be a bad deal for the reliably liabl debtor-citizen, Warren and Tyagi argue that debtors should not be reviled fo their financial failures and thereby ejected from the moral community of U civil society: "There is a lesson here. To put sound economic policies on th political agenda, families also need to find a face. So long as they are 'debtor or 'bankrupts,' their needs can be dismissed. Instead, they need to be seen a members of powerful constituencies, members of groups that command th respect—and the fear—of the political elite" (*Two-Income Trap* 158–59). Both *The Two-Income Trap* and *All Your Worth* mirror this commitment t the individual debtor-citizen and policymakers alike. Both books appeare right before the fall 2005 passage and signing of the Bankruptcy Abuse Pre vention and Consumer Protection Act that made it more difficult to file fo bankruptcy and expanded the kinds of debts that would still require repay ment even after a bankruptcy judgment. Warren and Tyagi echo many other critics in their explanation of how the average US debtor-citizen is set up t fail, not by illegal or criminal elements, but in fact by legitimate governmen tal institutions and for very respectable and historic reasons.

Two of these solidly respectable reasons are housing and higher educa tion, probably the largest purchases a middle-class family will ever make, and once routinely promoted as "investments."[7] Families have been further egged on by concepts such as "good debt," previously used to describe one's mort gage or student loans. Overextending on homes in good school districts and college tuitions for themselves and their children, the mocked and derided middle-class aspirants are the ones with all the dreams and none of the com mon sense to buy what they can afford. Yet these millions of debtor-citizens fundamentally support the economic infrastructure of the debtor nation. In response, Warren and Tyagi challenge the notion of the average American who spend beyond their means for status or for keeping up with the Joneses, instead stressing that debtor-citizens have been both placed in this position by explicit policies of a debtor nation and essentially coerced into spending beyond their means on the often twinned goods of education and housing.

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the primary signifiers of middle-class identity and the means by which families achieve upward mobility. Not too long ago, debt was touted as creating the financial discipline and hard work ethic of the US worker; now it is individual indebtedness that earns contempt from politicians and one's friends and family alike.

Warren's political career is based on her attempts to trigger US society's reevaluation of its fundamental social contract in relation to governmental protection from financial insecurity facilitated by what used to be considered usurious or loan shark lending practices. What Warren and Tyagi quickly summarize is that governmental policy has moved from identifying lending practices as useful for helping people establish credit or for creating a future labor force to instead actively cultivating *future debtors*. Indeed, Warren and Tyagi posit middle-class financial insecurity, if not bankruptcy, as the new normal: "Heart attacks. Cancer. College graduations. Divorce. These are markers in the lives of nearly every American family. And yet, we will soon have more friends and coworkers who have gone through bankruptcy than any one of these other life events" (*Two-Income Trap* 6). Not only has bankruptcy "become deeply entrenched in American life," but it is even more widespread than the above figures reveal, with economic studies suggesting "that for every family that officially declares bankruptcy, there are seven more whose debt loads suggest that they *should* file for bankruptcy—if only they were more savvy about financial matters" (7; original emphasis). This careful yet calculated turn from the saver-citizen to the debtor-citizen has reconfigured the very notion of the "average citizen" as well as constricted the horizons of the American dream. These reconfigurations are presented in all aspects of the public discourse circulating around campaigns to reform the financial sector, and appear most prominently in Warren's speeches and writing. In turn, analyzing these features assists in identifying more clearly how the notion of personal responsibility has shifted irrevocably as the result of the new landscape of financial failure of the US middle class.

In the US, the history of consumption goes hand-in-hand with the history of debt in the twentieth century.[8] Akin to Cohen's history of a "consumers' republic" over the twentieth century, Warren's research, popular books, and policy platform are also attempting to resuscitate the consumer activism beholden to a similar notion as Cohen's "citizen consumer ideal" in which "ordinary Americans became much more self-conscious about their identities and interests as consumers" (31). Cohen tracks the tension between this activist ideal and the passive "purchaser consumer" since the 1930s, in which "the less politically threatening conception of the consumer—as a purchaser consumer buying his or her way to 'freedom from want'—held growing appeal to those wielding economic and political power in American society" (56).

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Through her own research, advocacy, and political career, Warren hopes to transform the debtor-citizen from the passive consumer of debt into the activist, a politicized individual who expands the notion of the rights-bearing individual by advocating for financial consumer protection.

Identifying the beginning of her own activism, Warren tells the origin story of what would become the 2001 Consumer Bankruptcy Project, "the largest study ever conducted about families that had failed financially" (*Two-Income Trap* 5). She explains how in reviewing the results of a preliminary sample, she noticed that in 1981, 69,000 women filed for bankruptcy, but what gave her pause was that this figure had increased to a half million in 1999. The "usual suspects" of bankruptcy lore—the very young, very old, or very profligate—were not the ones "who consistently rank in the worst financial trouble," who were, in fact, parents with dependent children. According to Warren and Tyagi, ninety percent "of those in bankruptcy would qualify as middle class," defined by "criteria such as going to college, owning a home, or having held a good job" (7). Warren narrates her disbelief in numbers so staggering that she is convinced they must be wrong, the result of some kind of computational mistake. But her later, more comprehensive research in bankruptcy will verify her numbers: "I soon learned that there was something wrong, but it wasn't the data sampling" (5). And countering popular assertions of marriage providing financial stability or protection against bankruptcy, Warren explains that "several hundred thousand married women filed for bankruptcy along with their husbands," a significant percentage of the 1.6 million bankruptcy petitioners (5).

I read this moment of discovery as a parable writ large. Warren notes the moment at which she might have blindly ascribed the numbers pointing to financial instability in the middle class to a mistake. Or, like many other researchers, pundits, and policymakers, she might have facilely explained away the data as moral degeneracy. However, in what Warren and Tyagi call the "Myth of the Immoral Debtor" and their critique of this particular narrative of indebtedness, the authors recommend asking the people themselves about the reasons behind their choices and decisions rather than imputing moral weakness or ineptitude to the bankrupt or financially precarious families: "A few economists have written about stigma, but the results are pretty much the same. They focus on a few economic measures—the unemployment rate, the GDP level, the inflation rate, and so forth—without ever actually talking to families, either those who file for bankruptcy or those who do not" (73). Warren and Tyagi assert that, before making moral pronouncements, influential policymakers should consult the very people for whom they claim to speak.

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THE COUNTER-ADDICTION NARRATIVE OF FINANCIAL SELF-HELP

Combining the professional and the personal, Warren and Tyagi's two texts merge structural analysis with the personal finance and self-help literary genres. This hybrid approach describes the larger structural forces fostering the environmental contexts, offers self-help plans that combat these external or internal pressures, and rests on claims that the author is the first person to be helped by the methods outlined in the book or has experience helping others in the same financial predicaments. While the accounts of middle-class families explaining their torturous paths to bankruptcy serve as cautionary tales for their readers, these stories are not to be confused with the edict of anti-addiction narratives that the conventions of popular self-help demand: overcoming one's addiction through self-mastery. I claim, however, that Warren and Tyagi's two books are both *counter*-addiction narratives. The addiction they most obviously address is overspending, overconsumption, and overextending one's credit and ability to pay. This pathological diagnosis, according to policymakers, parallels addictions to drugs, alcohol, food, sex, and video games. All the moralizing and ideological attention that undergirds policymaking focuses on eradicating this pathology of overspending. Instead, the authors claim that the seemingly personal addiction that leads to financial instability is both the indicator and result of a pathological *economy* created through deregulation and unbridled motivation for profit that has exploited and weakened the middle class for the past generation. *The Two-Income Trap* and *All Your Worth* argue that middle-class family bankruptcies are not the result of impulsive, uncontrollable spending but rather are the consequences of families attempting to cope with job losses, medical emergencies, or divorce. In their counter-addiction narrative, Warren and Tyagi squarely refute what they perceive to be the US audience's expectation of an addiction narrative for overconsumption, which can be redeemed through individual willpower. Instead, the authors merge the personal with the social, the confessional with the professional, in their quest to make amends on behalf of their readers, who the authors interpret as the debtor-citizens held reliably liable by irresponsible lenders and ineffective governmental regulation.

Both books counter the addiction rhetoric circulating around debtor-citizens as being solely responsible for their families' financial downfalls because of a lack of impulse control. Warren and Tyagi instead characterize the debtor-citizen's carefully calculated, however unlucky, decisions as meant to provide the best routes for financial stability and upward mobility, and imply that it is US policymakers and voters who appear to be addicted to condemning the "financially unlucky as moral failures" (*Two-Income Trap* 176).

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A significant motivation behind their two books is advocacy: to encourage their audiences to think of these debtors and themselves as fellow citizens whose lives and futures can either be wasted with further neglect, as it is now, or repurposed and redeemed through better regulation and more substantial social safety nets. However, in advocating for another way to imagine debtors and bankrupts, the authors call for more compelling figures to galvanize public outrage and political change: "Families in financial trouble must be depicted as they really are: 'parents of young children,' 'nonresident fathers paying child support,' 'suburban homeowners,' 'African-American middle-class families,' 'single mothers,' 'families sending a kid to college'" (*Two-Income Trap* 159). These multiple identities of debtor-citizens reflect their belonging to much wider constituencies and a broader political base of those sympathetic to their situations. Later, from her position on the Senate Banking Committee, Warren will frequently remind those testifying from the Securities and Exchange Commission of the people who have been affected and compare the minimal financial industry penalties to the criminal punishments that citizens face to emphasize that corporate citizens and financial institutions receive lesser punishments and regulation than "natural" or human citizens (United States 30).[9]

In *The Two-Income Trap,* Warren and Tyagi assail the two myths that have pushed debtor-citizens to deal with financial failure privately rather than collectively: what they call "The Overconsumption Myth" and "Myth of the Immoral Debtor." They contend that popular books such as *Affluenza: The All-Consuming Epidemic* (2001), catch-phrases such as Juliet Schor's "new consumerism" and Robert Frank's "Luxury Fever," and articles in popular magazines such as *Newsweek* and *Money* with their respective headlines "Maxed Out" and "How Are We Doing?" blame excessive debt on unnecessary purchases of designer clothing, eating out, the latest appliances, exotic vacations, and McMansions (15–20). These trendy yet enduring critiques not only misdiagnose the financial causes and problems of the majority of Americans, but provide the rhetorical and statistical fodder for those policymakers and moralists seeking to dismiss the anxieties, suffering, and losses of millions of Americans on the grounds of a personal addiction to spending and a lack of responsibility. Warren and Tyagi make a point of noting that the parents' financial failures and the terrible emotional and psychological consequences affect the children as well, who are taken "along for the ride," largely innocent of the decision-making and circumstances that bankrupted the family. While the trials and tribulations of children of divorce are generally recognized and accommodated in such social networks as family, friends, schools, and social organizations, those challenges facing the children of the downwardly-mobile or bankrupted families go fundamentally unacknowledged, hidden behind

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the tremendous moral stigma financial failure elicits from all quarters (176–79). Given her impassioned call to think about children who would suffer the bewilderment, isolation, and social stigma of parental job loss and downward mobility, Warren, in one of her most compelling autobiographical acts, testifies to having been one of those children.

Self-help and memoir genres generally privilege individualized focus and personal redemption over analyses of the structural forces that produce the relevant circumstances and the blueprints for collective mobilization necessary to produce institutional changes. In following the redemption or conversion narrative, the life described in a memoir can be used as a template for the reader's own redemption or conversion. In self-help literature, Leigh Gilmore notes, authors typically "advertise themselves as the first selves helped by their methods. Self-help discourse succeeds by producing a celebrity guru identity that draws upon but is never bogged down by autobiographical history, then streamlines this identity toward the construction of a new self" (670). These memoirs become famous not for their tales of personal suffering but instead for the "redemption narrative" offered (658).

Smith and Watson identify the "addiction narrative" as a subset of the "self-help narrative" wherein the "formulaic pattern of the self-help narrative involves a fall into dissolution and self-indulgence, alienation from a community, hitting bottom, recognition of the need for help, renunciation of the substance or behavior, and, with trust in a higher power, recovery of a truer postaddiction self" (279). The addiction narrative's protagonist is criminalized and deviant, as is the addicted consumer or immoral debtor. *The Two-Income Trap* and *All Your Worth* offer redemption not from personal addiction, but from policymakers' and pundits' addiction to the belief that the debtor-citizen is the addict, the criminal, the deviant. Both books provide self-tests and worksheets to diagnose household budgets for readers. Unlike many other self-help narratives, which do not provide a thoroughgoing structural critique, Warren and Tyagi's books explain the larger structural forces, beginning and ending with these contexts, promoting vigilance and advocacy on the part of their readers. Like other writers of self-help and personal finance literature, Warren and Tyagi identify a widespread problem affecting millions of people; but unlike other self-help literature, they acknowledge the limitations of individual agency against the broader permanence of structural change. The first book, *The Two-Income Trap,* offers structural analysis and contexts for the family financial guide that forms the core of the second book, which is more explicitly part of the personal finance and self-help genres. Both Warren and Tyagi contribute autobiographical anecdotes more evenly than in their first book, and rely on Tyagi's consulting experience and her former clients' stories for their exemplars.

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Warren and Tyagi try to form an emotional connection with their readership. Neither author confesses to current financial instabilities; instead, they locate their tales of personal struggles primarily in the past, with Warren's parents and her first marriage, and in the future, through potential threats to the financial security of their children and grandchildren. In the introduction to *All Your Worth*, the verification of their expertise are the conversations "in the grocery store checkout line or in the ninety seconds allowed to a radio caller" (7) in which "out of the blue, someone—a neighbor, a caller to a radio program, a mom dropping off her son at preschool" (7)—would confess to being one of their target audience, to worrying about money, and to feeling paralyzed by not knowing what to do (*All Your Worth* 6–7). Warren and Tyagi build their expertise through Warren's academic research and Tyagi's management consulting: "*All Your Worth* is for anyone who ever worries about money. For anyone who works hard and plays by the rules, but discovers that the rules have changed. . . . In short, this book is for anyone who wants to get control of his or her money once and for all, to stop worrying and start living a richer, fuller life" (3).

As a mother-and-daughter team, the coauthors primarily use plural first-person markers to identify which of the two authors is speaking. In the first book, disambiguation is almost always used when one is telling a story about her forebears, and it is always "Elizabeth" rather than "Amelia" telling the story despite the women's shared family history. These narrative choices reflect the centrality of Warren's research to their books, but the coauthorship implicitly deploys her daughter's Generation X sensibilities, entrepreneurial experience, and perspective on work and family, especially since Tyagi is a member of the target audience who have children still living in the home and who are the most vulnerable to bankruptcy. In their first book, the one anecdote from Tyagi's perspective is her and Warren's different experiences with expensive carseats—there were no safety requirements when Tyagi was a baby—a parable that explains the increasingly costly notions of safety from one generation to the next. Tyagi's one anecdote models the more helpful conversations between family members about financial security than the one Warren and Tyagi use to introduce their second book: that of scolding parents toward their profligate offspring, a prevailing attitude directed at the financially vulnerable. Warren and Tyagi are careful not to "intimidate or mock" their possibly financially vulnerable or bankrupt readers, as one *USA Today* reviewer approvingly remarks about *All Your Worth* (Archer 7B).[10] Although the brief stories about their friends and family members in *All Your Worth* highlight innovative strategies or unusual attitudes about household money and finances and are similarly presented as parables that emphasize the human aspects of Warren and Tyagi's empirically-based analysis, almost all of the anecdotes

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after Warren's initial retelling of her parents' downward mobility are not directly related to her family's finances, as they are in the first book.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL IOU

Thus far I have explored how Warren and her coauthor daughter jointly leverage their family history and life experiences to inspire trust and confidence in their readers, enough so that their audiences will buy their books, use their exercises to transform their financial future, and acknowledge their collective potential as a political movement. Within the self-help tradition, Warren and Tyagi exhort their readers to evaluate personal and family financial records as autobiographical acts through which individuals and families can construct counter-addiction narratives of their financial lives. These personal stories, generally derided by policymakers and even the financially strapped themselves as evidence of individual ineptitude, immorality, and failure, Warren and Tyagi advocate for having reevaluated and reclaimed as the economic grievances of an electorate. Warren uses these anecdotes and exhortations of the debtor-citizen as the rhetorical springboard for her 2012 Senate campaign, centered on her advocacy of more robust financial regulation and reform. The nature of her writings and political career thus leads me to ask what it means to think of the political candidate as not only a public servant but also as an autobiographical debtor. In this third section, I make visible the ways in which political actors or elected public officials are made into autobiographical debtors.

I have analyzed Warren's attempt to connect her family history to the national condition of indebtedness or debt as a way to make what Lauren Berlant calls the "juxtapolitical" into the political by transforming individual or private feelings of shame and fear into collective political advocacy, to galvanize the political voice of the citizen activist rather than the passive consumer within the debtor-citizen. In revising the autobiographical "I" that is the staple of nonfiction writing, I posit instead an autobiographical IOU that more accurately references the audience necessary to the autobiographical act; my reading highlights the indebted nature of these acts, in other words, the social and moral credit extended to the author by the reading public that closely mirrors and exceeds the economic and legal forms of credit. The autobiographical IOU promises that a subjective account will be as reliably narrated as possible. Yet, what the author owes the public is more clearly visible when that implicit trust is violated. I begin with how Philippe Lejeune's classic definition of the autobiographical pact applies to Warren's autobiographical acts in order to consider more seriously his analogies to contract law. The violation of the trust assumed in the autobiographical contract exposes the mutual obligation in the autobiographical act: for the author to narrate public lives

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or events truthfully and for the reader to read or adopt a "mode of reading" within the generic expectations of autobiography (Lejeune, *On Autobiography* 30). Finally, I discuss Elizabeth Warren's own alleged violation of the public's trust in her claim of Native American ancestry.

Warren has been more vulnerable than most electoral candidates who might be perceived as violating public trust because she has risen to national prominence largely as a whistleblower for the financial services industry.[11] Her critics seek to undermine Warren's affective connection with voters; instead of challenging the substance of her proposed reformist platform, they find it more effective to discredit her through her autobiographical acts. The terms and significance of Warren's controversy are reminiscent of the scandal over James Frey's Oprah Book Club selection, *A Million Little Pieces* (2003), which Random House initially published as memoir but which Frey later revealed he wrote as a novel, resulting in his publisher offering to refund the purchase price to duped readers. The political Left used the controversy that erupted over autobiographical truth and deception as an occasion for a social and political indictment of President George W. Bush's foreign policy and war in Iraq in the wake of revelations of the fabricated intelligence reports of weapons of mass destruction in 2006.[12]

Following this pattern of criticism, Warren's critics exhort voters to take her claims to Native American identity as false and thus as evidence of her untrustworthiness. Her critics use her autobiographical act to attack her credibility, and the dip in her pre-election polls testify to how important aspects of life narratives have become. Voters are avid consumers of the autobiographical acts of political candidates. But Warren's enduring name-recognition and national reputation were partially due to her emotional connection with national and state constituencies that gave authenticity to her expertise and passion: her Oklahoman working class roots, eclectic legal career, and successful advocacy for the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. These intangibles of her working-class, heartland childhood and personal ethos successfully bridge the ostensible distance between her elite Ivy-League, ivory tower financial security and the kitchen-table concerns of her voters. Warren cannot convincingly argue that she is just like the majority of her voters, but she can compellingly argue that she comes from generations of people just like them.

As Lejeune posits in "The Autobiographical Pact," critics and readers assess the autobiographical genre through the congruence of "the *author*, the *narrator*, and the *protagonist*" (5; original emphasis). In his essay's subtitle "I, the Undersigned," Lejeune playfully notes how the signature to a contract functions similarly to the authorial byline. And much like a contract that is brought to the courts when its terms have been violated, so too is this obligation visible only in its breach. In delineating his famous criteria for separating

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autobiography from biography and fiction, Lejeune notes that if there is any factual slippage among author, real person, and principal character, then the author's unintentional errors or intentional deception evolves into "a question of all or nothing": "Here, there is neither transition nor latitude. An identity is, or is not. It is impossible to speak of degrees, and all doubt leads to a negative conclusion" (5). Lejeune asserts that in autobiography, there is a pledge of responsibility made by "a person whose existence is certified by vital statistics and is verifiable" (11). The social convention that Lejeune identifies is the author's "pledge of responsibility of a *real person*" (11; original emphasis) in which the author promises to be truthful and trustworthy, and "exceptions and breaches of trust serve only to emphasize the general credence accorded this type of social contract" (11). In *Signes de Vie*, he puts it less euphemistically: "If you, reader, judge that the autobiographer hides or alters a part of the truth, you might think that he is lying. On the other hand, it's impossible to say that a novelist lies" (31, trans. and qtd. in Miller 539). As the autobiographical contract or pact is defined in these terms of credence, social contract, truth, and lies, the author incurs a debt in the *credit* extended or trust *invested* in the name and the real person corresponding to this name—in Lejeune's terms, simultaneously author, narrator, and protagonist.

In emphasizing the weight of the author's obligation to readers, Lejeune repeats the word responsibility throughout "The Autobiographical Pact," expounding on "the responsibility for all enunciation" and "the responsibility for the production of the whole written text" which fall upon the author (*On Autobiography* 11). Lejeune anticipates the reader's likely sleuthing to counter the truth claims of the author as a function of the autobiographical pact:

> We see, moreover, the importance of the contract, in that it actually determines the attitude of the reader: if the identity is not stated positively (as in fiction), the reader will attempt to establish resemblances, in spite of the author; if it is positively stated (as in autobiography), the reader will want to look for differences (errors, deformations, etc.). Confronted with what looks like an autobiographical narrative, the reader often tends to think of himself as a detective, that is to say, to look for breaches of contract (whatever the contract). (14)

The hypothetical reader of Lejeune's formulation is akin to the consumer activists or online product reviewers who assess manufacturers' claims against their own evaluations and experiences. This explicit analogy extends what Julie Rak identifies as the consumption model upon which Lejeune bases the mutual obligations of the autobiographical pact: "Lejeune is describing a consumer's relationship to autobiography as an object at the moment of purchase . . . [and] the key assumption for the consumer looking at a text like this is that the narrative is true and accurate" (194).

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These analogies to product safety oversight are also apt in the case of Warren; one of her most famous opening lines that undergirded the logic and necessity of a federal regulatory agency to restrict harmful financial products—what would become the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau in 2010—compared the federal consumer protection monitoring the purchase of household appliances to the lack of oversight in mortgage refinancing: "It is impossible to buy a toaster that has a one-in-five chance of bursting into flames and burning down your house. But it is possible to refinance an existing home with a mortgage that has the same one-in-five chance of putting the family out on the street—and the mortgage won't even carry a disclosure of that fact to the homeowner" ("Unsafe at Any Rate" 8). Through her populist-tinged campaign and public service, Warren tries to bridge the gap that is left open by her coauthored texts in her career moves from Oklahoma to Massachusetts, law professor to US Senator, policy adviser to policy maker, private citizen to public official. The eclectic sources of Warren's autobiographical acts construct her distinctive, plain-speaking autobiographical "I" and, I posit, the autobiographical "I*OU*" that more clearly identifies the author-reader relationship and signals its legal and moral implications. In delineating the autobiographical IOU, I bring out the debtor-creditor relationship that subtends not only the reader's relationship to the autobiographical act but that also defines what David Graeber identifies as a secular morality that "consists largely of fulfilling our obligations to others, and we have a stubborn tendency to imagine those obligations as debts" (13). Graeber points out how, by analogy, the social contract has the force of an economic one. Given this blurring of social with economic debts, the notion of indebtedness shades the relationship between the author and reader. I read the author as debtor, reader as creditor, and the autobiographical act as constituting a legal and moral relationship between author and reader, much like a signed contract or sworn verbal agreement. The author incurs a debt through the medium of the book: the publication and dissemination of the autobiographical act itself. The autobiographical IOU is not just a punning expansion of the autobiographical "I" that is often referenced in the literary examination of first-person point-of-view, but more sincerely a means by which to make visible the inextricable relationship between the "I" and "you" of the autobiographical act. The author owes the reader truths and the reader as creditor can call in these debts by verifying or discrediting these truths. Lejeune describes the context: "[t]he public finds itself in an ambiguous situation, a situation of bad faith, always ready both to suspect the authenticity of a text and to yell 'scandal'" (*On Autobiography* 194).

In a memorable family story, Warren and Tyagi demonstrate their honest desire to make understandable and useful to their readers the larger structural

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critique of household debt. In claiming the "all-purpose insurance policy provided by the stay-at-home mother [that] has paid off for millions of families," Warren and Tyagi revert to their shared family history to affectively drive home their point: "One of us [Elizabeth] lived this story back in the 1960s in Oklahoma" (*Two-Income Trap* 61). This line begins one of Warren's longest autobiographical anecdotes about her family's downward mobility and how they averted complete ruin by her mother's return to the workforce after thirty years. Despite Warren's coauthorship with her daughter, the story is mostly Warren's and told through her voice:

> My father used to talk about Herring Hardware, a farm supply store that my grandfather had run in rural Oklahoma beginning back in 1904. When the Dust Bowl hit in the 1930s and families could no longer scratch a living out of their modest farms, many packed up and headed west. . . . Some of those families never forgot the debts they left behind. Twenty years later, my grandfather would still get an occasional envelope with a few twenty-dollar bills and a handwritten note. . . . But my father—and everyone else who talks about changing values—overlooks one very important fact: Borrowers aren't the only ones who changed. (137–38)

Warren's father's opinions are especially noteworthy given his own family's vulnerability during the Great Depression and his unwise investments, underemployment, and debilitating health issues that propelled his family into the working poor. It is a story about Warren's forbearers that is clearly cherished by her family—her grandfather's trust in his customers and that trust repaid. But the ostensible moral to this story is one that Warren must reject based on her empirical research. This one anecdote functions at multiple levels: as a testament to most people's sincere desire to pay off any debt, however small; as a counter to the dominant narratives of irresponsible debtors bankrupted by luxury purchases instead of by debts incurred from daily, necessary purchases; as an object lesson of the old in contrast to the new rules of financial security; and as an illustration of generational beliefs and practices about debt and family finances that no longer apply. One particularly compelling family story thus refutes a generally damning consensus about the morality of the contemporary debtor. Establishing trust with readers by emphasizing the family's generational survival in the Dust Bowl through the Great Depression, the anecdote also shares Warren's family history and provides an empathetic connection to her readers despite the authors' own financial security, current lives far from the US rural heartland, and perhaps any perception of their being too steeped in Beltway or urban politics.

Responses to cultural productions reveal much about how audiences believe the world to work, and these provocative texts cultivate expectations for truth, justice, and morality. Readers forge what Lauren Berlant calls an

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"intimate public," which "carries the fortitude of common sense or a vernacular sense of belonging to a community, with all the undefinedness that implies" (10). This somewhat inchoate sense of belonging, of informal membership in an imagined community is, Benedict Anderson contends, the basis of nation formation. Berlant explicitly links the mundane to the more spectacular manifestations of power:

> A public is intimate when it foregrounds affective and emotional attachments located in fantasies of the common, the everyday, and a sense of ordinariness, a space where the social world is rich with anonymity and local recognitions, and where challenging and banal conditions of life take place in proximity to the attentions of power but also squarely in the radar of a recognition that can be provided by other humans. (10)

Her notion of the intimate public theorizes the overlap of entities such as reading publics with voting publics, the cultural with the political. These dual publics also explain the impact campaign memoirs by political candidates and national politicians can have on the election outcomes. Also significant is the overlap of the social and political with the economic and cultural. For example, the kind of cultural meaning attributed also determines the perception and shaping of public opinion.

Despite the desire for and belief in a stable, fixed subject and the autobiographical truth conveyed, time and time again readers have felt betrayed by allegedly false autobiographies. If the relationship between autobiographer and reader is a contract, then the public condemnation or possible litigation reveals not only a breach of trust, but more importantly, that each act of reading is an act of *credulity* that *incurs a debt* on the author's part. This indebtedness goes in one direction, as the reader is under no obligation to buy or read the text, whereas by employing autobiographical acts, the author is obligated to be largely truthful. The implicit duty to be truthful is reinforced by legal force in terms of defamation or the restitution offered by author or publishing house—for example, the price paid for the book in the case of *A Million Little Pieces*. Extending Lejeune's metaphor of contract, the act of reading an autobiography creates an outstanding debt of truth-telling, an extension of credit through the reader's trust and credulity that can be violated or betrayed. Nonfiction authors owe their fame and fortunes to their readers (as well as publishers' beliefs in these anticipated cultural and financial returns); thus when autobiographical acts are proven untrue or inaccurate and the presumably rigorous vetting and fact-checking processes of publishing houses have failed, credulous book-buyers feel owed something for violations of their trust.

Warren's research on credit and bankruptcy—economic forms of trust and its breaches—itself begs for an analysis of the symbolic factors connecting

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financial debt and the debt of the author-reader contract—a linkage made visible by the autobiographical IOU. As an extension of debt and credit, the IOU might circulate as an informal agreement far from the purview of lawyers and the official discourse of contract law; however informal, it is largely still enforceable by law. In purchasing a nonfictional text, the reader has an expectation of verifiable facts, an expectation that extends far beyond the moment of publication. This obligation as a social debt can only be repaid through the pact's continuing integrity—if its truth claims are consistently upheld.[13] In other words, if the nonfictional text is never proven untrue, then it is, for all intents and purposes, true. In response, I extend Lejeune's metaphor of the autobiographical pact in which the writer and the reader enter into a contract over the exchange or communication of a kind of truth from writer to reader. Lejeune's schema insists on recognizing the inextricable relationship between the I and the you: "It is obvious that the 'I' is not understood without a 'you' (the reader), but the latter remains generally implicit; in the opposite direction, the 'you' supposes an 'I,' equally implicit; and narration in the third person may include intrusions of the narrator in the first person" (*On Autobiography* 7–8). In her 2007 contribution to the "The Changing Profession" forum of *PMLA*, Nancy K. Miller emphasizes Lejeune's point that there is no I without a you, nor a second-person perspective without an implicit first-person one: "Perhaps it is time to understand the question of relation to the other—to others—as being as important, foundational, to the genre as the truth conditions of the 'autobiographical pact.' Not the exception but the rule. Put another way, in autobiography the relational is not optional. Autobiography's story is about the web of entanglement in which we find ourselves, one that we sometimes choose" (544). This "entangled self" in Miller's terms furthers the mutual obligation between author and reader over a nonfictional autobiographical text.

While both Lejeune and Miller emphasize why the autobiographical "I" inevitably requires a "you," the autobiographical IOU highlights the obligation of the author to the reader rather than the reader to the author. Lejeune's concrete examples illustrating the limits of one's creative license with the truth, which pepper both his influential essay, "The Autobiographical Pact" and his later clarifications in *Signes de Vie*, repeatedly move from cultural or moral norms to legal terms; for example, from "lies" to "defamation" or damaging another's reputation (*Signes* 31). Thus, while I agree that the author-reader relationship signals mutual obligation—for the author to write truthfully, and for the reader to read with expectations of an autobiographical narrative—the cultural, moral, and legal obligation of the author weighs more heavily, given that the reader has more paths to restitution than the author. The demands of readers on the author far outweigh the demands the

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author can make on the reader—evidenced by the lawsuits against authors and publishers as well as the public humiliation and ridicule they face.

Obviously, the obligation of the reader is to consider a sympathetic reading of the author-protagonist. In terms of self-help and redemption narratives, it is for the reader to acknowledge the author as a fellow human and fellow citizen capable of failure but also confession. Here, the sense of contractual violation and indignation emerges: readers have accepted someone's redemption and now he or she belongs to their imagined community and shares their moral standards for truth. Readers might additionally gild these nonfiction authors with accolades and hold them up as standards of morality and redemptive strivings. Assessments of truth and reliability are thus crucial to the ways in which readers consume autobiographies. The book-buying public has paid money, spent time reading, sympathized with the down-and-out protagonist, cheered when s/he redeemed her/himself. These readers have urged others in their networks to read the book or waited in line to get books signed, some have perhaps donated money to advocated causes. Forced to confront the possibility that they have allowed a scam artist into their trusted circle, in concrete terms most readers may feel that they have been cheated out of the price of the book or audiobook, several hours of time, and perhaps some cultural and social capital among their associates. As some of the lawsuits against Frey reveal, the most indignant critics of these cultural frauds assert that the violation of trust requires reparations in the form of publishers' refunds—compensation for injuries sustained by readers who might have also suffered from substance abuse, in the case of Frey (Wertz), or demands for full disclosure through publishers' and authors' notes alerting the reader to the liberties taken with the historical record.

Similarly, voters have trusted Warren as an advocate for the financial victims of a ruthless economic system. From 1986 to 1995, Warren listed herself as a "minority law professor" in the American Association of Law Schools annual directories, which one former chair of the association notes might be used to identify minority candidates in the days before the Internet (Hicks). Warren's application to law school stated she was white, and university spokespersons from her previous law school employers all publicly denied that race was a consideration in her hire, given her path-breaking research in bankruptcy law and distinguished teaching record. Facing criticism in the 1990s for the lack of faculty of color, especially women, Harvard Law School did however tout Warren as Native American; official data provided to federal agencies as well as various campus and local newspapers noted that while Warren taught at Harvard, the law faculty included a tenured Native American member (Chung; Hicks). However, Warren's lack of documentation and absence of tribal affiliation make her legally unable to

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claim membership in any of the three federally recognized Cherokee tribes (Franke-Ruta).

The autobiographical pact thus became salient during Warren's 2012 Senatorial campaign as her past claims to Cherokee and Delaware Indian ancestry could not be substantiated, and the controversy dampened voter support, even if it did not entirely change the election outcome. During the Senatorial campaign, Massachusetts voters became part of Warren's community of readers, who evaluated whether her undocumented autobiographical acts were unintentional or if her perceived dishonesty should sway their votes.[14] As a chilling effect, the costs of deception need to be high to dissuade others from unverifiable or deceptive autobiographical acts, and her family's autobiographical acts almost cost Warren the Senate race. Accusing Warren of violating the autobiographical pact became one of the most effective means by which her opponents could create doubts about her trustworthiness as a political candidate for the nation's most prestigious elected offices. The accuracy of Warren's life story was debated in national media. The controversy about Warren's racial identity, her unsubstantiated claims to Native American ancestry, and her life narrative received national scrutiny and raised concerns over whether she was seeking to game the system through affirmative action programs to which, her critics allege, she would not be entitled if she were white.[15] Much as she had in her earlier books, Warren had crafted herself as a trustworthy politician who played by the rules. If her detractors could show that Warren misappropriated a Native American identity, one of the most historically marginalized racial groups, this revelation would also diminish her status as a champion of vulnerable populations—specifically, downwardly mobile middle-class families, the bankrupt, regardless of race—as well as her standing in terms of the autobiographical contract between writer and reader, between politician and constituents. Lasting throughout the summer before the fall election, this controversy became the loudest and longest issue during her run for Senate in Massachusetts.

Warren's critics have tried to call in Warren's autobiographical debts by contending that she has deliberately lied. Perhaps the title of Glenn Beck's video segment "Elizabeth Warren lies on forms" most succinctly indicts Warren's unverified identity in this vein. This alleged fraud cast aspersions on the sincerity of her passion and commitment to assisting financial crisis victims as a mere confidence trick, reaffirmed her intellectual elitism and ivory tower privilege as a Harvard Law School professor, and roused lasting specters of classist, sexist, and racist resentment over affirmative action. In one masterstroke, her opponents could tarnish Warren's persona as populist advocate in multiply resonant ways that go well beyond the elitism signaled by her opponent, incumbent Massachusetts Senator Scott Brown, who repeatedly

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called her "Professor Warren" during the televised debates. On his Fox News television show *The O'Reilly Factor,* in conversation with his guest, political comedian Adam Carolla, Bill O'Reilly parodied Warren's politics by exaggerating aspects of her biography as an opportunity for her to deride others the downwardly mobile or financially precarious.

> O'Reilly: Elizabeth Warren is a classic liberal, a Harvard person, and I know those people because I had some association with them a few years ago. That she believes that society, American society, is basically unjust. And she is a Native American woman, you know that. She was able to rise up and overcome whatever prejudices are against Native Americans. . . .
>
> Carolla: It's a form of grandiosity. It's basically saying: "Yes, I'm a woman. I'm three-quarters Iroquois, and my father was a janitor, and I was born in the thirties, but you guys aren't me. See, I'm smart. I'm gifted. I've been touched by God. I can overcome this kind of adversity. *You* are not capable of it." (original emphasis)

In O'Reilly's comment, he lampoons Warren's claim as a "Native American woman," but focuses on her alleged racial identity rather than her gender as one of the reasons for the "rise" of her career. Carolla more blatantly mocks Warren's ostensible superiority as part of both her racial and gender identities, and implicitly accuses her of being against whites, the rich, and the average American. Carolla, along with other conservative critics such as Beck, ridicules one of Warren's explanations for her claim to Native American identity: that she hoped to network with other people like her by perhaps being "invited to luncheons" (Beck). Her offhand comment easily fell into the narrative of putative privilege and the elite's trivial pursuits: this frivolous goal evinces the uselessness of wealthy socialites and Ivy League law professors such as Warren.

In her 2014 memoir, *A Fighting Chance,* Warren narrates how, for the last six months of her campaign, her racial identity became the focus of her Senate race and sparked national conversations about Native American ancestry, affirmative action, and diversity in university hiring instead of her platform of financial regulation. For Warren, ironically, only additional autobiographical acts could deflect the accusation that she had intentionally deceived employers and Massachusetts voters. Unable to verify her Native American ancestry, Warren has explained that her identity was derived from the private, affective communications between mother and daughter, parents and children: "From the day I was born until the day my mother died, she told me about who I am, who we are, who my brothers are, who my family is. And I have never used the information about our Native American heritage to get any advantage" ("Boston Herald"). Warren appeals here to the understanding of her voters who would likely themselves be familiar with

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and sympathetic to the intensely intimate public of family lore. She also appeals to her audience's outrage in her opposition's attacks on her dead parents, brothers, and children who did not deserve this public scrutiny and criticism (*A Fighting Chance* 248). Moreover, her family story is a parable of triumph over racial adversity: Warren's mother believed herself to have Delaware and Cherokee Indian heritage that her future in-laws, Warren's father's family, objected to, but Warren's parents still married. This interracial acceptance or inclusion conspicuously marks Warren's family for her parents' and children's generations, with Warren's daughter's own white-Asian family, the two oldest biracial children—Warren's grandchildren—appearing onstage to celebrate Warren's successful election night.

During one of the televised debates with Brown, Warren implicitly asks voters for their understanding of what they might perceive as deception in her repeated and unsubstantiated claims to Native American heritage; instead, she suggests, her assertion of an unverified identity is in fact evidence of her honoring her family history. Warren claimed the identity her parents and grandparents claimed. By believing the stories her parents and relatives told her—trusting their autobiographical acts—Warren reframes herself as a dutiful daughter who is proud of her family's hard work and survival in post-Depression era Oklahoma. One of her campaign's counterattack ads has Warren explaining her misguided beliefs, and while squarely facing the camera, she closes by gravely saying, "Scott Brown can keep attacking my family, but I'm going to keep fighting for yours" ("Family"). Even if audiences accept the veracity of Warren's explanations, her political troubles over her identity, or lack of a specific racial one, reveal the pitfalls of inaccurate or unverifiable autobiographical acts—that one of her family's most cherished stories of its origins could conceivably have almost cost her the Senatorial election and did much to distract from the popular appeal of her reformist platform to increase regulatory oversight and expand the social safety net. But Warren deftly counters her unverified autobiographical act with another one in which her trustworthiness is reestablished by the honesty with which she addresses her actions. Warren must pay in the currency that her campaign has made necessary and which the autobiographical IOU demands, replacing one autobiographical pact with another.

THE WINNING NUMBERS

Warren's 2012 election campaign occurred during what would be "the election of percentages," the Presidential election between incumbent Barack Obama and former governor Mitt Romney.[16] The global financial crisis had already made unemployment and foreclosure percentages front-page news, in

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addition to those of the Dow Jones Industrial Average and the contracting economy assessed through GDP growth. After an initial decrease in wages and salaries, economic recovery appeared on the horizon, but the recovery was best for those at the top. These concerns were articulated by Occupy Wall Street with its slogan "we are the 99%." Nobel Prize-winning economist Joseph Stigletz would write a *Vanity Fair* essay, "Of the 1%, by the 1%, for the 1%," which outlined his criticism of how the financial prerogatives of the wealthiest Americans drive public policy almost always to the detriment of the rest. In the months before the Presidential election, Mitt Romney's off-the-cuff remarks at a private fundraiser would highlight one common, and inaccurate, depiction of the divide between the "takers" and the "makers," the 47 percent who pay no income taxes and the 53 percent who do. While there have always been haves and have-nots, the embrace of percentages is noteworthy. Governmental policies have failed to provide financial security for its population, and the statistics that are the lifeblood of governmental bureaucracies are being used to galvanize an underserved and neglected constituency and to coalesce what political theorist Jason Frank terms a *constituent* moment (qtd. in Tarrow).

The autobiographical IOU mediates trust created within the most basic unit of politics—interpersonal relations—and regulates the body politic. The autobiographical IOU identifies the demand for reliability and trustworthiness in written, spoken, and visual narratives. Warren's writings are critical for teasing out the current balance between the citizen and the collective, the consumer and the economy. As the fodder for memoir, Warren's life and experiences are meant to illustrate and persuade her readers to learn from her research, adopt her economic and political views, and elect her to public office (and perhaps also contribute to her campaign). To these ends, her autobiographical acts are akin to those of countless other political candidates for elected office. But Warren's autobiographical acts have attempted to identify one of the most furtive and shamed groups, whose membership claims various credentials for middle class respectability and yet whose unsustainable levels of consumer debt mark its downward mobility, or for some, path to bankruptcy. Warren recognizes this intimate public unwillingly forged over texts not necessarily literary or even popular cultural ones, but instead the worrisome household financial records of pink slips, past-due notices, overdrawn bank accounts, and overstretched budgets. It is the household consumer debt likely incurred through unexpected circumstances: job loss, medical emergency, and divorce. While each of these determinants of bankruptcy has its own self-help literary traditions and intimate publics, Warren exhorts the financially besieged middle class to leverage their strength in numbers and exploitation against usurious lending practices. Her autobiographical acts are an

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exhortation to merge the self-help with the structural, to follow her lead from expert to political actor, or for her average reader, from people who best know the sorry state of their personal finances to those who do something about it, both by avoiding "the two-income trap" of overspending on housing and education and claiming all their worth as a political movement.

NOTES

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1. I use the term "citizen" more as a conceptual ideal and less as a de facto exclusive category that signals the most privileged and protected of state subjects. Debtor-citizen is an aspirational category that applies to any resident or denizen of the nation (and participant in the national economy at the most fundamental levels of consumption: food, housing, transportation, utilities). For noncitizens (and nonwhite citizens), the relationship to debt has proven even more complicated, the exclusions and penalties even more fierce. In singling out the "citizen," I am delineating the kinds of ideals and practices that a model US citizen would (or is imagined to) perform. The debtor-citizen that I posit Elizabeth Warren implicitly promotes would apply insofar as noncitizens would be exhorted to assert their rights as consumers *as if they were* citizens.
2. In this essay, I do not explore the expectations of the speculative market in terms of what might be considered an investor's or shareholder's relationship to citizenship or debt, as I do elsewhere. While everyone is a consumer, a minority self-identify as investors and even fewer are classified as belonging to the "investor class." According to Edward Wolff, only half of all households own any type of stock, and more specifically, the bottom "wealth class" quintiles have fewer than one in four households owning stock. For a discussion of the inadequacies of using the investor or shareholder as an analogy for imagining political democratic processes, see Itagaki, in which I identify the "shareholder citizen" as a severely limited notion of citizenship put forward by the conservative majority of Supreme Court justices, who use market analogies such as "corporate democracy" and the "marketplace of ideas" to recalibrate the political "common sense" understanding of US democracy in favor of stockholding economic elites.
3. I refer to Louis Hyman's *Debtor Nation: A History of America in Red Ink.*
4. This 2001 research project is the third study conducted since 1981 and the subject of numerous publications with coauthors Teresa A. Sullivan and Jay Lawrence Westbrook, most notably, *As We Forgive Our Debtors: Bankruptcy and Consumer Credit in America* and *The Fragile Middle Class: Americans in Debt* about data collected in 1981 and 1991, respectively.
5. I refer to influential works such as Hyman's *Debtor Nation*, Sheldon Garon's *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends while the World Saves,* and Devin Fergus's *Land of the Fee: The Rise of Consumer Finance Fees and Decline of Upward Mobility in America.*

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6. In a comparative, cross-cultural study of 5,000 years of debt, David Graeber posits a kind of debtor imperialism in the financialization of the US economy in which the purchase of US bonds and the buying of US debt can be perceived as a form of tribute flowing from client nations and subjects to the "center" (x).
7. Indeed, private stakeholders such as lenders, appraisers, and brokers incentivize certain paths toward upward mobility, and the financial services industry profited immensely from the fees (primary market) and securitization (secondary market) of these almost routine household debts—housing, education, auto, and employment—as Fergus importantly argues.
8. For example, it was the household durable good, the Singer sewing machine, which inaugurated the installment plan and long-term household debt for US consumers.
9. This rhetorical strategy is similar to Barack Obama's invocation of individual Americans during his Presidential campaign speeches and State of the Union addresses.
10. Warren and Tyagi, for example, dedicate *The Two-Income Trap* to their readers and those they know who face financial vulnerabilities for themselves and their families: "This book is dedicated to all parents who wake up with hearts thudding over the possibility that buying school shoes and Girl Scout uniforms will mean that there won't be enough left over to pay the mortgage. These people are our neighbors, our brothers and sisters, our friends and coworkers. They travel anonymously among us, but we know them. They went to college, had kids, bought a home, played by the rules—and lost. It is time to rewrite the rules so that these families are winners again." The preface is an exhortation of belonging and a plea for those more politically powerful and financially fortunate to believe these people did not earn and do not deserve their economic desserts, and that their grievances should be included in the imagined community of the US nation-state.
11. In positing Warren as vulnerable, I am not saying that this issue effectively swayed the vote, given Warren's eventual election as Senator, but that this particular meme was picked up by her critics, conservative pundits, blogs, and other conservative media outlets as a means to discredit her candidacy.
12. Pulitzer-prize winning *New York Times* book reviewer Michiko Kakutani and *New York Times* opinion columnists Maureen Dowd and Frank Rich have notably made these cultural-political connections in their linking of the 2006 fiction-nonfiction controversy over Frey's *A Million Little Pieces* to what Dowd characterizes as "our long national slide into untruth and no consequences, into Swift boating and swift bucks, into W.'s delusion and denial" (A1).
13. This formal legal boundary is cemented by the actions taken by Frey's publisher, Random House, and its agreement to refund the purchase price of the memoir; though functioning akin to consumer protection and good faith practices, neither the publishers nor Frey ever admitted an intention to defraud.
14. In a National Public Radio broadcast during Warren's campaign, a journalist and member of the Red Cliff Band of the Wisconsin Ojibwe explains how inaccurate family stories of Native American ancestors are unfortunately common in Oklahoma, which has the second-largest population of Native Americans ("Proving").
15. Of course, almost all coverage of this issue ignored the aspect of gender that is also included in affirmative action policies, which historically have benefited white women

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as well as minority candidates. In the controversy during her campaign and the national coverage, there is no mention of the importance of Warren's gender in her hiring with tenure at Harvard Law School, especially to ameliorate its highly publicized gender disparities as well as racial ones (Chung). In 1991, of 65 tenured and tenure-track faculty members, white women comprised 5 ("Judge"), and in 1996, after Warren's hire, there were 6 (Chung).

16. I thank Timothy McCarthy for this insight.

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IN GOOD COMPANY: CORPORATE PERSONHOOD, LABOR, AND THE MANAGEMENT OF AFFECT IN *UNDERCOVER BOSS*

JOHN MCGLOTHLIN III

Though they typically limit their televised appearances to newscasts, busines programming, and primetime advertisements, the executives of corporation based in the United States occasionally participate in reality television shows Within the latter genre, bosses tend to assume one of two dichotomous pe sonality types. On the one hand, NBC's *The Apprentice*—an elimination re ity show in which business professionals compete for the opportunity to wo for Donald Trump—has celebrated the emotionally callous and ruthless calculating executive since its first season aired in 2004. The Donald's caust attitude towards his potential employees, one of whom he summarily fires a each episode's conclusion, quickly became the show's hallmark and the ba of its broad popularity.[1] In counterpoint to Trump's unfailingly gruff beha ior and *The Apprentice*'s glorification of cutthroat business practices, the CB reality show *Undercover Boss* relies upon depictions of caring managers wh head compassionate businesses to attract viewers.[2] Combining documentar production methods with tropes borrowed from philanthropic and makeove television, *Undercover Boss* follows kindly executives from a range of US com panies as they attempt "to examine the inner workings of their corporation" by laboring alongside "rank-and-file" employees while in disguise.[3]

The prospect of watching executives personally engage with staff mem bers rather than fire them brought 38 million US viewers to the premier episode in February 2010. The remainder of the first season enjoyed simi lar success, drawing an average audience of 17.7 million to its Friday nigh timeslot.[4] Critics within the television industry have lauded the show as well: after receiving nominations in 2010 and 2011, *Undercover Boss* won the Emmy Award for Outstanding Reality Program in both 2012 and 201

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Trump's acclaim aside, this sustained popularity among industry insiders and audiences positions *Undercover Boss* as a highly visible and widely consumed representation of present-day corporate culture.

As it follows executives' incognito exploits, *Undercover Boss* draws upon a distinct iteration of corporate personhood. Though this term often refers to the US legal precedent that authorizes businesses to evoke the rights of natural rather than artificial persons, I use corporate personhood to indicate the elision whereby an executive stands in for an entire company.[5] The visionary entrepreneur who becomes the embodiment of an enterprise after guiding it into a position of industry dominance epitomizes this strain of corporate personhood, with Steve Jobs at Apple and Richard Branson at Virgin constituting prime examples. Media outlets and businesses alike encourage the correlation of CEOs with their companies, argues Purnima Bose, because doing so "facilitates easier consumer identification with the corporation" (31).[6] In lieu of addressing the complicated ways in which individual will must interact with institutional power structures, corporate personhood offers easily digestible narratives featuring a single executive with whom audiences can readily relate. This enables companies to foster advantageous relationships not just with customers, as Bose indicates, but with workers as well. Consequently, grasping the full social, economic, and ideological impact of corporate personhood necessarily involves analyzing how its implementation within cultural texts like *Undercover Boss* shapes associations both external and internal to corporate entities.

On the show, corporate personhood operates alongside the life writing used to craft the biographies of managers, employees, and their companies. By offering reductive profiles of the latter, *Undercover Boss* casts today's businesses as uncomplicated organizations run single-handedly by powerful CEOs, a simplification that encourages the conflation of executive will and institutional trajectory. Moreover, the show's rudimentary executive and employee biographies obscure the interpersonal discrepancies between management and labor in favor of highlighting their shared life experiences. When circulated in tandem with corporate personhood's synechdochic slippage, the meaningful boss-worker relationships manufactured by *Undercover Boss*'s life writing provide companies with a distinct and influential means of engaging with affect.[7]

Corporate advertisers have long attempted to engage with public sentiments to drive sales, whether by tailoring their marketing strategies in response to social moods (communities may feel anxious, precarious, or patriotic, for instance), or by affiliating their products with specific sentiments (such as safety, altruism, or nostalgia).[8] While such strategies involve the manipulation of collective affective states, corporate personhood by contrast enables companies

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to possess their own emotions via the figure of the executive. The ability to wield personal sentiment allows institutions to combat the public alienation associated with "faceless" corporate entities, and instead to foster direct emotional relations with individuals in and outside of the corporate body. The affective content of interpersonal relationships subsequently becomes a mechanism with which companies can protect their own interests and—as *Undercover Boss* demonstrates—foster favorable labor conditions.

In each of its episodes, *Undercover Boss* utilizes life writing and corporate personhood to transform companies into individual executives who grow affectively attuned to their employees. In response to their ostensibly newfound sympathy for their workforces, executives commit themselves to prioritizing employee needs and desires above the demands of the financial bottom line. They dole out rewards for diligent labor, vow to democratize control over institutional practices, and promise to renew their defense of the meritocratic advancement at the heart of the American dream. The emotional sympathy between bosses and workers indicated by such acts ultimately expands into a collective mood of intra-institutional harmony, and while this atmosphere of goodwill is designed in part to address unfavorable public attitudes toward corporations, it operates as more than a publicity stunt. Behind the cover of its simplified portrayal of corporate structures and its exaltation of affective alignments between executives and employees, *Undercover Boss* and its featured companies maintain a status quo of non-unionized, emotionally constrained labor practices that pair an escalation in productivity rates with stagnant compensation policies.

Cultural critics have cast contemporary popular media, and reality television shows in particular, as perpetuating the individualism championed by neoliberal capitalism.[9] Though *Undercover Boss* likewise celebrates industrious workers and meritocratic corporate policies, it also evinces reality programming's capacity for normalizing a host of labor practices that extend beyond calls for self-discipline in the workplace. The centrality of executive-employee relationships to the show's architecture suggests that corporations may commend certain varieties of communal engagement as readily as self-sufficiency. Accordingly, *Undercover Boss* invites a consideration of the collusions between popular culture and contemporary capitalism that extend beyond their mutual approval of individualism. In its reliance upon sentiment to facilitate the dissemination of capitalist ideology, the show reinforces critical work within affect studies that has established the dexterity of capitalist institutions in exploiting emotive states to perpetuate dominant production and labor relations.[10] Corporate personhood, it demonstrates, functions as a particularly influential tool with which commercial interests can favorably condition communal and individual affective states.

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Though the show strives to highlight the development of intra-institutional amity, I close by examining how feelings of anxiety and skepticism have nonetheless seeped into the affective content of its later seasons. These troubling sentiments construct a critical space within which *Undercover Boss*'s efforts to shape popular conceptualizations of US corporations, and to thereby control labor itself, might be drawn into question. In doing so, they affirm affect's status as a site of critical negotiation rather than hegemonic ideological imposition within contemporary capitalism.

WHO'S THE BOSS?

When they appeared during the show's first season, reviews for *Undercover Boss* were largely mixed. *Los Angeles Times* critic Mary McNamara provides a representative assessment when she bemoans the depiction of Waste Management Inc. in the first episode as too sanguine, yet characterizes the revelation that CEO Larry O'Donnell's daughter suffered brain damage as a child as "undeniably touching."[11] In her affiliation of biographical details with emotional resonance, McNamara points to affect's centrality within the show's approach to life writing. *Undercover Boss*'s reductive personal profiles manufacture biographical parallels between executives and employees that become the basis of compassionate boss-worker relationships and help foster melodramatic displays of emotion throughout each episode. The show's life writing techniques also encourage corporate personhood's merger of executive and corporation.

The third episode of *Undercover Boss*'s fourth season, which features Cinnabon, Inc. and company president Kat Cole, exemplifies the show's efforts to establish parallels between the executive, her company, and her workers. Each installment of the series opens with a concise company history along with a brief personal autobiography narrated by the boss. Though this simplistic sequence of narratives lasts only a few minutes, it establishes a crucial elision between executive and corporation at each show's outset. In the Cinnabon episode, a voiceover detailing the company's regions of operation, sales figures, and revenue segues into the introduction of Cole, who furnishes additional information concerning Cinnabon products before shifting to discuss her personal background.[12] The narration of corporate history and executive autobiography merge within Cole's monologue, which prompts a similar fusion of boss and company. Moreover, the institutional narratives offered by executives like Cole homogenize corporate structures such that each company appears to have a single boss who holds absolute authority. To this end, Cole's narrative excludes the fact that the Roark Capital Group, a private equity fund, owns Cinnabon as well as Moe's Southwest Grill and FastSigns—two companies featured in other episodes of *Undercover Boss*.[13] By barring

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information concerning Roark, the episode frames Cole not as the employee of a private fund and the peer of other franchise presidents, but as the sole executive of a stand-alone company.[14] The voiceover's assertion that "one woman" oversees "the 11,000 employees that keep this business baking" captures the show's tendency to provide uncomplicated narratives of corporations and their executives in order to blend the former into the latter.

As she transitions from discussing Cinnabon to recounting her autobiography, Cole relays a select set of details from her personal life. In its portrayal of a working-class individual moving up the corporate ladder by dint of personal effort, Cole's slimmed-down autobiography mirrors the equally concise life stories of the Cinnabon employees with whom she works. The lack of complexity within these biographies allows the show's life writing to conjure up personal intimacy between the executive and members of his or her workforce. Cole explains that her mother single-handedly raised her and her two younger sisters on a shoestring budget, an experience that developed Cole's "desire to be successful" in business. The craving for a prosperous career led Cole to take a job at Hooters at the age of nineteen, following which she advanced through the corporate hierarchy to become a vice president at twenty-six. Eighteen months prior to her episode's taping, Cole transitioned from Hooters to acquire the top position at Cinnabon. Like all executives on the show, Cole concludes her autobiography by explaining that she hopes to use her time working undercover to develop a better understanding of the day-to-day operations of her new company and to make a ground-level assessment of its products, policies, and staff. While executives claim that their desires to evaluate such mundane issues as product quality and policy effectiveness led them to appear on *Undercover Boss*, the show quickly subordinates these motives to tracing how emotional connections develop between workers and bosses. On occasion Cole mentions small changes she plans to make to her business model, but her episode largely focuses on the intimate personal connections she develops with four employees.

Undercover Boss identifies workers by first name only, and the few tidbits of autobiographical information they provide while on camera configure their lives as uncannily paralleled to the executive's own. Parallel experiences in turn form the basis of executives' feelings of sympathy for workers. In her first undercover job, Cole works as a cashier at a Cinnabon franchise with nineteen-year-old Mayra, a shift supervisor who tells Cole that she too was raised primarily by her mother. Like Cole, Mayra began working while a teenager to support her mother, who had been diagnosed with breast cancer. Cole's assertion that Mayra's story "touches my heart" because "I know what it feels like to be a teenager and want to step up and help your mom" frames the boss's ability to sympathize with an employee as deriving from their analogous life

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experiences. A second connection appears at Cole's next job when she meets Linda, a machine operator at a Cream of Wheat factory that produces a Cinnabon-flavored product.[15] Linda cries as she describes the difficulties of raising her two children and one of her grandsons on her own, hardships that mirror those endured by Cole's mother. Cole in turn renders her sympathy for Linda visible by tearing up on camera when discussing the tribulations of single moms. The episode introduces yet another single working mother in Moka, a coffee hostess at a Cinnabon kiosk located within a large gas station. Moka's three daughters correspond to the configuration of Cole's natal family. Together, these biographical correspondences prompt feelings of workplace intimacy but overshadow the distinctions of age, employment, kinship, and class that exist between the featured employees and Cole, an upper-level executive in her mid-thirties who appears to be unwed and without children.[16]

The "boss reveal" that concludes every episode underlines the significance of each executive's affective connections with his or her employees. In this portion of the program, executives meet the episode's four workers a second time without a disguise and evaluate their job performance. The producers' use of the term "reveal"—viewers are in fact encouraged to use "#bossreveal" on Twitter when discussing the show—establishes an overt parallel with makeover television programs, which predictably conclude with the exhibition of a rejuvenated individual who has located his or her "true" self.[17] In a similar vein, executives on *Undercover Boss* claim that their covert interactions with staff members prompted an enlightened sense of sympathy for workers. Cole declares that she feels "connected somehow, some way" with each of her employees following her week laboring in disguise, which helped her to see that "many people are going through hardships in their lives, just like I did growing up." Cole's vague language suggests that she and the corporation for which she stands have "somehow" developed an aptitude for commiserating not just with the employees featured during the episode, but presumably with the "many people" in the US working public who face economic difficulties. Her relationship with Linda dramatizes the capacity for corporate sympathy to extend beyond company walls, as Linda works for Cream of Wheat rather than for Cole at Cinnabon.

During the boss reveal, newly compassionate executives apportion praise, promotions, pay raises, and cash gifts to their employees. The surprise and disbelief workers experience over the revelation of their boss's true identity combine with feelings of shock, gratitude, and/or joy springing from unexpected financial boons to create an affective cocktail that results in moments of emotional release. As music swells to boost the reveal's melodramatic heft, each of the four workers cries along with Cole as she lists their various rewards. They include a trip to Washington, D.C. for Linda and her grandson;

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Moka's promotion to the position of Cinnabon Certified Trainer, wherein she will prepare employees to run Cinnabon kiosks; and $10,000 in cash for both Mayra and Moka. Workers' post-reveal interviews underscore the boss reveal's pleasurable, emotionally cathartic nature, with Moka's tearful assertion that it "feels good for someone to finally say I'm amazing" echoing Linda's declaration that "it feels wonderful to be appreciated." Alongside more tangible rewards, "mental wages" in the form of recognition and gratitude from bosses thus comprise an equally meaningful means of worker remuneration.[18] When combined, these material and immaterial gifts complete a circuit of intra-institutional goodwill—bosses sympathize with staff members who in turn feel appreciated by their employers—that expands executives' feelings of personal compassion for a few workers into a positive affective atmosphere encompassing the entire company. Episodes visualize this upbeat mood via closing montages that portray a rejuvenated boss and enthusiastic workforce looking optimistically into their business's future.

MANAGING YOUR MANAGER

As part of their newfound concern for employees, benevolent post-reveal bosses vow to implement reforms designed to prioritize worker interests over the company's bottom line. Executives consequently transform themselves into conduits through which laborers appear to gain the power to alter company practices, and into the restorers of what Lauren Berlant terms "the good life." Encapsulating tenets such as upward mobility and meritocracy, the good life formed the basis of the "social-democratic promise" made by corporate entities to working publics in the US and capitalist European nations following World War II (3). Associated with Fordist-Keynesian economic models that embedded full-time, long-term employment within a net of state-backed social welfare programs, the good life assured workers of every pay grade that committed on-the-job effort would bring escalating prosperity for present and future generations. In counterpoint to these promises of stable, meritocratic labor conditions overseen by altruistic corporations, the past few decades instead brought the evisceration of welfare systems, the spread of precarious work and lives, and the steady climb of unemployment rates.[19] Movements such as Occupy Wall Street and the fast-food workers strike of 2013 have responded to the collapse of the good life's tenets, and have helped vocalize the US working public's increasingly widespread opposition to the death of the socially-conscientious corporation.[20]

An opening montage included in *Undercover Boss*'s first season underscores its producers' consciousness of the mounting disillusionment with contemporary corporate behavior. Over footage of stock market tickers and older

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white men in suits smoking cigars that visually denotes unfettered capitalist greed, the montage's voiceover declares that "many hard-working Americans blame CEOs out of touch with their own companies" for the US's recent economic hardships. The show's featured corporations respond to accusations of alienation and avarice by reviving their commitment to protecting employee interests and underwriting the American dream. Its focus on internal labor conditions notwithstanding, *Undercover Boss* is thus designed in part to enable companies to conduct external public relations damage control and to rebuff popular criticisms of corporate practice. For featured businesses, this publicity comes at a bargain price. The rewards presented by the most generous executives at the end of each hour-long episode can total several hundred thousand dollars, but a single thirty-second primetime advertisement on CBS cost more than $110,000 on average in 2011.[21] Rather than an altruistic concern for improving labor conditions, the desire to get more bang for their advertising buck may motivate corporations to appear on *Undercover Boss*.

Featured companies articulate their willingness to reinstitute the good life via the logics of corporate personhood, which suggest that the affective sympathy between an employee and an executive can prompt institutional changes designed to meet workers' needs or desires. This logic plays out on *Undercover Boss* when executives claim that working incognito helps unveil aspects of corporate practice that—much to their surprise—have failed to meet employees' expectations. Troubled by these shortcomings due to their emergent sympathy for workers, executives promise to modify company behavior based upon employees' suggestions. The resulting portrayal of seemingly empowered laborers mirrors the emphasis much of reality programming places on participant control.[22] On *Undercover Boss*, though, the executive forms the sole conduit through which employees may generate change. This arrangement aligns with corporate personhood's simplified depiction of institutional hierarchies and power relations. It draws upon the affective dimensions of corporate personhood as well through its implication that altering a boss's attitude or emotional state constitutes an efficacious means of amending institutional policy.

The fourth season's first episode showcases CEO Mitchell Modell of Modell's Sporting Goods, and deftly establishes a correlation between changes in executive sentiment and corporate practice.[23] Modell opens the episode by posing a rhetorical question that frames him as the stereotypically gruff, ultra-rationalized executive in the style of Trump: "If it doesn't drive sales or increase profits," he asks, "then what are we doing it for?" As Modell works undercover alongside employees at shipping centers and retail outlets, his frosty personality undergoes an affective makeover. Modell declares himself "personally devastated" and "embarrassed" when he realizes that distribution

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center associate Christopher and truck driver Kirk are both overworked and underpaid. Declaring that his time with employees has enabled him to "see the company from an incredibly different point of view," the now-compassionate Modell pledges to reconfigure his company's policies. During the boss reveal, Modell promises to "change the whole compensation program" at shipping centers based on Christopher's feedback, and to implement Kirk's suggestion to offer escalated pay scales to drivers working irregular shifts. Modell refrains from providing precise figures concerning these changes, but Kirk's affirmation that his boss's initial focus on "the bottom line" shifted once he "took the time to sit down with us" implies that Modell's affective transformation has led him to approve more generous compensation packages. Kirk's sense that he has "done my part" in bettering the company frames these changes as stemming from Modell's willingness to democratize control over the business in order to create a more employee-conscious institution. Nonetheless, Modell's caginess concerning the actual policies that will (or will not) go into effect interrupts the show's intimation that control over corporate practices lies solely with the boss—an insinuation strengthened by the fact that, in this instance, CEO and company share a name—and that altering an executive's affective state will consequently engender change at the corporate level. Modell's refusal or inability to articulate concrete modifications to pay rates leaves his employees' apparent influence over the company open to question.

Cole and Cinnabon, by comparison, convey themselves as prioritizing worker interests by defending meritocracy and upward mobility, both key aspects of the good life. Cole praises the work ethic of her staff during the boss reveal, noting the "pride," "energy," and "professionalism" they bring to their jobs. For three of the four employees (Mayra, Moka, and store manager Miguel), diligent on-the-job effort results in promotions or pay raises. Miguel later affirms Cinnabon's status as a meritocratic institution when he confidently tells the camera that "hard work will always pay off."[24] In addition, Cole fulfills Miguel's dream of becoming a Cinnabon franchise owner—an entrepreneurial aspiration that she earlier deems "the American dream"—and establishes education funds for Mayra, Moka's children, and Linda's grandson.[25] The episode then concludes by focusing on Cole, who fondly recalls the assistance she received while moving up the Hooter's hierarchy before declaring her desire to afford the same kinds of career opportunities to others. By casting her actions as the product of personal feelings of gratitude and obligation, Cole implies that an executive's sentiments can spur corporations to resuscitate their protection of the American dream and enable the social advancement of employees and their families, whether through direct promotions up the corporate ladder or through gifts designed to grant future generations access to higher education.

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THE NEW OLD NORMAL

Undercover Boss's one-off allotment of rewards to select employees frames corporations as charitable entities managed by compassionate executives who champion workers' interests. However, the show's suggestion that executive munificence will restore the conditions of the good life to the US working public in effect abets the maintenance of corporate-friendly labor practices. Adam Cohen of *The New York Times* neatly summarizes this contradiction when he observes that framing "out-of-touch executives" as both the source of and solution to corporate negligence echoes the old Russian saying, "If only the czar knew of our suffering, he would do something." The bitter irony, Cohen declares, is that Russia's monarchs "did know—and chose to do nothing." While the show's corporate czars likewise appear willing to right workplace wrongs following their affective transformations, their proclamations of sympathy for staff and commitment to reform elide the systemic failure of certain economic sectors to provide US workers with a living wage. Around a quarter of the corporations featured on *Undercover Boss* operate in the food service industry, which offered an average annual payroll per employee of $12,921 in 2007; fast-food outlets like Cinnabon posted a lower average of $11,566 ("Economic Consensus").[26] This latter figure sits just above the US Census Bureau's 2007 poverty threshold of $10,787 for individuals under the age of 65, with no dependents ("Poverty Thresholds"). As a single mother of three, Moka would have needed to earn more than $21,000 per year to stay above the federal poverty line in 2007. While this would have required a salary of $11 per hour assuming a 40-hour work week, most hourly positions at Cinnabon offered little more than the federal minimum wage of $7.25 as of 2013 ("Cinnabon"). Sales associates at Modell's, too, earned less than $8 an hour on average in 2013 ("Modell's").[27] Alongside the waning of the minimum wage's actual value to less than three-quarters of its peak in 1968, these figures suggest that the pay scales at companies like Modell's and Cinnabon can inhibit employee access to the very upward mobility their executives promise to protect ("Fast-food Condemnation").[28]

Beyond merely concealing actual wage rates and the precarious lives they produce, *Undercover Boss*'s narratives of renewed corporate sympathy for employees facilitate the normalization of alternative means of compensation and workplace surveillance, as well as non-unionized and emotionally constrained labor. In this fashion, the show's affective contents support the maintenance of labor relations that favor corporate interests, and enable the reproduction of the conditions of capitalist production.[29] During boss reveals, kindly executives often offer alternative modes of compensation, such as vacations, to their employees. Just as Cole pays for Linda to visit Washington, D.C. with her

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grandson, Modell sends assistant store manager Jim on a week-long trip with his family, and promises to fly Christopher and his brother to a Brooklyn Nets away game. As occurs with the provision of "mental wages," paid downtime can compensate for stagnant wage rates without improving employees' living or working conditions, which may seem more tolerable after a short reprieve. In addition, the promotions allotted as rewards to some employees encourage the extraction of additional labor for stagnant pay levels. This occurs with Jim, whom Modell calls upon to become an "ambassador supervisor/assistant manager," a position that will require Jim to visit and supply feedback on multiple retail locations while maintaining his extant managerial duties. While Jim declares himself "excited" at the prospect of his new position, Modell notably fails to mention an adjustment in Jim's pay scale to account for his new responsibilities. In lieu of tangible wages or benefits, Jim's remuneration takes the form of added work. His "promotion" contributes to the disarticulation of hikes in worker output with corresponding escalations in compensation.

The very status of *Undercover Boss* as a reality television show furthers this disarticulation given the genre's inclinations toward normalizing workplace surveillance and challenging unionization. Along with the rise of social media and data mining, reality television encourages the integration of what Mark Andrejevic terms the "work of being watched" into contemporary economies. For many critics the digital surveillance carried out by corporate and governmental bodies, along with the increased exposure of personal information on reality programs, are most notable for contributing to the erosion of individual privacy. Andrejevic and privacy scholars like Daniel J. Solove, however, emphasize the productivity inherent to surveillance.[30] Much as consumers provide free and highly valuable labor when they allow corporations to track their digital movements and online purchases, reality television participants perform a kind of work simply by appearing on camera. In this vein, *Undercover Boss* reinforces the normalcy of panoptic tactics designed to bolster productivity by repeatedly placing employees under the eye of incognito bosses and camera crews. Beyond rendering constant surveillance routine through its sheer repetition in each episode, the show transforms panopticism into a potential source of worker optimism through the tacit argument that productive employees who welcome workplace monitoring will subsequently receive corporate munificence. Under the guise of being designed to facilitate meritocracy's smooth functioning, the show's format crafts highly productive workers who perform a triplicate labor: featured employees simultaneously complete their day jobs, help their employer improve its public image, and supply programming content to CBS.

Reality television producers have furthermore drawn upon shifting popular attitudes toward labor as a means of avoiding unionized workforces and

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reducing production costs. The ubiquity of the "work of being watched" has yielded reality show participants who willingly appear on camera for little to no pay, which in turn allows producers to bypass the Screen Actors Guild and its affiliated expenses.[31] Reality programming's behind-the-scenes labor has historically been non-unionized as well. The Writers Guild of America moved unsuccessfully to extend industry-standard benefits to reality and game show writers during its 2007–2008 general strike, and reality television consequently served as an affordable way for networks to fill airtime as the strike continued.[32] The erratic nature of ensuing negotiations for guild representation has kept reality production costs well below those of fictional programming.[33] Notably, *Undercover Boss*'s basic format mirrors the anti-union inclination of the reality television genre writ large. The show's featured workers appear in isolation—to work with staff members, bosses travel to four different locales during their time undercover—and do not interact on screen. Their careful segregation privileges the vertical relationship between boss and employee as the principal venue for amending corporate practice, and obscures the horizontal contacts requisite for collective bargaining.

Along with being non-unionized, the working conditions privileged by *Undercover Boss* require employees to maintain a cheerful atmosphere on the job by stifling critical personal sentiments. As sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild explains, the careful management of feelings in response to workplace guidelines constitutes a central component of service economy jobs that demand extensive employee-customer interaction.[34] What Hochschild terms "emotional labor" allows companies to develop a favorable public image, as upbeat employees help ensure customer satisfaction. The *Undercover Boss* episode featuring Boston Market demonstrates that workers on the show must carry out the emotional labor of affective restraint when navigating internal corporate relationships as well. While undercover, Chief Brand Officer Sara Bittorf meets shift supervisor Ronnie, who confides that he "literally hates" Boston Market's customers before detailing the reasons he dislikes serving them. After confessing that Ronnie's sentiments make her feel "angry," "heartbroken," and "disappointed," Bittorf fires him on camera—the show's only on-camera sacking to date. Bittorf defends her actions by citing concerns regarding Ronnie's ability to interact with patrons: "I can't have someone who just told me that they hate customers more than anything in the world serving our guests." However, she states earlier in the show that supervisors like Ronnie must also "set the tone for all the employees in the restaurant." The episode devotes substantial screen time to the injudicious conversations Ronnie has with Bittorf as they work together in a franchise kitchen, but shows Ronnie speaking with patrons just once. This imbalance in content suggests that Ronnie's tendency to share disparaging personal

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sentiments with fellow staff members, rather than his interactions with customers, is what truly spurs Bittorf's resentment. His rapport with Bittorf, in other words, indicates an unwillingness to perform emotional labor within the corporation. All told, Ronnie's sacking reveals that *Undercover Boss* not only fosters labor practices characterized by low costs, constant surveillance, and high productivity. It also obliges employees to actively construct the convivial intra-institutional environment that purportedly arises naturally from sympathetic relations between bosses and their staff.

THE END OF BUSINESS AS USUAL

If they depart from the show's pro-corporate disposition, Ronnie's vehement declarations of hatred for Boston Market customers align with *Undercover Boss*'s preference for highly legible emotional content. To this end, its life writing situates on-screen participants within a narrow range of emotional states: bosses and their corporations appear sensitive to worker needs and enthusiastic about improving company performance, while employees typically express only passion for their jobs and shocked gratefulness in response to executive magnanimity. Bittorf's detailed description of her personal sentiments shows how interviews and voiceovers manage to relay clearly the intimate feelings that evade being captured on camera in real time. These unequivocal, unvaried sentiments constitute *Undercover Boss*'s predominant affective content, and Ronnie's disciplining merely reinforces his status as an anomalous detractor from the otherwise ubiquitous institutional harmony. By assigning blame to Ronnie's individual "bad attitude," the show's ad hominem framework deflects the possibility that his disaffected stance might be shared by other employees, or might derive from such systemic shortcomings as the food service industry's habitually low pay.

Despite its efforts to build an unambiguous atmosphere of goodwill into each episode, feelings of suspicion and anxiety have nonetheless seeped into *Undercover Boss*'s later seasons due to a spike in public awareness of the show itself. Miguel's declaration that he "love[s] that show" during the Cinnabon boss reveal evinces the growing consciousness among its participants. In response, producers have begun to take greater precautions when attempting to veil the actual purpose of camera crews and incognito executives' true identities. In early episodes the process of going "undercover" involves little more than adopting a fabricated name and backstory, but later seasons include montages that catalog executives' ever-more intricate physical transformations. Cole wears a wig and preppy clothing as she goes undercover; Bittorf applies hair extensions; and Modell shaves his head, dons a false mustache, and speaks in a gravelly voice designed to hide his New York accent. The face

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used to justify the presence of film crews has likewise become more extreme. Voiceovers in the first season explain that cameras appearing at jobsites are passed off as filming a documentary or alternate reality show, but episodes in the fourth season include footage of a fake host from a fake television program who interacts with featured employees in an attempt to throw them off the boss's scent.

Even with these complicated efforts at misdirection in place, employee skepticism of the show's conceit has become a prominent component of *Undercover Boss*, one that has spurred executive anxiety. Rather than strive in vain to conceal their effects, later episodes attempt to utilize these novel sentiments to create moments of dramatic tension that heighten the show's melodramatics. One such moment arises when Mayra begins touching her boss's wig after she asks Cole to don a hairnet. Though the wig stays in place, Cole's assertion in a voiceover that she was "flipping out" imbues the scene with a sense of her unease and fear of exposure. Later in the episode, Cole's apprehension escalates when a customer asks whether the false reality program she claims to be filming is "like *Undercover Boss*." As tense music plays, an edited sequence of images relays a worried-looking Cole smiling uncomfortably at a wary Moka. Though it continually raises the tantalizing possibility that employee suspicions will lead to an executive's preemptive unveiling, the show tends to resolve these dramatic moments quickly in order to restore its preferred atmosphere of mutual trust. After a few taut seconds, Cole's voiceover asserts that Moka did not hear the customer's question, and the two women proceed to work together amicably.

Their tidy dénouements aside, these melodramatic scenes introduce a significant fissure into the show's otherwise uniform depiction of the affective atmosphere within contemporary corporations. Instead of such positive feelings as camaraderie and personal intimacy, bosses and employees in these scenes experience what Sianne Ngai terms negative feelings. Whereas "grander and more prestigious passions" enable the subject to act directly on an object—as when an "I" declares love for a "you"—negative feelings like anxiety and paranoia possess a "weak intentionality" that draws the subject/object divide into question and invites introspection (10).[35] The paranoid individual, Ngai observes, must ruminate on whether she rightly suspects others, or whether her suspicions stem purely from internal distress. Similarly, the advent of anxiety and suspicion prompts bosses and employees alike to question rather than fully trust one another. While skeptical employees deliberate on whether to take undercover bosses at their word, anxious executives like Cole continually assess whether they have successfully duped their own staff.

As they interrupt *Undercover Boss*'s portrayal of internal corporate geniality, moments of skepticism provide employees with an opportunity to

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interrogate the logics of corporate personhood as well as the labor conditions they help maintain. Jim's assertion that he has a "couple of suspicions" regarding Modell's disguise and false back story raises the wider possibility of questioning executive self-presentation itself. The show's implication that bosses speak on behalf of their corporation, and that an executive's expression of personal sympathy therefore indicates a broader corporate willingness to attend to worker interests, becomes debatable. Skepticism enables employees to ask questions not only of themselves and their employers, but of the ideological dimensions of their environment. Indeed, for Ngai the critical perspective generated by negative feelings marks them as an affective parallel to Herbert Marcuse's "'negative thinking,' [which serves as] shorthand for ideology critique in the dialectical tradition" (8). Jim's sense of wariness therefore threatens not just the integrity of his boss's disguise; it also imperils *Undercover Boss*'s overarching efforts to sustain select labor practices by expounding narratives of executive benevolence.

The show's simultaneous evocation of emotional intimacy and sentiments that encourage contemplative distance—its ability, in other words, to make employees concurrently feel sympathy toward and suspicion of executives and the companies they represent—establishes affect as a space of ideological negotiation. Neither a tool co-opted by capitalist institutions nor a mode of experience that inherently resists hegemony, the affective domain instead enables corporate ideology's propagation as readily as it facilitates its interrogation. For this reason, the negative feelings of bosses and employees often disturb *Undercover Boss*'s efforts to manage its affective content via life writing and corporate personhood. Nonetheless, such sentiments do not always produce an effective ideological critique given their susceptibility to usurpation. The anxiety over potential termination that arises in precarious or part-time jobs can drive worker performance rather than prompt a reflexive questioning of working conditions (Ngai 4). Cole's episode illustrates, too, the regularity with which feelings of anxiety or skepticism can dissipate without notable consequence.

Understanding how individual and communal sentiments can precipitate either the promulgation or the interrogation of capitalist ideology and corporate practice on *Undercover Boss* sheds light on the contemporary relationship between US companies and the nation's working public. Its business-friendly intentions aside, the show reveals that companies cannot hope to garner public favor simply by appearing in emotionally-charged reality television programs that use life writing to paint human façades onto corporate infrastructures. Attempts to impose bonhomie on workers in this fashion will be met, sooner or later, by sentiments that encourage an ideological critique. Substantive changes to workplace practices, including the provision of suitable

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compensation for labor, constitute more reliable methods for ensuring that employees feel they are truly keeping good company.

NOTES

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1. *The Apprentice* pulled in 20 million viewers during its first season ("Season to Date"). In an attempt to curb falling ratings during subsequent seasons, the show morphed into *Celebrity Apprentice* in 2009 before returning to *The Apprentice* for a single season in 2010. It has since reverted again to the *Celebrity Apprentice* format.
2. "Bosses" on the show typically include presidents, CEOs, and other high-ranking corporate figures. I refer interchangeably to bosses and executives in this paper.
3. Quotations are taken from CBS's sanctioned description of the show ("Undercover Boss"). By philanthropic television I refer to shows designed to aid or reward participants, such as *Biggest Loser* or *Extreme Makeover: Home Edition.* These differ somewhat from makeover shows, which highlight the renovation of an individual's appearance (*What Not to Wear, Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*), personal possessions (*Pimp My Ride*), or residence (*Trading Spaces, Love It or List It*). The distinction between these genres is admittedly unsteady, as philanthropic programs regularly draw upon certain makeover conventions. This tendency to escape formal boundaries illustrates Su Holmes and Deborah Jermyn's argument that reality programming "may well exemplify . . . the slippery and hybrid nature" of genre within television (6); see in particular their introduction to *Understanding Reality Television* (1–32).
4. These numbers are particularly notable given that networks tend to reserve their top programming for Sunday through Thursday evenings. For ratings numbers, see "CBS Announces."
5. Perhaps unsurprisingly, corporations call upon the rights of natural persons only when doing so serves their best interests. Acting as natural persons grants corporations the right to privacy from investigation and protection from self-incrimination; it also sanctions corporate campaign finance and political lobbying. In *Unequal Protection,* Thom Hartmann argues that corporate personhood has enabled businesses to avoid governmental oversight, taxation, and legal repercussions for certain actions, and has facilitated the disproportionate rise of corporate power within the US.
6. Bose echoes Rob Walker's contention that increasing media coverage of the business world, the press's desire to render that world more accessible, and the advent of entrepreneur-led technology companies over the past few decades have all stimulated the paralleling of executive and corporation. Bose adds that the valorization of CEOs has been "accompanied by the exponential increase in executive compensation" (31).

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7. The field of affect studies posits that feelings form fundamental, material components of social life. Following the lead of theorists such as Brian Massumi, many scholars treat affects as socially-held sentiments, whereas emotions require an individual subject. Sianne Ngai by contrast sees these registers as operating on a more fluid continuum: affects may "acquire the semantic density and narrative complexity of emotions, and emotions conversely denature into affects" (27). My treatment of affect and personal emotions follows Ngai's model, as I assume a fluidity between individual sentiments and collective or institutional affective states.
8. In her contribution to this volume, Margrit Talpalaru explains how TOMS Shoes drives sales by responding to and manipulating public attitudes towards consumption and philanthropy.
9. Laurie Ouellette emphasizes reality television's tendency to normalize practices that challenge the necessity of social welfare programs. By "train[ing] TV viewers to function without state assistance or supervision" through their insistence on personal responsibility, reality shows like *Judge Judy* operate as "neoliberal technolog[ies]" (224). Brenda R. Weber makes a comparable claim when she argues that makeover reality programs rely "on prevailing market rationalities" to construct "the worthy citizen-subject" who takes responsibility for his or her own personal improvement (53).
10. Lauren Berlant's concept of "cruel optimism," wherein the objects that capitalist subjects desire constitute the very obstacles that inhibit their personal flourishing, represents a particularly vivid example of this line of criticism.
11. TV critic James Poniewozik echoes McNamara when he declares *Undercover Boss* "moving but . . . also manipulative and infuriating." Poniewozik's frustration stems from his observation that executives offer gifts and promotions to only a few employees in lieu of addressing company-wide wage imbalances; see also McNamara.
12. The voiceover in the episode, which aired in the fall of 2012, places Cinnabon's annual revenues at "over half a billion dollars," but Cole states in an interview with *Forbes* published the same year that retail sales at Cinnabon had reached almost $1 billion. The company's indeterminate revenues aside, the title of the *Forbes* piece—"From Hooters To Hot Buns: How Kat Cole Turned Cinnabon into a $1 Billion Brand"—points to the persistence of discourses that cast women as sexualized, consumable objects (Goudreau).
13. Cinnabon falls under Roark's FOCUS Brands subsidiary. Roark possesses 22 franchise brands and generated $10 billion in sales in 2012 ("About Roark").
14. While Cole is the only member of Cinnabon's corporate office to appear on camera, episodes in the show's first season incorporate scenes wherein the boss details the plan to go undercover to unidentified senior staff members. These episodes conclude with scenes wherein the boss reports on his or her experiences to the same group of executives. The decision to excise managerial boards from later seasons aligns with corporate personhood's proposition that lone executives run contemporary companies.
15. Cole explains that she hopes, while she works with Linda, to determine whether "the Cream of Wheat team is applying the same quality that we expect in our bakeries to our products that show up in grocery stores."
16. Cole does not mention a spouse, partner, or children during the program, though her mother makes a brief appearance near the episode's beginning.

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17. Weber contends that the "new and improved" citizen-subjects who appear at the end of makeover reality shows generally adhere to gender and sexual norms; they also receive praise for aspiring towards middle-class lifestyles and values.

18. I borrow this term from Anne Lewis Johnson's documentary *Fast Food Women* (1992), which catalogs its usage by executives at the now defunct Druther's restaurant chain. Signs at the Druther's headquarters explain that generating a sense of fulfillment, recognition, and belonging in workers grants their institutional superiors the ability to "control the people." Berlant makes a similar argument when she claims that employees often hold onto "crummy service-sector jobs" because they receive a compensatory "affective, transpersonal sense of . . . belonging, and worth" (171).

19. While numerous scholars have addressed US capitalism's shifting conditions, Andrew Glyn offers a particularly astute and comprehensive summary in *Capitalism Unleashed: Finance, Globalization, and Welfare* (2006). The postwar social contract, Berlant argues, also made promises of "political and social equality, and lively, durable intimacy," and assured workers that "liberal-capitalist society [would] reliably provide opportunities for individuals to carve out relations of reciprocity" (3).

20. A 2012 GlobeScan survey reports that 79 percent of US citizens would welcome governmental regulations that forced corporations to tend to the welfare of both people and the environment ("Large Global Majority"). In contrast to this desire for political action, Eva Cherniavsky's contribution to this volume contends that the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement consciously avoided issuing demands for policy changes in response to the abuses carried out by hegemonic corporations and state institutions. Cherniavsky finds that OWS instead used life writing to reimagine the domain of politics by situating rhetorical self-fashioning as its foundational political act.

21. For ad pricing, see Crupi. In the first season, rewards are sometimes little more than the thanks an employee receives for his or her hard work. Most employees in later seasons receive more substantial gifts, the largest of which top out at $250,000.

22. Weber demonstrates the integral role that the on-camera subject plays in his or her own rejuvenation within makeover television programs. The emphasis placed upon subjective agency aligns with neoliberalism's espousal of "meritocratic mobility within free markets," she argues, which posits a correspondence between individual effort and a more satisfying lifestyle (38).

23. Modell's operates 140 retail stores in the northeastern United States and earned $680 million in revenue in 2011. For comparison, the national sporting goods chain Dick's garnered $5.21 billion in revenue during the same year (Pasquarelli).

24. Linda, as a Cream of Wheat employee, presumably does not fall under Cole's purview for promotion.

25. Cole's slippery language further conflates executive and corporation. She first tells Miguel, "I am going to give you your own store," but later declares that "Cinnabon and I are going to take care of your franchise fees."

26. Sporting retail's 2007 payroll per employee rate of $15,290 fell well below the general retail rate of $23,384. See "Economic Consensus."

27. I derive my wage data from Glassdoor.com, a public forum in which workers can post their pay rates (see "Modell's" and "Cinnabon").

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28. The collapse of the federal minimum wage's relative value from its peak in the late 1960s has spurred demands for pay rate increases from fast-food workers and other laborers. As *The Economist* observes, some critics claim that "burger-flipping is how teenagers earn pocket money," and that such jobs need not supply employees with a living wage. However, between 2010 and 2012 less than a third of fast-food workers in the US were teenagers ("Fast-food Condemnation").
29. I borrow this terminology from Louis Althusser, who describes Ideological State Apparatuses as social institutions—among them "the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.)"—that disseminate bourgeois ideology (96). They operate alongside Repressive State Apparatuses such as the army and police to maintain and reproduce the conditions of capitalist society.
30. Andrejevic draws upon Foucault to assert that conducting surveillance can prove "relentlessly productive" for corporate entities (80). Solove similarly argues that the "potential future uses of any piece of personal information" gathered by governmental bodies "are vast" (28).
31. Reality crime programs that rely on police camera footage, along with shows featuring found footage or home videos, offer particularly affordable content.
32. On its website, the Writers Guild of America, West critiques the fact that most reality show writers do not receive "industry standard benefits" ("Reality & Game Show"). Nonetheless, in a 2008 press release the WGA states that it withdrew proposals for guild representation for reality workers during its negotiations with the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers ("Letter from the Presidents").
33. While precise figures vary by show type and network, as of 2001 most reality programs cost between $150,000 and $500,000 per episode to produce, while fictional programming ranged from $500,000 to $1 million per episode (Streisand). Unionization has proven erratic for reality programming: Lion Television and Optomen Productions agreed to grant their reality writer-producers eligibility for union benefits in 2012, but WGA negotiations with Atlas Media broke off that same year (see Verrier; and Handel).
34. For workers such as airline flight attendants, "the *emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself*" (Hochschild 5, emphasis in the original). Hochschild asserts that women are more likely to take jobs that demand emotional labor, and are also expected to conduct emotional labor more often than men.
35. "Grand" feelings tend to arise in "recognizably 'emotional' genres" like melodrama, Ngai observes, and while "ennobling or morally beatific states like sympathy" lead to catharsis, negative feelings "are explicitly *a*moral and *non*cathartic" (10, 6). Ngai's affective codifications map quite neatly onto *Undercover Boss*, which relies upon melodramatic moments of cathartic release generated by sympathetic boss-worker interactions to discourage critical inquiries into its propagation of corporate-friendly labor practices.

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OVERSEAS SINGAPOREANS, COMING-OF-CAREER NARRATIVES, AND THE CORPORATE NATION

CHERYL NARUMI NARUSE

Singapore is a relentlessly G-rated experience, micromanaged by a state that has the look and feel of a very large corporation. If IBM had ever bothered to actually possess a physical country, that country might have had a lot in common with Singapore.

—William Gibson, "Disneyland with the Death Penalty"

For his first major non-fiction essay, William Gibson, the prescient author of *Neuromancer*, was asked to write about his visit to Singapore by *Wired* magazine, and as the epigraph shows, Gibson was unimpressed. Gibson's piece uses the corporation ("Singapore Ltd.") as a pejorative metaphor that characterizes Singapore's governance as technocratic and single-mindedly focused on economic profit, and he lampoons the island-nation's "white-shirted constraint," "absolute humorlessness," and "conformity" (1).[1] Though now more often referred to as "Singapore Inc.," Gibson's depiction of Singapore as a corporation has stuck. In contrast to Gibson, writers such as Thomas Friedman of *The New York Times* praise Singaporean governance as the sophisticated, strategic cause of its economic success, strong education system, and efficiency. Whatever one's judgment, Gibson makes a generally agreed upon point: that the Singaporean state has "the look and feel of a very large corporation" (1).

By the end of the twentieth century, the transnational corporation firmly established itself as the dominant force in the global economy, and in some arguments even threatens to displace the nation-state as a structural power.[2] In such arguments, the corporation and nation-state are seen as separate and competing entities. While critics point out that the corporation and state are not antithetical and often work in concert to enable neoliberalism, in Singapore, the corporation and the state are allied to the point that the boundaries

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between the two are often indistinct.[3] Taking Gibson's formulation as a point of departure, this paper asks: how does the convergence of corporations and states shape national subjectivity through life writing? To answer this question, I turn to *Conversations on Coming Home: 20 Singaporeans Share Their Stories*, a booklet designed by the government to recruit Singaporeans living abroad to return home.[4]

Through my reading of this text, I argue that the state uses a specific genre of life writing, which I call the "coming-of-career" narrative, to persuade Overseas Singaporeans to return and participate in the economic life of the nation-state. These narratives reveal the ways that Singaporean lives are constructed and valued according to corporate, and thus neoliberal, ideals. Corporations—as beneficiaries of free market policies, deregulation, and privatization—have much to gain from the Singaporean state's propagation and maintenance of neoliberalism. It is significant that the Singaporean state deploys these successful coming-of-career narratives in its strategy towards fuller integration into the global economy. The state's use of such stories highlights the affective and ideological power of life writing genres. I show how the coming-of-career narrative enables an understanding of how individuals figure themselves as corporate persons and internalize neoliberal values as matters of personal fulfillment and self-improvement. Moreover, I demonstrate how these successful coming-of-career stories inculcate neoliberal values of individualism, human capital and heteronormativity. By analyzing *Conversations on Coming Home* as a contemporary capitalist updating of the traditional *bildungsroman* that draws on generic traditions of maturation through travel and reintegration into a community, my reading illustrates significant consistencies between neoliberal and national thought that privilege individualist values.

In *Reading Autobiography,* Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson demonstrate the strong historical ties between the *bildungsroman* and life writing. Important for my purposes here is how Smith and Watson point out that "Conventions can also be displaced by newly emergent ones. For instance, autobiographical narratives published in the late twentieth century . . . radically altered the inherited conventions of life narrative by their reworking of the *bildungsroman* to account for the lives of formerly subordinated subjects" (91). Though the example of *Conversations on Coming Home* is not attempting to make any political statements in terms of minority representation—and in fact is working toward the exact opposite purposes—we do see the ways that the text reworks *bildungsroman* conventions within life writing.[5]

I begin by contextualizing the conflation between state and corporation in the Singaporean context. I then move on to discuss the generic conventions of coming-of-career narratives and their differences from the *bildungsroman.* As I show, these narratives posit a professional-managerial classed

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subject that ultimately effaces the "unskilled" labor of migrant workers. My subsequent reading of *Conversations on Coming Home* focuses on its reliance on themes of individualism, human capital, and heteronormativity. I conclude with final comments on the connections among *Conversations*, corporate personhood, and life writing.

THE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE, OR SINGAPORE INC.

For many, "Singapore Inc." is shorthand for describing how the state acts like a corporation in terms of its governance, which assumes, to invoke Aihwa Ong's language, market-driven calculations in its management and administration of the nation and its people (3–4).[6] The influence of Singapore Inc. can be read through social policies, state historical narratives, education, and media. After Singapore's independence in 1965, the government continued to take advantage of Singapore's geographic location by promoting itself as a strategic location for multinational corporations (MNCs) to establish their headquarters as they entered into Asian markets. In the 1960s and 70s, Singapore became a major player in export manufacturing, oil servicing and refining, and an important financial services center (Lim and Fong 51). Singapore encouraged foreign investment by providing MNCs with incentives, which included tax breaks, capital assistance, and loose government regulations (53). In the 1980s, the state took measures to "ensure political stability, to promote peaceful labour-management relations, to produce the most efficient and up-to-date infrastructure, and to rapidly develop a pool of skilled manpower [for labor demands]" (54). In short, the state did all it could to play good host and ensure that MNCs would have a comfortable and profitable stay in Singapore.

A controversial example of a policy that illustrates such "market-driven calculations" is *A Sustainable Population for a Dynamic Singapore: Population White Paper*. Published in January 2013, this document details the state's plans to increase the island-nation's population to 6.9 million people by 2030.[7] The state's rationale? To stay competitive in the global economy: "A shrinking and ageing population would mean a smaller and a less vibrant and innovative economy. Companies may not find enough workers. Business activity would slow, and job and employment opportunities would shrink" (12). In other words, the state views the national population as a source of "human capital," a term widely popularized in the 1960s by the Chicago School of Economics to describe knowledge and skills as economic assets that require investment.[8] Such a concept is useful for describing the Singaporean state's attitude towards its citizenry, especially since it turned from a manufacturing economy to a knowledge economy following the 1997 Asian finan-

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In the state's logic, Singaporean citizens and residents are a potential form of capital; many legal structures and policies reflect this thinking. For decades now, Singaporean women and their ability to reproduce have been a central economic concern for the state. While former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's eugenics logic no longer dictates Singapore's demographic policies, the state continues to give monetary incentives to women to encourage procreation.[10] More recently, alongside initiatives that promote procreation are changed immigration laws that will increase the Singaporean population.[11]

In addition to the economic logic that determines Singaporean governance, the government itself is organized as a corporation. Unlike Gibson, who critiques Singapore's corporate structure, Friedman commends the corporatization of the Singaporean government: "Top bureaucrats and cabinet ministers have their pay linked to top private sector wages," he marvels, "so most make well over $1 million a year, and their bonuses are tied to the country's annual G.D.P. growth rate." The government's use of economic indicators as guiding principles, and the corporate form of compensation that casts government figures as CEOs and upper management of Singapore Inc., defy our expectations because we so often expect the state to work for its citizenry as public servants.

In addition to its investments in corporate structures and thinking, the Singaporean state also owns a transnational corporation, Temasek Holdings. An investment company with offices in Asia and Latin America and a portfolio of S$215 billion (roughly US$173 billion), Temasek is owned by the Singapore Ministry of Finance ("Corporate Profile").[12] State-owned enterprises more typically emerge around the nationalization of natural resources, banks, or infrastructure. Though Singapore also owns such industrialized corporations—Singapore Airlines, communications company SingTel, and Singapore Technologies Engineering, for example—what is unusual about Temasek Holdings is that it is an investment company operating in the finance industry. According to the company's documents, officially "neither the President of the Republic of Singapore nor the Singapore Government, [Temasek's] shareholder, is involved in our investment, divestment or other business decisions" ("Corporate Governance"). Nonetheless, given Singapore's propensity towards accommodating corporate needs, the state can indirectly influence the corporations it owns, and vice versa.

Another way to understand Singapore as a corporate form is through its accommodation of multinational corporations and its shaping of the state's citizenry according to the labor requirements of MNCs. Singapore's history as a corporate haven has largely been overshadowed by attention to the Singaporean state. Statistics illustrate the significant presence corporations have had in Singapore: in 1959, there were 83 MNCs operating in Singapore, a figure

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that increased to 383 by 1973 (Kunio Yoshihara qtd. in Lee). In 2013, there are over 7,000 MNCs (Ministry of Manpower), up from more than 5,000 MNCs in 1999 (Ermisch and Huff 21).[13] Singapore has actively encouraged and welcomed corporations into the country. A 1980 UNESCO report, "The Cultural Impact of Multinational Corporations in Singapore," made note of the positive relations multinational corporations enjoy in the island-nation:[14]

> there appears to be an absence of acrimony and bitterness which characterize the relationship between Latin American countries and the multinational corporations. To put it rather crudely, while the multinational corporation is an ugly word in Latin America, it evokes a different response in South-East Asia. . . . Singapore appears to stand out in South-East Asia as a shining example of how domestic policy may be formulated to accommodate the demands of the multinationals in their search for profits and market shares on a global scale. (Wong 52)

The report describes how the state has successfully molded Singaporeans to fit corporate needs by emphasizing English language education and creating more technical and vocational schools. Over the years, Singapore has represented its ability to house and provide labor for so many MNCs as a point of pride for the state. For example, in a 1982 *Straits Times* front-page story on Singapore's high ranking in a business and investment poll, a large headline boasts "Singapore is Number One" (Drysdale). Because of the protections afforded to investors, tax incentives, and a highly skilled, local workforce, Singapore continues to be perceived as an ideal place for business and commerce.[15] While the UNESCO report illustrates how corporations have become embedded in Singapore's national life, it only provides one element of the story, and does not necessarily reveal how an ideology favorable to neoliberalism is maintained.

Examining materials such as *Conversations on Coming Home* can teach us how neoliberal culture is cultivated and sustained. Much as corporations are always "engaged in a kind of storytelling" (3), as Purnima Bose and Laura E. Lyons put it, so too are states. The abovementioned UNESCO report assesses the cultural impact of corporations by using econometric methods and business management theory; it examines technology transfer, how education policy responds to the labor needs of MNCs, management issues, and the influence of mass media. As *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation* and this special issue teach us, however, literary and cultural critics can provide different understandings of corporate cultural impact. By analyzing the narratives that, in this example, the Singaporean state puts out about corporations, national identity, and the ideal citizen, which circulate in the wake of transnational investment, we are better equipped to understand how the nation-form and corporations are imbricated.

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COMING-OF-CAREER NARRATIVES

Though Gibson's account of Singapore Ltd. suggests that corporate presence and ideology are enforced by disciplinary mechanisms, I argue instead that in Singapore corporate power is hegemonic and perpetuated by the enabling fiction of the coming-of-career narrative. Such narratives follow a protagonist as she comes to invest in and enhance herself in response to the neoliberalization of her milieu. The coming-of-career narrative focuses on privileged and upwardly mobile subjects who promote the corporation, its interests, and its values through the pursuit of a career even as it occludes the unskilled workers who provide the conditions of possibility for bourgeois class advancement. Coming-of-career narratives retain the *bildung* ideal of self-cultivation and actualization, but as determined by the global economy rather than the nation.[16] As the wording suggests, unlike in the *bildungsroman*, the attainment of a professional or corporate career (rather than age) is the marker of maturity.

Although the coming-of-career narrative demonstrates continuities with the *bildungsroman*, some notable differences between the two genres are evident. First, unlike the *bildungsroman*, the coming-of-career narrative is not always manifested in the novel form, nor is it necessarily fictional. The term is meant to be expansive in that it allows for discussions of non-literary and non-fictional texts. Second, "society" in the coming-of-career narrative is not confined to the nation-state, but to a world of many transnationally connected places. My use of "career" in the designation of this genre is deliberate in that it emphasizes the global economic background against which professional lives are constructed and valued. According to the *OED*, the contemporary usage of "career" refers to "a course of professional life or employment, which affords opportunity for progress or advancement in the *world*" (emphasis mine). The emphasis on the "world" that "career" offers is quite unlike the *bildungsroman*, which is the paradigmatic literary form of the nation-state. Traditionally, following Schiller, Hegel, Goethe, and Humboldt, *bildung* signified the social processes of "self-cultivation" necessary to become a good citizen. Though the coming-of-career narrative retains some characteristics of *bildung*, at stake are the processes of self-cultivation necessary to become an economically viable subject under conditions of neoliberal globalization.

As an example of the coming-of-career narrative, *Conversations on Coming Home* attempts to socialize its audience into the ideological norms necessary to support the state's neoliberal agenda. With Singapore's turn to a neoliberal knowledge economy following the 1997 Asian financial crisis, the state has done much to create a national culture in line with its economic policies, particularly through representations of diasporic Singaporeans. The

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coming-of-career narrative's focus on upwardly mobile professionals articulates well with the Singaporean state's goal of galvanizing such classed subjects into nationalist action. Though the state treats all people in Singapore as potential human capital, it is clear that the state favors workers with higher levels of professional and technical skills. Indeed, the state's classification of immigrants into "foreign talent" and "unskilled labor" suggests the value assigned to different forms of labor. In state thinking, upwardly mobile professional immigrant workers are more valuable for their contributions to its neoliberal knowledge economy.

The underbelly of the Singaporean state's valorization of certain types of professionalized labor is the low-paying, service sector and construction jobs—"unskilled labor," in other words—without which the state's drive to advance its knowledge economy would not be possible at all. Although the state relies heavily on such immigrant labor to build the city-state's infrastructure, run its service industries, and maintain Singaporean households, such workers are rarely depicted as desirable citizens or residents. Singapore has adopted laws designed to prevent "unskilled labor" from permanently settling in Singapore, as well as measures that prevent their "mixing" with Singaporeans.[17] The pathways to residency and citizenships for such workers are limited at best, further illustrating the state's privileging of professional-technical labor as well as its efforts to denigrate the forms of labor—such as domestic or construction workers, for example—that maintain the country's infrastructure or ensure the efficient workings of middle-class and above households.[18]

Specific to the professional-managerial class, the coming-of-career narrative has notable class limitations; stories about domestic labor, for example, are another genre altogether.[19] In Singapore, there are workers who are economically precarious and workers who can become economically viable. The economically precarious, or those who fit in the "unskilled," "low-skilled," and "semi-skilled" labor categories (including foreign domestic workers), make up about 60 percent of Singapore's non-resident population of 1.46 million people (National Population and Talent Division). According to Pheng Cheah's *Inhuman Conditions*, the Singaporean state similarly cultivates *bildungesque* narratives among foreign domestic workers through an emphasis on self-making and forms of "value-adding" labor.[20] Such narratives ultimately help maintain Singapore's position of power as a labor-receiving nation within a globalized neoliberal economy. While similar developmental logic is deployed in narratives about unskilled and skilled labor, we would hardly describe the labor that foreign domestic workers perform as a career. Despite the class limitations of "coming-of-career," however, the term does offer an understanding about the ways that corporate presence is normalized and integrated into life narratives.

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The literary conventions of coming-of-career narratives are similar to the *bildungsroman*, but with some notable differences. Unlike coming-of-age stories, which often feature child or school-aged protagonists, coming-of-career stories typically take place after the completion of formal education—and such stories are always about highly educated individuals. In the way that a *bildungsroman* features a young character leaving home in search of her place in society, the coming-of-career narrative also has a young protagonist who leaves home in search of a career, but in this case, she leaves her home country rather than her family house. The protagonist's mobility—or willingness to be mobile—is a prominent characteristic that enables her to achieve her ambitions. The trials that our hero faces revolve around the challenges of accomplishing her career goals. Maturity in the context of the coming-of-career narrative is read through the career. Also notable is how the coming-of-career narrative can be perpetual as she climbs up the corporate later.

CONVERSATIONS ON COMING HOME, OR SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO FURTHER YOUR CAREER

I came across *Conversations on Coming Home* during a research trip to a state-sponsored heritage festival for Singaporeans living abroad, known as Singapore Day. The Singapore Day I visited was held in Brooklyn, New York in 2012, and had an estimated crowd of 5,000 people and a budget of S$1 million (roughly US$3.2 million). The event was a curious amalgamation of trade show—with various installations showcasing the latest infrastructural developments in Singapore—heritage festival, and career fair. I was given the booklet as I was surveying the scene at the career fair component of the event, which included booths that advertised lucrative positions with transnational corporations or with the government. *Conversations on Coming Home* was put together by Contact Singapore, self-described as "[a]n alliance of the Singaporean Economic Development Board and Ministry of Manpower." On its website, Contact Singapore further explains its function as "actively link[ing] Singapore-based employers with professionals to support the growth of our key industries. We work with investors to realize their business and investment interests in Singapore" ("About Contact Singapore"). The description suggests that Contact Singapore combines the functions of national public relations and those of an advertising-cum-headhunting company.

Singapore Day is one of several initiatives organized by the Overseas Singaporean Unit, a "directorate under the National Population and Talent Division of the Prime Minister's Office" ("About OS Portal"), to maintain cordial ties with Singaporeans living abroad and to encourage them to return home. The establishment of the OSU in 2008 is indicative of the more positive stance

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the Singaporean state takes toward those Singaporeans who have left, and is a far cry from years before when the state imagined diasporic Singaporeans as national traitors.[21] It is no coincidence that the state's valorization of Overseas Singaporeans as ideal, cosmopolitan, and economically successful begins with the turn to a neoliberal knowledge economy after the 1997 financial crisis.[22] As such, the state's depictions of Singaporeans living abroad are highly suggestive in terms of what these portrayals can offer our understandings of neoliberal ideologies and their relationship to cultural representation.

State representations of Overseas Singaporeans as a highly mobile, cosmopolitan demographic are at once a part of the state's neoliberal agenda and a symptom of the state's anxiety over its loss of highly skilled workers. As of 2013, 207,000 Singaporeans—about 3.8 percent of the total population—were overseas for a period of six months or more in the previous year (National Population and Talent Division).[23] According to the 2012 "Population in Brief" publication, the majority of Overseas Singaporeans were between the ages of 20 and 54 (20), which indicates that most Singaporeans leave for educational or professional reasons. Though these Singaporeans are not necessarily leaving Singapore permanently, the state has expressed some apprehension about the 1,200 Singaporeans who between 2007 and 2011 renounced their citizenship, and efforts such as Singapore Day represent an attempt to stem the tide of permanent emigration (Yeoh and Lin).

Featuring twenty Singaporeans who chose to return to Singapore, *Conversations on Coming Home* accomplishes the dual purpose of presenting Overseas Singaporeans as a model population and persuading Singaporeans living abroad to return. Its black cover with red and white lettering (the colors of the Singapore flag), combined with the booklet's heavy-stock paper, conveys weightiness, especially when compared to the flimsier pamphlets and the various mementos such as pens, notebooks, keychains, and so on that were also distributed during this Singapore Day. It is clear from the quality of the publication that no expense was spared in its production. At over fifty pages, the booklet's importance is further underscored by its length, which differentiates the publication from other ephemera at the event. The glossy texture of the publication, combined with the opening statement made by Ng Siew Kiang, the Executive Director of Contact Singapore, resembles an expensive magazine yet functions more like a brochure for "Singapore Inc."

The kinds of Singaporeans that the state chooses to endorse through its various representations, and the manner in which their lives are framed, illustrate how Singaporeans living and working abroad are positioned in relation to the state's production of neoliberal culture. *Conversations on Coming Home* presents the Overseas Singaporean demographic as Chinese and of what Leslie Sklair has described as the "transnational capitalist class,"or a global elite

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class comprised of corporate managers and professionals. The opening pages of the booklet feature a series of individual photos of the returning Singaporeans. Underneath each photo we are find the person's name, the company they work for, and where they lived prior to moving back to Singapore. As the names of such famous transnational companies as Goldman Sachs, Accenture, and Mitsubishi indicate, these Singaporeans are highly skilled and highly educated professionals. Many of the profiles mention the photographic subjects' advanced degrees from prestigious universities in areas such as mechanical engineering, molecular biotechnology, law, information technology, computer science, and medicine; two of the featured Singaporeans have doctoral degrees in mechanical engineering and computer science. Besides bankers, the booklet spotlights engineers, researchers, business managers, and legal interns.

Out of the twenty people featured in the booklet, eleven are women. Global geographical diversity is also evident: four people returned from living in the US, five from Europe, six from other Asian countries, and four lived in Australasia. Beyond crude guesses based on names and phenotypes, the ethnicity of each of the featured Singaporeans remains unmarked and unknown, as is the case in many multicultural and multilingual societies. While names do not reveal those with mixed race backgrounds, it is notable both that none of the names of the Singaporeans in the publication are Malay or South Asian—the other major ethnic groups in Singapore—and that all the Overseas Singaporeans appear to be Chinese.[24] The state's representation of only the highly mobile and cosmopolitan variety of Singaporeans maintains the image of the city-state as a global city. Though typically the state represents Singapore as an ethnically diverse society, we see the opposite in the booklet. Arguably this could be an accurate depiction—the Chinese in Singapore are the largest demographic and overall are in the best economic position to become mobile and cosmopolitan—but if we consider that there are many South Asian professional migrants in Singapore, it seems more likely that those represented in the booklet reflect the state's conception of the ideal Overseas Singaporean.

Conversations on Coming Home follows a serial logic in its overarching structure, as indicated by the standard format and layout of each profile. Every profile is a double-page feature with one full-page colored photo and a second page dedicated to the story of the featured subject's decision to return. Each of the photos features a professionally-dressed individual looking away from the camera against either a background that showcases Singapore's modern architecture or "natural" landscape, as denoted by trees. Not only does office clothing emphasize professional status, but also many of the returning Singaporeans are holding an Apple iPad, a smartphone, tablet computer, or a book. The presence of these commodities marks the subjects as both modern and technologically savvy, and thus well-embedded in a capitalist economy.

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On the photo's facing page, a short biography details the individual's career choices and trajectory, followed by an interview written in a Q & A format. Although the interview section creates a more candid tone because the questions are not standardized across the profiles, the repetition of the profiles' layout creates the sense that there are many like-minded Overseas Singaporeans.

Each of the returning Singaporeans in the booklet is happily and securely contemplating a future as a successful professional. The low-angle shot of the majority of the photos creates the further effect of amplifying the background; the resulting effect positions the reader as looking up at the featured Singaporean. The framing of the shot creates a hierarchical relation between the reader and returning Singaporean, one in which the Singaporean who comes home has an elevated status. Moreover, the photo angles give the impression that the returning Singaporean is situated in the wider world.

Conversations on Coming Home offers a clear story-line of the "coming-of-career" narrative. Each of the Singaporeans in the booklet recounts the story of leaving Singapore and then coming back for career advancement. While on the one hand such narratives cast Overseas Singaporeans as professional migrants, these coming-of-career stories promote values of individualism, human capital, and heteronormativity, all of which are aligned with the state's neoliberal agenda. The readings below are organized according to these three themes. Though I have chosen profiles that explicitly speak to each of the themes, any one of the profiles can be read through these lenses.

Conversations on Coming Home highlights the status of migration as a constitutive contradiction within depictions of Overseas Singaporeans. Typically, it is their very status of living abroad that allows Overseas Singaporeans to appear as a highly mobile, modern, and cosmopolitan group. The booklet, however, features Singaporeans who are not living abroad, but who are back in Singapore. Thus, while it is not impossible to live in Singapore and be mobile, modern, or cosmopolitan, it is no longer the status of living abroad that does the work of signifying the Overseas Singaporean as such. The conceivable challenge for *Conversations on Coming Home* is to present the act of returning to Singapore as part of a continuing developmental narrative, one in which "coming home" is not a regression but a neoliberal progression.

To create such a developmental narrative, the overseas status of Singaporeans is framed as an event in an individual's youth rather than a defining feature of his or her character. The biographical description of Debra Ma, for example, a Corporate Planning Manager, explains that her stint overseas was a result of "her graduate school days at Boston University where she received an MBA in Finance and Strategy" (7). The description identifies Ma's time abroad as temporally circumscribed but purposeful because she attained an advanced degree in a field that firmly connects her to the global economy.

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Not surprisingly, the professions highlighted in the booklet involve scienc or finance; there are no profiles featuring Singaporeans who attained ad vanced degrees in the humanities. Her overseas status is impermanent, and thus appears as a discrete event. By stressing Ma's positive experience inte acting with a "diverse global student population" (7), the biography furthe emphasizes the importance of Singaporeans learning how to be cosmopoli tan. The fact that Ma's time abroad is so strongly tied to youth and presented as a stage in her life makes it possible for her continued life story in Singapor to appear as part of her developmental narrative: "Back in Singapore she is in spired in a different way—by exciting new architecture, fascinating heritag conservation and an equally international make up in her home city" (7). As with her experience in Boston, Ma is "inspired" and recognizes the parallels between the diverse populations in Singapore and Massachusetts, which she experienced during her exciting time abroad as a graduate student.

The profile of returning Singaporean Toong Yao Yang provides another example in which the developmental elements of the coming-of-career story construct youth as a transitory period. The opening biographical blurb de scribes Toong as a "29-year-old banking professional" who "studied abroad as a teenager and worked overseas" (31). Like Ma, the experience living abroad was an enjoyable period of Toong's life. Although he "has never ruled out settling abroad," Toong recognizes that Singapore "as a financial hub . . . of fers career growth and opportunity" (31). While it is clear that the booklet does not mean to represent Singapore as a place that is less than enjoyable the copy also suggests that the career-minded will not let the youthful notion of "enjoyment" determine their life decisions.

To retain a developmental narrative in a coming-of-career story, setting is presented as a continuous state of newness, quite unlike a coming-of-age story, in which setting is often posed as an unforgiving and immovable struc tural force—as in the "individual versus society" formulation. At times this sense of newness is created by the perspective offered by the experience of liv ing abroad, while at other times the sense of newness results from Singapore's modernity. As the different profiles make clear, Singapore is not quite what the returning Singaporean knows or remembers; it has changed and matured into urban modernity. Chan Yan Neng, a Real Estate Associate who earned a Master's degree in the UK, reveals that there is more to Singapore than she realized:

> It's not just about political rallies and more open discussion. Singapore's physical landscape has transformed and there are many new buildings and outdoor spaces. On weekends, I enjoy exploring the countless walking and cycling trails around the city and discovering new independent shops and cafes. I don't remember there being so much to do before! (17)

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Though acknowledging that Singapore's political climate has become relatively liberal, more significant for Chan is Singapore's dynamism. Her comments acknowledge the implicit critique of Singapore as overdeveloped and having a sterile and lackluster culture, but they stress that for the successful career-minded individual, Singapore's new developments allow for work-life balance, a theme emphasized in Meredith Chan's profile. Chan, a Programs Manager who lived in San Francisco, explains that she "actually appreciate[s] the country so much more" as a result of living abroad, and has made new discoveries in her home country: "In terms of fun and adventure, I have had to look harder, simply because I love the great outdoors, but I have found pockets of Singapore that are beautiful and scenic" (11). The subtext of Chan's statement is that despite Singapore's size, undiscovered and hence new aspects of the island-nation await citizens who return. She even conceives of possibilities for fun and adventure in Singapore, which allows for some sense of continuity between the individual's youth and movement towards maturity.

In *Conversations on Coming Home*, setting takes on a more crucial role in the individual's process of maturity because it provides a structure that enhances the career plot. The complementary role that setting takes in coming-of-career narratives is a notable departure from the depiction of setting in the *bildungsroman* as a disciplinary or antagonistic force that compels the protagonist's journey of maturity. Jini Kim Watson notes that the depiction of urban renewal has been particularly significant for the Asian Tiger political leaders of Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea who sought to present their respective nations to the world as success stories of modernity (168). Similarly, the urban setting plays a role in proving Singapore's significance within a global economy because it enables the coming of one's career.

When we consider *Conversations on Coming Home* in relation to the state's history of promoting "Asian Values," we observe a contradiction between earlier denunciations of individualism as western decadence and the state's current reliance on individualism to promote a neoliberal economic agenda. Reflected in the booklet's content and form, values of individualism are inherent to coming-of-career stories. By promising upward mobility in a company's hierarchy based on an individual's job performance, professional and corporate careers themselves are structured to promote ideals of independence and self-reliance. *Conversations on Coming Home* emphasizes individual needs by suggesting that returning to Singapore is about personal satisfaction. None of the featured Overseas Singaporeans explicitly frame their return home as an act of patriotism or as offering any benefit to the nation. Rather, the decision to return, we are to believe, is entirely about self-improvement and job opportunities. Individualism is also reflected in the framing of each Overseas Singaporean as a distinct personality worth a two-page spread with an interview and

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a full-page glossy photograph. Although when taken together their singularity becomes less significant, my point is that each profile is a story of individual achievement. As David Harvey has observed, the notion of individual freedom has been a central feature of neoliberal ideology and is wielded to obscure the effects of class oppression (7). The Singaporean government's stated aversion to individualism is likely another reason that these feature stories have taken a serial form; though there is some degree of emphasis on the singularity of each featured Overseas Singaporean, their grouping with several others to represent some semblance of a collective is presumably a way of countering the emphasis on individualism implicit in these coming-of-career narratives.

Moreover, the concept of human capital also underwrites the biographies of the returning Singaporeans. Because coming-of-career stories consist of different events that form a career plot, lives are narrated to explain the subject's economic viability or value. Put differently, lives are subject to neoliberal logics or, as David Harvey might say, "neoliberalized." In her interview, Debra Ma asserts:

> In Boston I was part of an extremely diverse student population, which has sharpened my cross-cultural communication and decision-making skills. . . . *I believe these skills have added value to my interaction* with global co-workers at CapitaLand, which operates in 110 cities across 20 countries and employs 11,000 people worldwide. (7, emphasis mine)

Though the nation that the Singaporean state seems to imagine for its citizens could be called CapitaLand, it is the name of an Asian real estate company for which Ma sees herself as an ambassador. Her logic of "adding value" to herself is indicative of the intersection between narrative features of the *bildung* and the concept of human capital. Undergirding *bildung* and human capital is the idea that people can invest in and improve themselves to achieve an economic ideal. Thus, the experience of living abroad is less about Ma's personal enrichment, and more about the enhancement of the value of her labor.

We see a similar logic of self-improvement in the example of Gwendelene Foo, who "faced a language barrier, different work attitudes and employee ethics as well as stringent labor laws and the challenges of living in a developing country" during her time as a Head of Human Resources in Vietnam (33). The booklet makes clear that Foo's time abroad is circumscribed, in this case because once "she hit her stride" amidst challenging circumstances she "knew that it would soon be time to leave" (33). While Foo was able to "add value" to her career by living and working away from Singapore, her experience is posed more as a challenge that she was able to overcome and parlay into experience that would get her the kind of lucrative job that would allow her to return home. Unlike Ma, who was in the "inspirational" United

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States, Foo was working in an economically underdeveloped country. Thus value for Foo is a willingness to face adversity in order to become a better Human Resources Director, and an inclination to maintain a developmental attitude toward her career: "I was concerned that I would lose my competitiveness if I stayed too long [in Vietnam]. I was determined to return to sharpen my skills and perhaps be considered for another posting subsequently" (33). As Foo's language indicates, the notion of "competitiveness" upholds the developmentalism intrinsic to the coming-of-career narrative.

Although Foo and Ma both retain developmental logics in their stories, the contrasting experiences of "adversity" and "inspiration" demonstrate the crafting of coming-of-career narratives in relation to *bildung* narratives of the nation. What emerges in Foo's profile, through her claim that staying in Vietnam would in effect ruin her career and that Singapore is a place in which her career can flourish, is the significance of place for narratives of economic viability. Place, nation, and geography play central roles in the construction of a successful coming-of-career narrative, thus affirming Bose and Lyons's claim that contemporary business practices and geography are in active relation to each other (10).

As further evidenced in other profiles, the subtext of a successful coming-of-career narrative is a successful national maturation narrative. Yet, despite the nationalist agenda these stories are meant to serve, there is actually very little emphasis on nationalism as such. Gone are the typical emphases on home as a space of national community; instead, home is reconfigured as a space that is functional in one's career, which is to say that the nation must take on a particular spatial and temporal configuration to be considered ideal. Singapore's functionality as an ideal place for careers is illustrated in Toong Yao Yang's claim that although his work experience in Shanghai was valuable, because "Singapore's finance and banking industry is mature and globally connected," his position in Singapore allows him to "gain experience with more sophisticated products," unlike in Shanghai, where "the finance industry . . . is still highly regulated and restrictive, especially for foreign banks" (31). True to neoliberal ideology, Singapore is figured as a place of freedom—at least for those working in the finance industry—and because of this freedom, Singapore becomes the optimal environment and "provides the opportunity" for Toong's career to advance (31). His depiction of Singapore as a mature place in terms of global capitalism parallels the coming-of-career narrative's emphasis on careers as the marker of maturity.

Conversations on Coming Home also endorses heteronormativity through its promotion of the nuclear family, ostensibly in the service of the state's pro-natalist policies. Throughout the booklet, many of the profiled Singaporeans mention their families. Meredith Chan proclaims "my overseas stint

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brought me closer to my family and returning brought me closer to the idea of 'home'" (11). Chan Yan Neng also voices the benefit of returning home because she can be with her family while also building her career in finance (17). In fact, fifteen of the twenty people profiled allude to their families in one way or another. That the booklet's attention to family is meant to endorse the state's neoliberal, pro-natalist policies is most evident in the last profile of Gabriel Lim, an electrical engineer who returned to Singapore from New Zealand. Unlike the rest of the photographs in *Conversations on Coming Home,* which feature close ups of individuals, Lim's photograph is of himself, his wife, his son, and a white male (presumably a friend or colleague) laughing together around a table. The photograph stands in stark contrast to the others in the booklet because it is the only domestic scene that shows an entire nuclear family, and because there is an anonymous non-Asian person who becomes a signifier of Lim's cosmopolitanism. While one could read the photo as featuring a gay couple, such a reading would be against the grain, considering the Singaporean state's emphasis on procreation and penal codes that criminalize same sex relationships. Indeed, the placement of this visual at the end of the booklet suggests a teleological progression in which the heteronormative family becomes the desired end.

As the last profile, and perhaps the final word of the booklet, Lim's photograph and interview remind its audience of the importance of family values and white/European alliances. In his interview, Lim discusses the benefits of bringing his family back to Singapore:

> My job opportunity came at the perfect time. I had a good offer and Ying Ying [Lim's wife] wants to develop her accounting career here. At this young age, Caleb [Lim's son] can easily adapt to a new environment. We trust that he will receive a robust education and be exposed to a diversity of cultures and pick up Mandarin! (51)

As it has for Gabriel Lim, Singapore equally promises Lim's wife a successful career plot. Moreover, a return to Singapore will prepare young Caleb to become a cosmopolitan in the future. But perhaps most notably, the moral of Lim's profile is that the family, not just the individual, benefits from the pursuit of career opportunity in Singapore.

The government's emphasis on family and heterosexual relations resonates with neoliberalism and ideas of human capital. As Laurence Leong Wai Teng points out, the state's "productionist ethic of sex" and promotion of heteronormativity is economically driven: "The obsession with babies (measured by the amount of resources to entice mothers to breed) is underpinned by economic concerns. . . . When officials see low fertility rates in Singapore, they anticipate negative effects such a shrinking and ageing population would

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have on the economy . . . procreative sex is therefore necessary to sustain economic growth" (583–84). In other words, babies are also human capital, according to the state. *Conversations*' "happy ending," with its story of a content, career-minded family with an already cosmopolitan baby and an alliance with developed, white Euro-Americans, resonates with the state's reproductive mandate.

Ultimately, the coming-of-career narrative focuses on the maturation of Singaporean citizens who came of age through their time abroad—often gaining education and career experience—and eventual return to and reintegration into Singapore. It is only on the basis of their cosmopolitan identity and (cultural) capital accumulation that they are hailed by the government as ideal citizens for returning home. The Overseas Singaporean is thus the paradigmatic and ideal neoliberal subject that becomes conscripted by the state's nationalist narrative to further integrate the island-nation into the global economy.

ONE-SIDED CONVERSATIONS

No one individual can be identified as the author of *Conversations on Coming Home*, making accountability nearly impossible. The text's collaboration between citizen-employees and the state indicates the difficulty of precisely pinning down who is representing what. The language from the interviews seems to suggest that the profiled Singaporeans speak for themselves, but they also speak for the values of corporations that they work for, the purposes of the Contact Singapore publication, and the Singaporean state. Moreover, behind the construction of each profile resides an interviewer, graphic designer, ghostwriter, and editor, who each contributes a significant part to the publication's creation and meaning.[25]

The difficulty in determining the identity of the multiple authorial voices in *Conversations on Coming Home* and what they speak on behalf of—an example of what Bret Benjamin calls the "corporate author"—reflects the complexity of institutional representation. Benjamin argues that at work in the World Bank success stories he analyzes is the corporate author who is "corporate both in the sense of multipartied collaboration and in the sense of authorship by a financial corporation and in the direct interests of corporate capitalism" (150). Not only are the interests of corporate capitalism presented through a text like *Conversations on Coming Home*, but they are magnified: multiple corporations are authored in the text. The difference between a representation of an institution and the representation of a figure of an institution is unclear. Authorship is diffused amongst individuals and institutions, making accountability challenging to track in precise ways. This is what Laura E. Lyons describes as the shell game of corporate personhood, in which

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"the locus of responsibility [between individual CEO and corporation] is perpetually in play and thus impossible to pin down" (105). The same issue is reflected in *Conversations*' authorship.

Further complicating the issue of authorship is that *Conversations on Coming Home* is ultimately meant to function as a nationalist text. Through its representation of ideal Singaporeans and their successful coming-of-career narratives, the state attempts to shape the citizens' imaginings of the nation and their roles in it. The construction of the text makes it impossible to distinguish precisely whose corporate interests are being served: the state's, or corporations in Singapore? Are these returning Singaporeans ideal labor for the state, or for the corporations in Singapore, or ultimately both? The answers to these questions remain ambiguous because it is neither one nor the other. Thus, *Conversations on Coming Home* implies that debates about the relative power of nations and corporations are beside the point. Both exist in concert with one another to advance neoliberalism.

As the Singaporean context illustrates, corporations and the state are inextricably stitched together. The coming-of-career narratives do not necessarily locate individuals in particular corporate institutions; rather, they reflect a larger condition in which lives are narrated and valued as if they were set in a corporation. As a corporate form, the nation of Singapore is hardly "private limited," as Gibson posited, or even "incorporated." Instead, the complex web of representation of *Conversations on Coming Home* reflects a larger social process: Singapore incorporating.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Many thanks to those at the seminar for sharing their insights as I began to draft this piece. John, Lynn, Margrit, and Mona were generous with their time and help in the drafts that followed the seminar. I especially want to thank the special issue editors, Purnima and Laura, for their detailed feedback and help during the revision process. Thank you as well to *Biography* for putting everything together. This opportunity to collaborate was a great experience.

1. Gibson's piece is typical of the many orientalist explanations of Singapore's rapid economic growth that emerged at the tail end of Singapore's high-growth era. From the mid-1980s to the 1990s, many commentators, particularly in the west, attempted to explain "The Asian Miracle," or the rapid economic development and modernization of Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Taiwan from the 1960s to the 1990s. Though Gibson does not explain Singapore's success as based on an Asian value system (what was sometimes referred to as Confucian capitalism), his language reflects the stereotype that Asians are robotic and obedient.
2. See, for example, Miyoshi, Hardt and Negri, Appadurai, and Strange.
3. David Harvey, for example, gives various examples of how states have allied with corporate interests, describing them as neoliberal states (7).

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4. I discuss features of the printed version of this booklet on page 153; for an online edition, visit http://www.contactsingapore.sg/newsrroom/publications/?pubtype=others.

5. See Lynn Itagaki's contribution to this issue for an excellent example on the ways life writing genres have been adapted to account for economically subordinated subjects in the United States.

6. Ong's discussion of the intersections of governance and neoliberalism works against the notion that neoliberalism is a symptom of a weakening state (3). Ong's work usefully demonstrates how theories of neoliberalism have most often been developed in relation to western contexts, which then become normalized in a manner that can only make the East and Southeast Asian context appear as strange or exceptional.

7. This population would require an increase of nearly two million people in twenty years; according to the 2010 census, the population of Singapore—which has a land mass of approximately 276 square miles, about helf the size of the island of Oʻahu—was 5.08 million. The paper was released to a citizenry already disgruntled at the rate of population growth over the past several decades: in 1980, the population was about 2.4 million; in 1990, about 3.05 million; and in 2000, about 4.02 million (Department of Statistics).

8. See Schultz for a fuller discussion of human capital. As typical of neoliberal thinkers, he defends the dehumanizing connotations of the concept by arguing that treating one's self as a "capital good" ultimately enables a greater freedom: "By investing in themselves, people can enlarge the range of choice available to them. It is one way free men can enhance their welfare" (2). Though the notion of human capital might seem contemporary because of its associations with the Chicago School of Economics, as Pheng Cheah points out, the concept of human capital is evident in the writings of thinkers as early as Adam Smith (305).

9. Besides cultivating human capital as a cultural logic amongst its citizenry, the Singaporean state's attempts to "invest" in its people for further economic return is evident through the amount of money put into education. In 2012, $10.6 billion dollars was allocated to the Ministry of Education ("Expenditure Overview"). Singapore has also been the target of many satellite campuses of American and Australian universities, as well as collaborations between Singaporean and American universities (most notably, Yale-National University of Singapore College). Scholars are only beginning to explore the implications of the heavy investment in education sectors. See Lim, and Gui and Naruse.

10. In 1983, the state—stirred by former Prime Minister Lee's remarks that highly educated women were not marrying or producing enough babies for the economy—instituted tax-incentives and other monetary motivations for women with university educations to have children, and for low income and low educated women to be sterilized before the age of thirty after one or two children (Teng 582).

11. For example, those who fit in the skilled labor categories have easier pathways to residency and citizenship. As Yeoh and Lin write: "Various state programs have been launched to facilitate the inflow of talent to Singapore, including company grant schemes to ease the costs of employing skilled foreigners, a housing scheme to aid in the short-term accommodation needs of skilled foreign-born, various recruitment missions abroad, and regular networking and information sessions held in major cities worldwide."

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12. The official estimate of Temasek's GDP share is around 10 percent ("Letter"). According to US diplomatic cable documents put up by WikiLeaks, however, Temasek's GDP share is closer to 50 percent ("Viewing").

13. These numbers lack some consistency; Lee refers to the number of MNCs in the manufacturing sector, whereas the numbers for 1999 and 2013 include companies in both manufacturing and services sectors.

14. UNESCO's report uses "culture" in a different sense than cultural studies scholars who focus on how everyday life, ideology, or history is shaped by the presence of MNCs. Rather, the report reads cultural impact according to structural changes and whether such changes make positive accommodations for MNCs (K. P. Wong). A clarification on my terms: I draw on Masao Miyoshi's distinction between MNCs and TNCs: an MNC is "headquartered in a nation, operating in a number of countries," whereas a transnational corporation "might no longer be tied to its nation of origin but is adrift and mobile, ready to settle anywhere and exploit any state including its own, as long as the affiliation serves its own interest" (736). The two terms, however, are often used interchangeably. Though some of the sources I employ, such as the UNESCO report, appear to be discussing TNCs, they refer to them as MNCs, which is more reflective of popular usage of the time rather than an error on the part of the authors.

15. Most treatises on how this newly independent, third world nation managed to generate such rapid economic growth in the period following its 1965 independence focus on the combination of Singapore's geographical positioning and the state's decision to take advantage of globalizing trends and free market economies by "hosting" corporations. Singapore's history as a center of commerce precedes its independence. Its location in the Straits of Malacca—a narrow water channel that links the Indian Ocean with the South China Sea—has long been strongly tied to its economic position in a global market. Prior to British colonization in 1819, the island was a key port for traders and merchants (Joo-Jock 13). The British continued to take advantage of Singapore's location, using it as a "regional headquarters for international capital investing in primary production for export in neighboring countries, particularly Malaysia and Indonesia" (Lim and Fong 51). Moreover, for British imperial power, Singapore was a strategic military outpost and "bulwark of imperial defense in Asia" (Wong 17).

16. As Joseph R. Slaughter notes: "Humboldtian *Bildung* describes a civic course of acculturation by which the individual's impulses for self-expression and fulfillment are rationalized, modernized, conventionalized, and normalized within the social parameters, cultural patterns, and public institution of the modern nation-state" (113). Slaughter points out how the *bildungsroman* has been used to normalize the nation-state, but notable too are the ways authors in ethnic and minority fiction have used the genre to critique the nation-state, as well as the Euro-American canon and its attendant ideologies.

17. For example, the work permit visas that so-called unskilled laborers must have to enter Singapore only allow individuals to work in one occupation and with one employer (Yeoh and Lin). Moreover, this transient class of immigrants is not allowed to marry Singaporean citizens or permanent residents; on the discovery of pregnancy, female domestic workers are immediately deported and their employers fined (Yeoh and Lin).

18. As the state itself put it in a memo addressing concerns from Singaporeans that too many jobs are going to foreigners: the "majority of non-resident foreign workers in

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Singaporeans [*sic*] are not here to compete with Singaporeans for high-paying professional or managerial jobs. Rather they are here to help build our homes, keep our roads clean, and make our lives just a little more comfortable" ("Population and Economy").

19. *Ilo Ilo*, directed by Anthony Chen, is a feature film that tells the story of a Filipina maid's life with a Singaporean family. The film won the Camera d'Or award at the 2013 Cannes Film Festival.

20. See in particular the chapter "Humanity within the Field of Instrumentality" (230–66).

21. In 2002, Former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong famously questioned the loyalty of Singaporeans who left their home country: "Fair-weather Singaporeans will run away whenever the country runs into stormy weather. I call them 'quitters.'. . . I take issue with those fair-weather Singaporeans who, having benefited from Singapore, will pack their bags and take flight when our country runs into a little storm. . . . Look yourself in the mirror and ask, am I a 'stayer' or a 'quitter'? Am I a fair-weather Singaporean or an all-weather Singaporean?"

22. See "Singapore, State Nationalism, and the Production of Diaspora" for a discussion of how the state tries to inculcate neoliberal ideologies amongst its citizenry by the way it represents Singaporeans living abroad.

23. As a point of comparison: there are about 21.9 million Overseas Indians ("Population"), which is about 2 percent of India's total population of 1.22 billion ("India"). These numbers are meant to give a rough picture of how the Overseas Singaporean population compares in terms of its percentage of total population.

24. In Singapore, ethnic identity falls under what is known as the "CMIO" scheme. All Singaporean citizens and residents are identified as Chinese, Malay, Indian, or Other on their identity cards (IC). Certain language and religious affiliations are assumed under this rubric (e.g., Indians speak Tamil and are Hindu). The Chinese are the dominant ethnic group in Singapore, comprising about 75 percent of the population.

25. We might attribute the publication to Ng Siew Kang, the ostensible head of Contact Singapore, who writes the opening statement to *Conversations on Coming Home*. Yet, given that Contact Singapore is an "alliance of the Singapore Economic Development Board and Ministry of Manpower," we are reminded that Ng is a government employee who would not necessarily be the primary authorial voice in the text.

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BLAKE MYCOSKIE, TOMS, AND LIFE NARRATIVES OF CONSPICUOUS GIVING

MARGRIT TALPALARU

On its own, the TOMS shoe would probably win neither fashion nor popularity contests. An espadrille, really, its canvas feels somewhat coarse to the touch, but without reassuring you of its durability. When you slip your foot into it, nudging its advance with the help of an index finger inside the back end of the shoe, there's enough room for all toes to sprawl. The low, flat sole keeps you grounded, while also allowing you to forget about your feet and your shoes altogether. For all intents and purposes, TOMS is an ordinary, serviceable, forgettable shoe.

Sign for TOMS Shoes, West Edmonton Mall (photo by the author).

But forget about it you cannot, not least because it envelops countless feet in North America and around the world, fueled by the most powerful of narratives: a true story of an entrepreneur, who saw an opportunity to change the world by helping disadvantaged children while also making a profit. Blake Mycoskie, founder of TOMS, opens his memoir-cum-business-advice book, *Start Something That Matters*, by reminiscing about the moment when his mission materialized during a stroll through the Buenos Aires slums, when he "witness[ed] the intense pockets of poverty just outside the bustling capital" (5). He has an epiphany, and describes his "dramatically heightened . . . awareness" of "the real effects of being shoeless: the blisters, the sores, the infections—all the result of the children not being able to protect their young feet from the ground" (5). This awareness moves him to action: "Why not

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create a *for-profit* business to help provide shoes for these children? . . . [T]he solution was in entrepreneurship, not charity" (6).

This article reads Mycoskie's memoir to highlight how life writing bolsters the emergence of conspicuous giving, a trend that aims to ameliorate the contradictions of global corporate capitalism through consumption of products explicitly linked to humanitarian efforts. TOMS's "One for one" injunction, together with the origin narrative that Mycoskie authors, serve as models for others—youth, in particular—to emulate by suggesting their act of conspicuous giving will change the life of an underprivileged child from the developing world. Through such models, conspicuous giving insinuates itself as a condition of global citizenship. Conspicuous giving makes visible acts of donating, fundraising, and volunteering for a specific cause, be it social, artistic, scientific, medical etc. Conspicuous giving, in other words, refers to any charitable act performed in the public sphere to which a certain amount of public recognition is attached.[1] This article aims to illuminate one particular aspect of these various activities: through a generic and rhetorical analysis of the narratives surrounding the social enterprise TOMS, I argue that the visibility of giving both elicits obligatory participation from the public, as well as fulfills a vital function for a segment of post-recessionary corporate capitalism that still demands growth before profit as its primary engine.

Although not all corporations participate in conspicuous giving, social enterprises explicitly connect their consumer products to forms of socially or environmentally conscious philanthropy. This paper focuses on the social enterprise (SE), while considering periodically other related forms—charity, philanthropy, volunteering, fundraising—to highlight the reach of the multifaceted aspects of this phenomenon. By analyzing TOMS and Mycoskie's memoir, I demonstrate how conspicuous giving deploys affect in practice. One of the questions haunting this article is about the nature of corporate personhood that social enterprises elicit. Like many corporate narratives, TOMS uses its founder as its public face, and in so doing relies on creating a synecdoche between Mycoskie and the corporation itself. But whereas such founding figures frequently write memoirs and management strategy books that largely emphasize their responsibility to generate profits for their shareholders, Mycoskie insists on the novelty of the corporation he founded, and verges on evangelical discourse when he describes how philanthropy can give rise to corporations that fulfill the needs of consumers at the same time they offer relief to those less fortunate. In other words, his company and memoir offer a version of corporate personhood predicated on compassion. And yet, as I argue, in its mobilization of consumer affect as well as in its labor practices, TOMS illustrates how conspicuous giving, under the guise of a

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more compassionate and equitable corporate personhood, recycles its existing forms, thus solidifying existing global class inequity.

The precursor of social enterprises, corporate social responsibility (CSR), operates through similar affective mechanisms, which hook the public into participation. It is important to trace such genealogies of corporate operations to show how corporate capitalism tends to (re)cycle old methods, rather than innovate, to propel itself and ensure further growth. By recognizing the antecedents, we are less likely to believe that this turn to social responsibility signifies a break with an exploitative system, and instead view it for the continuation and amplification that it represents. However, the novelty of conspicuous giving in general and social enterprises in particular resides in how their focus on emotions and feelings—collectively termed affect[2]—serves to naturalize the duty of performing free labor as a prerequisite of a new form of global citizenship: a form of belonging in the world that is defined by corporate capitalism and its needs, rather than by geographical or national location. Corporate-defined global citizenship elicits visible allegiance through branding specific products and causes. Conspicuous giving, then, has less to do with narrowing the income gap, eradicating world hunger, and curing cancer, than it has with providing corporations a way to determine and sanction the right way of behaving and participating within the system.

At stake in extending this argument to an examination of how social enterprises (SEs) redefine affect around consumption is how they establish themselves as the solution to the problems of global social inequality, climate change, and sustainability by oversimplifying these systemic issues, and bringing them in line with the neoliberal turn toward individual responsibility instead of tackling them as collective challenges. In contrast to other filaments of conspicuous giving (volunteering, fundraising, direct donations), buying products, particularly those that one might wear, becomes the visible sign of the social enterprise's activism, and by extension that of the consumer. In this regard, social enterprises further elaborate Thorstein Veblen's concept of "conspicuous consumption."[3] Rather than consuming to display wealth or social status as Veblen's concept indicates in relation to the turn of the twentieth century, social enterprises construct individual consumption as acts of altruism, thus endorsing the former while inducing a positive affective stance in the consumer. In this article, I analyze both TOMS's website and the memoir/business self-help book by the company's founder, Blake Mycoskie, before turning to the roots of SEs in corporate social responsibility. My readings stress how the conflation of the founder's memoir with TOMS's corporate story supports the fiction of corporate personhood, at the same time as I show how conspicuous giving, a now popular business strategy, bolsters neoliberalism in new ways.

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TOMS: THE SOCIAL ENTERPRISE THAT MATTERS

A recent edited collection titled *Social Enterprise: An Organizational Perspective* (2012) defines its subject matter simply as "organizations which combine market-orientation with a social mission" (Smith ix), and touts them in turn as "more effective alternatives to traditional public and nonprofit organizations in addressing social problems" (ix),[4] and as "an adaptive response to a rapidly changing fiscal and political environment for nonprofits" (ix), only to recognize that "these central assumptions of the social enterprise model have not been rigorously examined" (xiii).[5] The volume's editors date the increased interest in SEs to the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis, which they flag as the watershed moment in the history of social enterprises; this origin was preceded by the 2006 Nobel recognition of Muhammad Yunus, "for his innovative work on micro-financing" and founding of the Grameen Bank (Gidron and Hasenfeld 1). Ultimately, they reiterate Rathgeb Smith's definition of the social enterprise as "the idea of combining social (or environmental) purposes with a business orientation and creating an organization to carry out a social mission coupled with successful business ventures" (1).

This combination of social/environmental goals of some form with business emerges vigorously when looking at TOMS. The company's distinctive mission, captured in its "One for one" tagline, resides in its matching every sale of a pair of shoes with a donation of a new pair to a child in need in an underprivileged community.[6] The design of its shoes is also distinguished by its simplicity. Mycoskie recalls in his book that he "got used to wearing the national shoe [of Argentina]: the *alpargata*, a soft casual canvas shoe worn by almost everyone in the country, from polo players to farmers to students" (4). Indeed, the TOMS logo mimics the national flag of Argentina, with its top and bottom sky-blue bands, and the TOMS brand name replacing the Sun of May. The irony of a US corporation donating the national Argentinean shoe to deprived Argentinean children points to how corporatism encroaches on any social concern that might enable its growth. With the company's success, the TOMS-branded alpargatas are now ubiquitous in the United States and Canada, thus demonstrating that this social enterprise crosses national borders in both distribution and appeal.

Since 2011, TOMS has branched its product line into fashionable eyewear, and the charitable counterpart to this product line claims "With each pair of TOMS Eyewear, you're personally changing a life by providing professional eye care—whether it's surgery, medical treatment or prescription glasses—to a person who can't afford it" ("TOMS Eyewear"). This addition to the TOMS product line prompted Mycoskie to declare "We're no longer a shoe company, and we're not even an eyewear company. We are the 'One

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for One' company" (Gillis). This message is echoed in the description of every product available for sale on its website, which I analyze through one of the products: a pair of glasses called "Sandela: TOMS x charity: water Edition" ("Sandela").[7] Because the message about giving has to take center-stage, the TOMS marketing team has opted for comprehensiveness over brevity in naming this product. Even the product's name reminds the consumer of his or her contribution. This reminder emphasizes a shift in the role of TOMS's public: it is no longer a mere passive consumer. Even though the passivity of consumption has always been arguable, as Veblen has shown, the association between consumption and passiveness persists, and rewriting that role serves TOMS well in defining its market niche. The subtext implies that purchasing "regular" espadrilles or sunglasses makes one a hedonistic consumerist, while opting for TOMS elevates one to an activist. This simplistic message constitutes one of the main modes of operation that sustain conspicuous giving, as I will discuss later.

TOMS thus co-opts its audience as an active participant in acts of corporate giving. The description of the sunglasses, alongside its general charitable message, showcases this unique role from the very beginning. Under "product details," which is the first text following the picture of the sunglasses, we immediately find out that

> TOMS x charity: water is a collaboration to bring awareness to the work we're both doing in India. Featuring bright yellow temple tips with the charity: water signature jerry can, each pair in this collection comes with a branded TOMS x charity: water cleaning cloth and a screen-printed canvas case inspired by charity: water's work in India. No two cases are alike—each is hand-printed with a distressed treatment for a unique finish. ("Sandela")

The most important feature of these sunglasses thus resides in their contribution to charity, a message one can never escape when perusing every page of TOMS's extensive website, which at every step presents the charitable message as the predominant sales pitch, thus obliterating the distinctions between the corporation and the charity. What's more, the collaboration between TOMS and Charity: Water points to a surfeit of philanthropy that illustrates the necessity for good-doing to be highly visible. TOMS's success and visibility make any association desirable for less well-known organizations like Charity:Water. However, tacking yet another charitable act onto the glasses, beyond the "gift of vision," almost takes us into the parodic territory of "two for one," rather than TOMS's signature "one for one."

Thus, TOMS goes beyond "cause marketing," which signifies a company's donation of a fraction of the proceeds to a certain charity. Instead, TOMS conjures its audience as a participant in the very act of doing good. By

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using the personal pronoun plural in "the work we're both doing in India," TOMS changes the role of its audience by prompting its public to imagine its participation in the act of giving. The public is no longer a mere spectator to the work of social responsibility carried out by the corporation on the consumer's behalf and with part of her money. Instead, the consumer can now imagine herself restoring "sight to a person in need *and* contribut[ing] $10 toward building a well that will bring clean water to people in India." The language of the above quotation shows how this product represents the mash-up of the activity of selling/buying on the one hand, and of conspicuous giving, on the other. It would be an oversimplification to assert that TOMS is selling charity. Rather, I am interested in how social enterprises redefine the structure of feeling around consumption by mobilizing a range of affect that sanctions consumption and aligns it with the seemingly ethical activity of giving.[8] In so doing, SEs effectively monetize social concerns.

One of these social concerns is global inequality, to which TOMS's "one for one" slogan ostensibly responds. The TOMS website promoting its eyewear exemplifies how this company educates its public into becoming responsible conspicuous givers through the consumption of this charitable product. For example, the website explains the significance of the design: "The front part of the temple represents you—a pattern and color that you chose. The stripe in the middle is TOMS. The color tips represent the individual whose sight you help restore" ("TOMS Eyewear"). The "choice" of pattern and color is equally important in investing the neoliberal subject with agency, and in emphasizing his or her individuality, as well as that of the person helped. The title of this section, "Our Stripes, Our Story," also points to how TOMS's marketing of its eyewear relies upon life narrative. Just as the company and consumer are represented in the striped design, so too their stories converge as together they make available eye care to those without it. The heartfelt gratitude of Tajitsu, the Ethiopian man featured on the website whose cataract surgery TOMS and its consumers have sponsored, emphasizes just how transformative consuming can be, as he exclaims, "This [is] a great time in my lifetime . . . I have no words to express my feelings for such a gratifying service." TOMS endows its consumers with the agency to transform the lives of people they will never meet. Drawing on the long familiar rhetoric of humanitarian aid campaigns such as Save the Children that personalize aid by featuring a typical recipient, TOMS conjoins the life narratives of the company, the consumer, and Tajitsu, the named third-world subject, who can now see more clearly as a result of first-world intervention. But whereas donating to a humanitarian aid campaign gives the donor only the sense of having helped someone, TOMS provides its consumer with a tangible good, its eyeglasses, which become the visible sign to others of the power of conspicuous giving.

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"FIND YOUR STORY"[9]: HOW TO PROMOTE CONSPICUOUS GIVING WITH LIFE WRITING

Indeed, in his book, Blake Mycoskie, billed on the cover as "Chief Shoe Giver," strives to build the case for both the ethics of conspicuous giving, and for the neoliberal agency of the subject. His declared aim is "to help you and anyone who is interested start something that matters" (19). He underscores the for-profit nature of social enterprises along the way, as well as demonstrates his savvy about the workings of capitalism by promising that this "new breed of companies . . . are succeeding at this volatile moment in capitalism" (19). His very next sentence illustrates his keen awareness that what propels capitalism is growth: "The tremendous amount of growth of TOMS would never have been possible during my parents' generation" (19). This careful reference to generation marks Mycoskie's intended audience as young people, who, he suggests, can take advantage of this new avenue to still reap the fruits of capitalism, maybe even to a higher degree than their parents, while also making a proverbial "difference in the world." The neoliberal ideology of potential open to individual determination undergirds the evangelical tone pervading Mycoskie's business case. To achieve capitalist growth, a social entrepreneur is encouraged to follow Mycoskie's six rules, the first of which is "having a story" (20), because "a story evokes emotion, and emotion forges a connection" (25–26). The plethora of narrative, on the TOMS's website or its social media outlets, as well as in Mycoskie's book, is a means of eliciting the public's emotions, and mobilizing their affect in order to achieve TOMS's and Mycoskie's business goals.

In the brief introduction to his memoir, Mycoskie goes to great lengths to excise subtlety out of his emotional reactions in the pivotal moments he recounts, by emphasizing what he feels at every moment in the process of founding TOMS. For instance, on his first charitable delivery of shoes to underprivileged children in Argentina, he recalls,

> When distributing the shoes, we tried to be very organized, asking the kids to line up according to their shoe size. If they didn't know it, they could step on a foot-measuring scale drawn on the back of a cardboard box (my mom came up with the idea). But the whole time we were all so overcome with emotion it was almost impossible to be business-like. (15)

The need to be business-like underscores Mycoskie's partial intent of telling his own story with "the aim of inspiring, entertaining, and challenging you to start something that matters" (xiii). Mycoskie's aim is typical of what Julie Rak diagnoses as a definitive trait of the memoir, namely "the possibility of social movement through personal movement" (33). Rak elucidates the ways

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that memoir connects the personal with the social, but also teases out what is at stake in the slippage between the person and the institution.

Mycoskie's book enacts this slippage through its very generic muddying of the waters. *Start Something that Matters* begins as a memoir, recounting the protagonist's vision of starting this social enterprise while vacationing in Argentina, but then seamlessly, after only twenty pages, moves into the self-help-cum-business advice genre in line with Rak's interpretation of the possibility of social movement borne out of personal events. Mycoskie openly asserts that his goal is to start a social entrepreneurship movement, an aim supported by the many instances in which a messianic discourse emerges throughout his book.

Moreover, affect distinctly links the ways in which memoirs are written to the styles in which corporations are run. Once again, the emphasis on emotions that social enterprises showcase, and that Mycoskie's memoir brings to the fore, illustrates a long-running trend in corporate capitalism. Eva Illouz, in a chapter of the edited collection *An Introduction to Social Entrepreneurship*, charts the genealogy of the development of psychological cultural frames within corporate management. Empathy, which I would argue is the foundational emotion undergirding the popularity of conspicuous giving, and which Illouz observes "plays such a central role in the discourse of social entrepreneurship" (107), evolved out of the 1930s involvement of psychologists in corporation management that initiated an "intensification of emotional life" (107). The results, Illouz notes, were "many different forms of emotional control," characterized by the "mix of rationality and emotionality" (111), a combination echoed by Mycoskie's professed desire to remain businesslike (read "rational") while being emotionally overwhelmed by the act of shoe-giving. Ultimately, according to Illouz, "emotional capitalism has realigned emotional cultures, harnessing the emotional self more closely to instrumental action" (121). This causal link between affect and action emerges in the TOMS website and other marketing materials as an impetus for the act of conspicuous giving: the empathetic individual buys a pair of shoes or sunglasses to help an underprivileged person, and then displays the clearly branded and distinctly designed wares as a mark of his or her act of giving.

Similarly, *Start Something that Matters* shows how it is Mycoskie's inability to maintain a businesslike demeanor, presupposed to be calculated and devoid of emotion and thus in binary opposition to affect, that represents the actual selling point of SE as a movement. Mycoskie tells his public that SEs are not, as the cliché puts it, "business as usual," but something more affectively meaningful. However, as the memoirist's gaze moves quickly over the children to note his mother's low-tech ingeniousness, we notice SEs are also not about the charitable causes, but the giving subject and his or her affect.[10] Mycoskie describes the situation only as a conduit for communicating

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his emotional state, directing attention away from the children—who thus become incidental to the story—to display his own affect and rally his public in support, thus moving it to participate in the work of his SE.

At the beginning of his book, when he first mentions his epiphany of building a social enterprise, Mycoskie diagnoses for himself and his public the extent of and the precise pathology afflicting underprivileged children in the Buenos Aires slums. He does not lift his gaze, nor does he engage these children in conversation to give them a voice.[11] Mycoskie's determination to keep the spotlight firmly on himself highlights his use of messianic discourse, while also revealing that the roots of social entrepreneurship go back to the colonial beginnings of capitalism.[12] Mycoskie's visit to the Argentinean school where the first shoe delivery takes place occasions the realization that "We were about to embark on the work I knew my life was created for" (17). This tone pervades the book, especially when Mycoskie peppers his advice with anecdotes about how other people "spread the TOMS message" (157). Focusing on his individual "calling" belies Mycoskie's fervent assertions that "we have created a new model" (19). Like other self-proclaimed corporate visionaries, Mycoskie employs as a useful marketing strategy the slippage between his own persona and the company he founded.[13]

Furthermore, Mycoskie uses the effective literary trope of visual imagery to flesh out the existing archetype of charity beneficiary: the child of the global south. Such imagery obscures the systemic inequalities that generate this global class division, and instead turns back to the observing self, as befits the neoliberal subject. Mycoskie's syllogistic process of determining the solution to the problem he diagnoses models the intense satisfaction of the autonomous individual at work problem-solving the world all on his or her own. A neoliberal dream come true, if there ever was one.

Mycoskie's book thus shows how the discourse around conspicuous giving employs well-known and much-used tropes, from rugged individualism to the stereotypical image of the underprivileged child of the Global South, always in need of the white man's intervention. Critics of humanitarianism highlight the proximity of its discourse to "colonial discourses of the white man's burden" (Jefferess, "Me to We" 27), as they "echo in their rhetoric the imperial project of civilization" (Jefferess, "Global Citizenship" 27). As Rebecca Dingo and J. Blake Scott argue, "the vectors of power that can be found in the contexts behind these rhetorics (such as colonial histories, economic policies, and transnational policy agreements . . . frame development discourses" (2). These veritable "megarhetorics" simplify the structural inequality of global neoliberalism to justify Western intervention through individual action.

Humanitarian intervention, we are meant to think, must come in the form of consumption, which in the case of SEs is the Westerner's reward

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for benevolence. This perpetuation of global inequity stands at the hidden core, propelling giving. Ultimately, conspicuous giving is less about remedying global problems, and more about ensuring growth within the same corporatist world system. It is about lassoing the consumer's affect and better integrating it into the system. In *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism,* Eva Illouz shows how since the 1920s corporations have successfully disciplined employee affect through the systematic deployment of psychology to increase efficiency. Similarly, conspicuous giving relies on the oversimplification of the equations that generate the ever increasing global income gaps and divisions of labor, to redefine the affect around consumption and thus enable the growth on which capitalism relies.

Branding is all about affect: it relies on emotions as it attempts to generate desirability by linking its products and services with positive feelings. Arguably, no consumption can be divested from affect, as Naomi Klein persuasively argues in *No Logo.* Corporations shun negative associations with their brands as their mortal enemy. Robert J. Foster shows how advertising companies build brands according to the concept of "lovemarks," a term coined by Kevin Roberts, of the global ad agency Saatchi & Saatchi. Lovemarks connect "your company, your people, and your brands," "inspire loyalty beyond reason," "belong to your customer," and generate "premium profit" (8). These injunctions inform the design of TOMS eyewear, for example, which uses stripes to place side-by-side the consumer, the brand, and the beneficiary.

Social enterprises further expand this logic of corporate personhood by defining what it means to be a global citizen: namely, a member of the public charged with responsibility to others throughout the world, a responsibility fulfilled through consumption. TOMS does not simply supply a demand in the marketplace, but serves to justify western overconsumption by providing products that ostensibly fill the needs of the global South.[14] If a closetful of shoes is one index of personal buying power, possessing many pairs of TOMS signifies instead a presumed commitment to ending the hardships of inequality and an eschewal of consumption for consumption's sake. Using affect so that it revalues the act of consumption has proven very effective in rallying politically apathetic youth to embrace Mycoskie's message, transforming TOMS into a success story. It has also encouraged them to donate their time and labor to the company, as I discuss in the last section.

In the end, the larger implications of TOMS's redefinition of the affect around consumption represents an example of the corporatist attempt to reconcile the contradiction between capitalism's need for endless growth, and the push toward less consumption due to ethical and environmental reasons.[15] Conspicuous giving has emerged as the resolution to that conflict, as a means of alleviating, but not resolving, economic disparity, while still

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providing growth. Left unquestioned is the assumption that growth in itself is unequivocally both good and necessary. Finally, the recent outpouring of support from the public as well as governments for social enterprises makes it vitally important to examine critically their operations, and the ways they mobilize affect to offer simple solutions to complex political issues.[16] By investigating the larger contemporary phenomenon of corporate social responsibility, to which social enterprises are heir, we can historicize this aspect of conspicuous giving as well as illuminate another version of corporate personhood: one that counters the corporation as profit-driven psychopath, as described in Joel Bakan's documentary *The Corporation,* with an image of the empathetic corporation engaging in collective philanthropic projects.[17]

The mythologized representation of TOMS's founder, Mycoskie provides a connection between established celebrity activism and its newly monetized status within social enterprises.[18] Between Mycoskie's book and the corporate website, the abundance of narratives about TOMS begs a generic analysis. The narrative this social enterprise constructs about itself plays on its public's positive emotions to carve a market niche for itself, while at the same time blurring such boundaries as the ones existing between a corporation and its founder, a charity and a business.[19] Mycoskie's book, with its blend of memoir and business guide, allows the founder's life narrative to generate the corporate story, thus reinforcing the slippage between founder and corporation.

Utilizing life writing to tell their corporate stories allows social enterprises to initiate deep affective connections with their publics. At stake in the growing popularity of social enterprises and conspicuous giving more generally are the correlative symptoms of growing income disparity and normalization of diminished labor opportunities, such as the increasing precarity of workers, and the expectation of free labor in the form of volunteering and unpaid internships as a means to gather work experience or to prove one's value as a global citizen.

In fact, life writing is a critical genre through which SEs like TOMS work to articulate citizenship with the work of conspicuous giving. In her study *Boom: Manufacturing Memoir for the Popular Market,* Rak links citizenship and the popularity of the memoir:

> As Americans continue to read and think about politics in their lives, or even think about their lives as an expression of politics, memoir's uneasy position as a commodity and as a practice of going public remains a way for many people to access the life and experiences of another, in order to think through affective ties of belonging and what Lauren Berlant says we should call the affective dimension of citizenship. Citizenship as a lived identity with others and for others is therefore a mode of reading as well as thinking that is sometimes radical, and sometimes conservative, but always is in excess of what the state asks of its citizens. (213)

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By means of his memoir, Mycoskie links the consumption of TOMS's products with precisely this "affective dimension of citizenship." By harnessing the consumption of memoir in the service of promoting the consumption of yet another commodity, Mycoskie's memoir enlarges the autobiographical pact to include, beside "the identity (identicalness) of the *name* (author-narrator-protagonist)" of the author (Lejeune 14), his or her enterprise. This slipperiness befits corporatism by functioning as a discursive ligature between individual founder and corporation, while also tightening the affective ties with a built-in public avid for the consumption of print memoir and online "autobiography in real time" (Morrison). In a moment when citizenship seems adrift and evacuated of stability as a pillar for belonging, corporatism is ready to refill the void by redefining citizenship, belonging, and community. Its appeal relies partly on a declaration of innovation, but also on the offer for surrogate participation in the global community through conspicuous giving.

It is this intimate connection between the memoir and its readership that makes a generic investigation, alongside close reading, an important move for understanding the self-representation of social enterprises as symbolic of conspicuous giving. As Rak notes, "in memoir, lives go public as they become public. It becomes a way for readers to think publicly, but from the private sphere. It creates the possibility of social movement through personal movement. In this sense, memoir as a genre has the potential to create social action" (33). If the genre itself already does the work of generating "the possibility of social movement" and "social action," then merely by employing it, part of the work underpinning social enterprise has been accomplished. This explains the need for Mycoskie's memoir, but also the reason why TOMS's website highlights its corporate story on the same level of the primary menu as its products, and why it reoccurs both in sections dedicated to its giving and in those for the online store. Compared to the previous declarations of corporate social responsibility, which used to be buried at the bottom of webpages, this placement of self-presentation makes giving more visible.

Conceptualizing corporations as persons demands an investigation of how they achieve self-representation through the corporate story. Performing the critical analysis of corporate self-representation through the generic lens of life writing allows us to bring to light the affective arteries oxygenating the complex relationship between social enterprises and their public. Genre emerges as the best clue for the slippage between SEs and their founders. In fact, SEs like TOMS, and many celebrity-founded charities, rely on exactly this effacement of the distinctions between the person spearheading the "cause" and the corporation behind it. Through the affective connection, conspicuous giving turns the vicariousness of the connection offered by the

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genre of memoir into the impetus to engage in the act of giving, fulfilling the "social action" that Rak mentions.

Conspicuous giving in its many iterations enlists the genre of life writing as the point of affective connection between the corporatist need for growth and a public ready to curb the consumerism fuelling that growth because of the double ethical impetus of environmental and social awareness.[20] TOMS relies on establishing affective connections between global aid, celebrity activism, and Western desire, all cathected on consumerism for a cause. Discussing the Canadian social enterprise Me to We, David Jefferess highlights the affective connections SEs rely upon:

> The 'Me to We' 'philosophy' relies greatly on emotion—gratitude, empathy, and happiness. . . . 'Me to We' reframes humanitarianism and global citizenship education in terms of the self-help industry. The 2010 catch phrase for We Day, 'shameless idealists,' appeals to a desire for (post)consumer feelings of fulfilment and distinction. ("Me to We" 18)

Like the global corporations whose business methods they emulate, social enterprises defy national boundaries. TOMS and Me to We show how social enterprises transform conspicuous consumption into conspicuous giving by subsuming the "consumer feelings of fulfillment of distinction" to the good cause of giving, which the literature usually presents under the cliché of "making a difference."[21] Beyond the scope of Jefferess's article are the causes spurring such a shift within various sectors of corporatism: why the need to shift from growth through consumption to growth through conspicuous giving? I would argue that conspicuous giving has become more adept at capturing the environmental market, which condemns overconsumption, and the awareness of the conditions of production of most commodities. These two factors, conveyed in a proliferation of SE corporate stories, converge to mobilize middle class consumers' affect through the neoliberal promise of "the autonomous individual subject who is distinguished by their [*sic*] desire to transcend affluence without giving it up" ("Me to We" 19). In other words, conspicuous giving further entrenches existing class inequality and global income disparity.

VISIBILITY: FROM CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

For the past few decades, corporations have been presenting their social consciousness through declarations of "corporate social responsibility" (CSR). CSR represents a fluid concept that occasions an account of a corporation's "giving back" to society through some form of socially aware activity, ranging from manufacturing and supply chain ethics to labor issues or environmental protections. In *The Market for Virtue*, David Vogel defines CSR neutrally as

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'firms' efforts to do more to address a wide variety of social problems than they would have done in the course of their normal pursuit of profits" (4). In other words, CSR represents both an attempt to deflect the charge against the restricted responsibility of corporations, and an admission that corporations' actions have repercussions on everybody, beyond the small group of investors and employees known in corporate-speak as the stakeholders. CSR also indicates how corporations increasingly make social well-being part of business. The corporatist interest in philanthropy along with conspicuous giving exemplify this tendency.

Social enterprises can thus be traced to the impetus for corporate social responsibility, which emerged in 1971 as "a reactive discourse that works diligently to present itself as a proactive movement" (DeChaine 76). Social enterprises differ from CSR primarily because they have managed to transform what Mycoskie views as corporate practices that "too often" "look like tax write-offs or publicity gimmicks" (162) into a profitable business model.[22] Consequently, SEs and conspicuous giving have become far more pervasive, because they open a new area of economic growth, and growth constitutes the motor for the system's perpetuation. Researchers of CSR have remarked on the imbrication of business and philanthropic lexica. This discursive clue indicates a subtle overtaking of the latter by the former. In her case study of (product)RED, Jessica S. Wirgau claims that "consumption philanthropy allows business discourse to colonize philanthropic discourse" (613). A similar analysis of Starbucks's Ethos Water allows D. Robert DeChaine to illuminate "the role of CSR in articulating discourses of human rights, development, citizenship, and business" (79). The case study detailed in this paper—the social enterprise TOMS—shows how the newly emerged SEs, which operate both as businesses and charitable organizations, also rely on the slippage between the figures of their founders and the corporations themselves to promote affective connections between the SEs and their publics.

AFFECTIVE TIES: HOW TO WIN OVER A LASTING PUBLIC

The affective mechanisms TOMS relies on to conjure its public are representative of how conspicuous giving more generally relies on emotional links to elicit participation. The mechanisms appear as the proverbial dichotomous carrot-and-stick approach. While participation brings with it the promise of a good feeling as a result of such clichés as "making a difference," "contributing to a good cause," "giving back," etc., abstention is punished with the tacit or explicit loss of status in one's community (Bekkers and Wiepking 951). When the well-known "Run for the Cure" tells us "we all have someone to run for," it suggests that non-participation amounts to complicity in the work of cancer.

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The dichotomy of "either with us or against us" precludes any skepticism, and replicates itself across the variety of phenomena amounting to conspicuous giving. When conspicuous giving messages flood media, the dichotomy naturalizes conspicuous giving as the only mode of belonging in the world. Conspicuous giving thus evacuates the affective category of citizenship, while replacing it with a corporatist subjectivity that permits multiple affiliations with brands and commodities that replace the single possibility historically offered by citizenship. Moreover, in true neoliberal fashion, conspicuous giving promises choice: it is up to the individual to decide his or her preference and to pledge through a variety of means or their combinations: donations, volunteering, running/walking/biking, fundraising, etc. This allegiance does not come in a void. Conspicuous giving takes branding into new territories, and demands that affect become materialized in pledged human or financial capital.

"GIVE MORE THAN MONEY"[23]: FROM CONSPICUOUS GIVING TO FREE LABOR

Conspicuous giving indexes a large array of activities concerning charity, philanthropy, fundraising, volunteering, etc. The historical roots of charity can be found in religious morality, whether in the form of the Tithe for Christians, Tzedakah for Jews, Zakat for Muslims, or as Mona Bhan shows in her article in this collection, the combination of Dharma and Karma for Hindus. The previous heyday of philanthropy, the days of the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Mellons, at the turn of the twentieth century, was steeped in income disparity and colonial exploitation. What is different about our contemporary moment is specifically how corporate capitalism has overtaken giving in all its forms, and through its visibility made it into a mandatory condition of a global citizenship that elides any literal national belonging, and hails instead only subjects who are in a position to give. The binary between givers and receivers perpetuates capitalism's historical penchant for instituting dichotomies between capital and labor, colonizer and colonized, self and other, us and them, and so between any kind of subject and (mostly his) object.

Mycoskie's book, with its insistence on the giving self, instantiates this subjectivity and offers a model of global citizenship for others to emulate. This trope, in itself, provides continuity with (corporate) capitalism, but what social enterprises in particular and conspicuous giving in general inaugurate for corporatism is the idea of free labor. *Start Something that Matters* demonstrates that brand allegiance and desirable behavior—entrepreneurship, leadership—always happens on the back of free labor. In the chapter titled "Giving is Good Business," Mycoskie takes the positive emotions the giving self feels and translates them into good business: on one page he confesses that "I melted" (155) when Lauren Bush—creator of FEED Projects "charitable company" (154)—

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tells him of the ambition of a Rwandan girl "to be president of Rwanda" (155). We are meant to read between the lines that this ambition is enabled and may even become reality through the charitable act fueled by the purchase of FEED bags by those in the west. On the very next page, Mycoskie renders the emotion into profit: "Giving felt good. But over the last few years, I've also experienced how giving is truly good for business as well" (156).

The secret, Mycoskie suggests, of transforming positive emotion into lucrative capital is to rely on as much free labor as possible, which he illustrates with "hundreds of . . . anecdotes" about people organizing events around TOMS: "a young woman at Ohio State University loves TOMS so much that she organizes a large SYS (Style Your Soul) event in the fall of 2009—all on her own, reaching out to local high schools to educate them about TOMS" (157). The brand attachment to and lovemarks of social enterprises are so strong that people will provide free labor in the form of marketing, advertising, and event planning. Moreover, the notion of "educating" high school students into giving inscribes the act as a sine qua non condition of global citizenship. Part of that education resides in the inculcation of free labor as the mark of emotional allegiance to "the cause," a term which all charitable organizations float around to distinguish their core activity and distance themselves from its pecuniary predecessor, the brand. Whether medical research, social services, food aid, artistic endeavors, or barefoot children, the cause catalyzes both the activity of the charitable organization and its donors, as signified in the promotional materials for The Run for the Cure: all runners and walkers are encouraged to declare whom they run for by writing names on their race bib. These names at once pay tribute to those who are living with or have died from breast cancer and at the same time align those same women with Susan G. Komen's largest corporate sponsors, the Ford Corporation and New Balance. Arguably, then, running for the cure happens not just in someone's name but also under the name of the corporation, and such a conjoining of actual human beings and corporate entities provides another form of the synecdoche that underwrites corporate personhood.

When Mycoskie announces that "TOMS for PROM is now a nationwide campaign, giving tens of thousands of kids a new pair of desperately needed shoes each year" (158), the subtext is that tens of thousands of high-schoolers have purchased TOMS shoes, and provided free labor towards a highly successful marketing campaign. Wearing TOMS to prom paradoxically makes consumption the marker of a kind of hipster anti-consumption ethos (no need for expensive heels) at the same time as it presumably transforms this milestone in the typical high school student's life into a charitable event that aids the efforts to shod the world's children. Indeed, under the fine print of "Promoted Campaign," Causes, "the world's largest online campaigning

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platform," sent an email to its subscribers that aimed to inform them that "by the end of 2014, 1,000,000 new TOMS will reach children in 35+ states" in the US. The email provides a link to an informational video about TOMS, which comes under a large banner with the injunction to "Spread the word about out U.S. giving," next to which we read that "32,615 people have helped this campaign" ("TOMS One for One"). Over thirty thousand people have provided free labor for TOMS, by participating in what is still recognized as the most efficient type of advertising: word of mouth.

What are the implications of inculcating the duty to donate free labor to corporations as a mark of one's citizenship? Simply put, conspicuous giving reaches beyond social enterprises and naturalizes the notion that people owe labor to profitable corporations; ironically, however, the converse idea that corporations owe workers a living wage is conspicuous in its absence. The unpaid internships that have mushroomed in the wake of the Great Recession are heir to this notion, as is the 2013 initiative by an Ohio-based Walmart to organize a food drive among its employees so "Associates in Need can enjoy Thanksgiving." Walmart's business model notoriously relies on externalizing its costs (Petersen 198), and coverage of its full-time employees having to resort to social services has been extensive (Mitchell). The person who initiated the Walmart food drive for fellow employees no doubt wanted to help by creating some form of community support, but such efforts also suggest that a corporation need not offer a living wage to its employees; rather, a good neoliberal corporate subject whose heart is "in the right place" will lead an initiative that has fellow employees subsidizing the costs of working for Walmart for "associates who have had some hardships come up," as Kory Lundberg, a company spokesperson, put it (qtd. in Weissmann).

The effects of social enterprises and conspicuous giving are far ranging, and influence people's daily activities, global economics, and ideas about how social justice and equity can be achieved. To understand the concrete ways in which social enterprises contribute to rather than combat some of the deleterious aspects of the global economy such as the increase in income inequality, we need to draw out the mechanisms of conspicuous giving that social enterprises employ. TOMS, and other social enterprises like it, use the affective power associated with giving to connect its commodities, the consumer, and any number of "needy" or "underprivileged" subjects. In his memoir, Blake Mycoskie provides an entrepreneurial blueprint by which others may also "start something that matters." Presenting a business success story that originates in his personal concern for social justice, he also counters the tendency in more typical CEO memoirs to emphasize ambition and attention to profit through tough decisions and hard-won negotiations. In other words, if one strategy of corporate personhood relies on creating a synecdoche between

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company and CEO, TOMS and Mycoskie emerge as a compassionate and conscientious player in the global economy. And for those whose passions may not involve the creation of businesses, his company nonetheless offers the opportunity to make the proverbial difference in one person's life through the simple act of buying a TOMS product. At a time when consumers are increasingly aware of and sensitive to the environmental effects of overconsumption, Mycoskie has found a way to turn first world consumption into a hallmark virtue of globalization, and his products into the cosmopolitan markers of global awareness and concern. Buying recast as "giving" may be, as Mycoskie suggests, "what fuels us," but putting shoes on feet, or even restoring eyesight, leaves untouched the more structural aspects of global inequities that continue to guarantee profits and to energize contemporary capitalism.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I am very grateful to the editors of this Special Issue, Purnima Bose and Laura E. Lyons, the editors of *Biography*, Cynthia Franklin, Craig Howes, and John David Zuern, and to all the contributors to this Special Issue for their generous engagement with the topic of this article, and their extensive comments. My thanks are also due to *Biography*'s managing editor, Stan Schab, for his logistical magic.

1. According to the World Giving Index, an annual survey commissioned by the Charities Aid Foundation, giving ranges from financial donations, through volunteering, to helping a stranger. In fact, the latter is "the most common form of giving in the world" (Boesveld), and it happens most frequently in developing countries, whereas financial donations have a higher incidence in developed countries.

2. Like Patricia T. Clough, I am interested in conceptualizing "affect as pre-individual bodily forces augmenting or diminishing a body's capacity to act" and to "critically engage those technologies that are making it possible to grasp and to manipulate the imperceptible dynamism of affect" (1–2). Unlike Clough, who resists "following the circuit from affect to subjectively felt emotional states" (2), I am more interested in going in a different direction in tracing how expressly represented emotional states, such as empathy, happiness, and so on, can generate the more elusive "pre-individual bodily forces" in the public, and thus mobilize people to participate in conspicuous giving activities. Simply put, while the emotions are the discrete and namable states felt by a person in reaction to or anticipation of an event, affect is the less palpable state that moves someone to act. For instance, Mycoskie talks about experiencing "more joy" when hearing about other people's charitable initiatives (182), and this "joy" would be a singular emotion. Conversely, when he advises that "the better your employees feel about their jobs, the better your business performs" (128), his invocation of "feel" serves to show how corporations should mobilize affect in their employees, but also their consumers.

3. In the eponymously named chapter of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Veblen associates conspicuous consumption directly with status: "The consumption of luxuries, in the true sense, is a consumption directed to the comfort of the consumer himself, and is, therefore, a mark of the master" (51). Veblen reiterates this idea of consumption as the

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definitive status mark throughout this fourth chapter—"conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure" (53)—and delineates the different types of products consumed as markers of the distinctions between social classes.

4. In fact, this argument is far from being settled. In a November 27, 2012, *New York Times* Room for Debate op-ed, Chrystia Freeland, Howard Husock, Leslie Lenkowsky, and John Briscoe argued both sides of the question "Are Charities More Effective Than Government?"

5. Smith also points out that one of the factors catalyzing the success of social enterprises is that "the venture philanthropy movement has brought business models from the for-profit sector to nonprofit organizations" (ix). This point also constitutes the central argument Matthew Bishop and Michael Green bring to support their thesis that Bill Gates and Warren Buffett have ushered in a new era of "Philanthrocapitalism" with their Billionaire's Pledge. This connection, which touches on how "today's new philanthropists are trying to apply the secrets behind that money-making success to their giving" (Bishop and Green 2–3), illustrates the intrinsic similarity of methods of operation between the different aspects of conspicuous giving, such as monetary donations, fundraising, and social entrepreneurship.

6. TOMS's business-model success may have generated copycats: Skechers Shoes now market Bobs, whose signage not only mirrors TOMS's brand name design—all caps, bordered horizontally on both sides by thick lines as if the brand name were a flag—but also declares it "donates new shoes to children in need when you purchase BOBS for men, women and kids" ("BOBS").

7. EDITORS' NOTE: In response to our request for permission to illustrate this article with screeen grabs of TOMS webpages, TOMS asked to review the essay before providing approval, which we declined. The two principal webpages discussed in this article can be viewed at <http://www.TOMS.ca/sandela-TOMS-x-charity-water-edition/e> and <http://www.TOMS.ca/stripe-story-eyewear/l.

8. Some economists argue that socially responsible consumption, encouraged by SEs, is different than ethical consumption, which "has an anti-capitalistic, anti-individualistic, anti-homo economicus character to it" (Devinney, Auger, and Eckhardt 228). The former, by contrast, "simply accounts for the fact that the individual will take into account non-functional components of the consumption activity where benefits to others are taken into consideration, either directly or indirectly" (228), without regard to how the consumed items were produced, or the larger social and environmental impact of their production.

9. Mycoskie 21.

10. I would note here that Mycoskie enlists his mother in his enterprise in a way that counters the familial narrative common in so many corporate narratives that cast the corporation itself as a family, often emblematized in successions of leaders from different generations of the same family. See Heather Zwicker's "To Build a Better World" for a discussion of how Bechtel makes use of such a corporate and family genealogy; see also Talpalaru.

11. A critique of TOMS from the entrepreneur behind *Fashioning Change*, a website which declares itself dedicated to sourcing clothes, shoes, and accessories that are ethically, environmentally, and non-exploitively produced, spells out the obvious: "Rather than solve

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the root cause of why children don't have shoes, TOMS has created a business model that actually needs poor children without shoes in order to sell its shoes" (Herrera).

12. In his 2013 *New York Times* op-ed titled "The Charitable-Industrial Complex," Peter Buffett cautions against perpetrating "Philanthropic Colonialism," in which "a donor had the urge to 'save the day' in some fashion" by thinking she or he could solve local problems in developing countries with little or no local knowledge, with disastrous results emerging as "unintended consequences."

13. For a more extended discussion of this kind of marketing strategy, see Purnima Bose's chapter on General Electric in *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation.*

14. Gill Seyfang argues, with regard to "social marketing," that "Its strategic strength lies in tapping into the unconscious motivations for consumption which the advertising industry have [*sic*] so effectively mined for decades, and planting seeds of behaviour change through new associations" (15). What is at stake in this shift to conspicuous giving through socially responsible consumption is first and foremost growth through more consumption.

15. SEs themselves manage to reconcile "The inherent contradiction" that "exists in between an altruistic type of philanthropy that has no motive and the capitalist free market that has a continual motive of maximum profits" ("Critical Look" 80).

16. In 2013, the provincial government of Ontario announced a microloan program for social enterprises, as well as an Office for Social Enterprise ("Ontario Helps"). Similarly, in early 2013, the Government of Australia provided $10 million seed funding for Social Enterprise Finance Australia ("Social Enterprise").

17. In *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Power* (2004), adapted as the very popular documentary *The Corporation* (2004), Bakan argues that if the corporation is a person, then its personality is psychopathic. In the chapter "Greenwash, Whitewash, Hogwash" in *Radical Consumption: Shopping for Change in Contemporary Culture*, Jo Littler maintains that corporations' use of CSR is mercenary (50–69).

18. See, for example, *Commodity Activism: Cultural Resistance in Neoliberal Times*, edited by Roopali Mukherjee and Sarah Banet-Weiser.

19. Current entrepreneurship research draws a direct connection between an enterprise and its founder. "[T]he social entrepreneur identity is comprised of both the activist and the entrepreneur identities," Simms and Robinson argue, and "the salience of one identity over the other leads to either a for-profit or nonprofit organization" (9). While the authors rely mostly on Sheldon Stryker's structural conception of identity, whose merits lie outside of the scope of this paper, Simms and Robinson conclude that "a founder's identity influences the social entrepreneurship process" (11).

20. In *Compassion, Inc.: How Corporate America Blurs the Line between What We Buy, Who We Are, and Those We Help*, Mara Einstein shows how "the corporate takeover of caring" (xii) has created a "charitable marketplace," which induces shoppers of philanthropy to believe themselves "relieved of responsibility to donate through more traditional methods" (xiii).

21. Roman Krznaric's 2013 *How to Find Fulfilling Work*, marketed in a series of "self-help books for the rest of us," posits "making a difference" as one of the criteria one might want to consider when changing careers to achieve the aim of finding fulfilling work.

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Unsurprisingly, the arrows in the imagined (white, middle-class, mid-career) subject's path point to social entrepreneurship.

22. Vogel would disagree with this characterization: "There are many reasons why some companies choose to behave more responsibly or virtuously in the absence of legal requirements," he argues; "Some are strategic, others are defensive, and still others may be altruistic or public-spirited" (2). He notes, however, that "in the final analysis, CSR is sustainable only if virtue pays off. The supply of corporate virtue is both made possible and constrained by the market" (2–3).
23. Mycoskie 168.

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MORALITY AND MARTYRDOM: DAMS, *DHARMA*, AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF WORK IN INDIAN-OCCUPIED KASHMIR

MONA BHAN

In this essay, I draw on ethnographic research to analyze specific iterations of corporate morality and personhood in Gurez, a border district in the Indian-controlled state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), where the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) and the Hindustan Construction Company (HCC) are building a 330 megawatt (MW) dam on the disputed waters of the Kishanganga River. By 2016, the dam will displace 362 families and consume a total of 535 acres of land, in addition to uprooting a large number of people from their ancestral villages.[1] Celebrated by many state and corporate officials as yet another "temple of resurgent India," poised to take the nation a step closer to securing its vast energy requirements (Faridi), the dam is presented as an inevitable and necessary cost for fueling India's growing economy.

The Indian state's obsessive construction of dams in the Himalayas cannot, however, be attributed solely to a "techno-economic" need or to the unfulfilled demands of a growing population with limited access to electricity (D'Souza 113; Nuwer). Especially in Kashmir, whose rivers were partitioned in 1947 and have since remained a major source of contention between India and Pakistan, dams are key "strategic" investments to maintain India's national and energy security and retain critical control over disputed waters of the Indus River basin (see Dar, "A River").

The desire to control Kashmir's critical water resources, I argue, must also be situated within the context of India's ongoing counterinsurgency war against Kashmiris who have been fighting an armed struggle for freedom [*azadi*] from the Indian state since 1989. To quell the popular resistance movement, the Indian military, deployed in massive numbers, has unleashed a reign of terror on civilian populations, resorting to mass killings, detentions,

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torture, rapes, and disappearances.[2] For many Kashmiris, the construction of at least twelve dams in the J&K state to harness its water resources is as indubitable an expression of India's illegitimate rule in the region as its extensive military hold over Kashmir.[3] With roughly 131, 840 acres of land in J&K under the Indian military, and thousands of acres under the control of the National Hydropower Corporation—India's premier agency for hydropower development—Kashmiris view the NHPC as the corporate arm of India's occupation (Chatterji et. al. 34).[4]

In a place where its predominant image is that of "encroacher," the NHPC, along with its subcontractor, the Hindustan Construction Company, employs what I see as an emerging humanitarian discourse to secure their image as "good corporate citizen[s]" ("NHPC Citizen's Charter"). The NHPC and the HCC both frame themselves as "architects" of a "novel regime" in which care, compassion, and responsibility, rather than merely an obsessive drive for profit or control, motivate corporate action (Rajak 1). Elsewhere in India, corporate humanitarianism is rooted in the discourses of what Mick Blowfield refers to as "international development and the related goals of poverty alleviation and sustainability" that are now a staple in corporate India's bizspeak (qtd. in DeChaine 76). In Kashmir, however, "humanitarian" concerns of the NHPC and the HCC (much like the rest of India Inc.[5]) are shaped by their purported commitments to "heal mental and psychological wounds" from over two decades of conflict,[6] a task they hope to accomplish by improving the morale of Kashmir's "alienated" populations by providing them jobs and employment in India's flourishing economy. While state violence has not receded, discourses of humanitarianism have become an important strategy of governance in Kashmir through multiple state, military, and civil society initiatives that promise to "connect" Kashmir's "aspiring youths with the national mainstream" ("Modi"). The Indian military too is increasingly invested in "humanitarian" or "goodwill" initiatives to downplay its draconian image in a bid to win over "seditious" Kashmiri hearts and minds (Bhan). Indeed, both military and corporate humanitarianism are key elements of India's "population centric" counterinsurgency war in Kashmir.[7]

It is within this politically fraught context that corporations view building dams as moral and humanitarian work that promises to bring Kashmiris, especially Gurezis, into the fold of capitalist modernity while assimilating them into India's productive work culture. The discursive construction of Kashmiris as lazy and indolent, but also as subversive and dangerous, is foundational to such claims. "Tropes of laziness and indolence," as E.T. Yeh argues for Tibet, function less as "cultural idioms" and more as political labels to legitimize the state's iron control over a region where demands for

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independence or territorial sovereignty are rampant (597). In Kashmir, hegemonic tropes about people's indolence sanction corporate control over preexisting definitions of time, labor, productivity, and corporeality at a moment of grave political uncertainty. In the NHPC's and HCC's self-representation, then, we can see several versions of corporate virtue and personhood: corporations are moral actors while workers are immoral "insurgents" with no regard for law, national interest, or corporate discipline; corporations are productive institutions in a land of greed and indolence; and most crucially, corporations have the moral burden of "mainstreaming" Kashmiri youth so they, too, can become keen and willing participants in India's flourishing economy.

How do we then attend to the ways in which notions of corporate virtue, personhood, and morality exceed their legalistic vocabulary to saturate the everyday interactions between workers and corporations? What might such affective allusions to corporate morality and humanitarianism illuminate about the workings of capital, especially in conflict zones where the thin veneer of state and corporate morality is fragile and deeply suspect? And more importantly, to what extent might corporate moral narratives not simply "perform the numbing work of the opiate" but allow meaningful and transformative, albeit politically-charged, interactions between labor, capital, and state power in Kashmir (Muehleback, *Moral* 9)?

In this article, I study the quotidian texture of people's lives in relation to discourses of corporate social responsibility (CSR) by turning to ethnography as a form of life writing. I rely on multiple forms of life writing based on my sustained engagement with representatives of the NHPC and the HCC as well as villagers in Gurez, who since the construction of the dam began in 2010 are increasingly being inducted into new forms of wage and corporate labor. To demonstrate the affective interplay between "morality and markets," I analyze corporate life writing narratives through which corporations represent themselves as moral or ethical actors in a land incapacitated by years of "insurgency" and the absence of an effective work culture.[8] In such narratives, Kashmiri political aspirations for freedom are reinterpreted as a moral crisis, and capitalist moralities of hard work and productivity touted as means to bring about peace, prosperity, discipline, and the cessation of violence in the state ("Udaan").

I also focus on the life writing of managers who act as "human standins" for their respective institutions, implementing corporate decisions that profoundly shape everyday village life, from the river ecology to people's social and collective attitudes regarding work, labor, and employment. Corporate executives use their personal stories of struggle and upward mobility to portray themselves as hard-working, enterprising individuals, and more

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importantly, to reinterpret their "cold" or "calculated" actions as humane and benevolent, even humanitarian. In villagewide protests and worker-management meetings, mid-tier managers invoke the language of competitiveness and efficiency to emphasize their role as "guardians" of a social order in which ethics of hard work, human will, and entrepreneurship are valorized as foundational attributes of good citizenship (Rajak 1). Such enduring stories of corporate morality are the focus of this essay. At stake is the production of what Ilana Feldman calls "reiterative authority" (14): relations of rule that are produced through stories that corporations and managers repeatedly tell about themselves to justify specific formations of labor, nation, and capital (see Bose and Lyons, "Introduction" 3). It is in the telling and retelling of such corporate stories that the morality of new labor relations is consistently elucidated and restored. Even when deeply contested by local populations, such stories form the core of corporate practice, and must be viewed as cultural productions meant to legitimize new labor and corporate subjectivities that are being forged at the intersections of humanitarian praxis, repressive state powers, and the itinerant flows of global capital.

Finally, I analyze the banal ways in which corporate claims to morality are not just ideological but profoundly shape everyday corporate practices and labor resistance, as well as people's reluctant compliance with corporal discipline. Moral discourses related to work and employment enforce conformity by shifting cultural perceptions and valuations of worth and efficiency. And yet, there are moments of disruption and dialogue between workers and management that demonstrate how meanings of corporate magnanimity are vigorously debated and challenged. Ethnography, as a genre of life writing, illuminates the various ways workers express their resistant subjectivities, relying on discourses of disenfranchisement, suffering, death, and martyrdom to challenge stories of corporate benevolence. As I show in this essay, claims of corporate virtuosity as well as workers' resistance narratives are profoundly shaped by disparate religious idioms: while Indian corporations invoke Hindu concepts of *dharma* and *karma* to justify capitalism's "humanitarian" mission to "heal wounds," local villagers mobilize Islamic tropes of *zakat* and martyrdom to contest the incessant exploitation of their bodies and resources.

MARKETS AND MORALITY: DHARMA, KARMA, AND CSR

Anthropology has long been invested in analyzing globalization as a set of everyday practices that enable corporate productivity in a transnational economy committed to free-market principles of competition, profiteering, and accumulation (Rudnyckyj 132). It is the standardization of these *practices* across

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time and space (and their malleability) that creates the possibility of maintaining the efficiency of neoliberal capital (Rudnyckyj 5). But we must also pay closer attention to the ways in which corporate executives deploy a range of moral *narratives* to legitimize their onerous demands on workers' time and labor. Unlike earlier theorizations in which market economies were seen as resistant or even immune to the moral imperatives of selflessness or social and collective responsibility, recent debates acknowledge the ways in which corporations increasingly use discourses of morality to augment their public image and minimize their obsessive focus on profit maximization, self-interest, or rationality. And yet, rather than suggest a weakening of the market, the reliance on moral corporate narratives produces what Andrea Muehlebach describes as the "intensification of marketization" under neoliberalism (*Moral* 9). Her focus on the "moral neoliberal" foregrounds how seemingly oppositional ideologies of welfare and morality co-exist with the brute forces of capitalist discipline, creating new spheres of power in which capital extends itself into an emotional register through discourses of care, compassion, community, and generosity.

The repeated invocation of the "moral," for instance, is best exemplified through the discourse of CSR, a fixture in American legal and political thought since the 1930s (see Wells 78). Formalized through legal statutes as well as through management manuals and journals, corporate memoirs, and international seminars and conventions, CSR, Dinah Rajak rightly claims, has become the "new orthodoxy" (7) in neoliberal thought, guiding corporate largesse while ensuring that practices of corporate humanitarianism remain "good for business" ("Benefits"). In India's recently liberalized economy, which is "functionally capitalist [although] the constitution remains [somewhat] socialist" (Van Zile 284), most corporate laws are "legal transplants" from the US and the UK (286). Though India sees itself poised to become the world's third largest economy by 2030, there remains a greater impetus to claim a "venerable indigenous tradition of positive business engagement with the community," built on the foundations of merchant charity from the 19th century and the "golden period of Indian corporate citizenship" and philanthropy in the twentieth century (Sundar 10).[9]

Since India's liberalization in the 1990's, however, corporate citizenship has moved beyond the narrow confines of charity or philanthropy to encompass a broader rethinking of business and market ethics (Sundar 21). The discursive shift from corporate "charity to responsibility"—or even humanitarianism—is the outcome of massive environmental disasters and the rise in civic activism within India around questions of social justice and inequality (Kumar).[10] While CSR activities cannot be divorced from the "global

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economy of giving," in India the shift is as much juridical (Bornstein 12). Recently, the Indian parliament passed new statutes such as the Companies Bill mandating big corporations to spend 2 percent of their profits for social welfare programs, considered by many to be a new legal precedent in global business. Yet the question "what do corporations owe to society?" continues to exceed its legalistic formulations as Indian management experts and gurus harken back to the twin Hindu concepts of *dharma* (duty or righteousness) and *karma* (morally charged action) to reclaim what they perceive to be the spiritual roots of corporate citizenship (Wells 77).[11] For them, while the *dharma* of "businesses [is to] grow and expand," its fundamental duty is to "pay back society" (Suresh and Janaki 85).[12] The time, they argue, is ripe for "Indian ethos and spirituality to [sashay] down [global] corporate corridors" (Singh). What is remarkable here is the repackaging of Indian spirituality to reinvigorate India's neoliberal project and establish Hindu ideals of *dharma* and *karma* as global registers of ethical business. From the sheer attention devoted to the relationship between Indian spiritual traditions and modern corporate ethics in business journals and newsletters, *dharmic* traditions of "duty," "law," righteousness, and "ethics" have found their secular expression in the dictum of Corporate Social Responsibility (Dixon).[13] In large part, the spiritual tenet of *dharma* is garnering a noticeable share of global attention because of well-placed Hindu consultants and management gurus invested in using Vedic scriptures to create a new global template for "ethical" business. For instance, in a *Financial Times* opinion piece, investment manager David Gait attributed the financial crisis of 2008 to the fact that the global financial industry was "sorely lacking in Dharma" (see also Ramasubramanian). His advice to global investors: "get *Dharmic,*" and learn from key Indian companies who have managed to transcend "capitalist myopia" and its abiding commitment to quick and heartless profiteering (Loki).

THE HYBRIDIZATION OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

While it is mostly companies like Tata Consultancy Services, IBM, Infosys, and Wipro that receive global applause for their "ethical business practices," the NHPC and the HCC also proffer a vision of "corporate ethics and stewardship" through the oft repeated corporate commandment: "with leadership comes responsibility" ("Corporate Stewardship"). Indeed, in 2012, the state-owned NHPC was even conferred with the corporate governance award for its CSR initiatives, though critics have repeatedly called it the "most ruthless corporation" (Schücking). Regardless of whether or not the NHPC and the HCC use CSR as a smokescreen to conduct business-as-usual, a question

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to which I will return later, it is imperative to lay out the similarities and differences between the two corporate entities, mostly because their divergent structures and mandates shape the ways in which the employees of the NHPC and the HCC handle Gurezi demands for jobs, compensation, and rehabilitation.

The NHPC is a Government-of-India enterprise founded in 1975 with an "authorized capital of Rs. 2000 million (a figure that is now Rs 1,50,000 million)" to centralize the generation of hydropower in India (*NHPC, Ltd.*). Although a state-owned corporation, the NHPC hires Indian and foreign corporations, such as the Hindustan Construction Company, Jaiprakash Narayan Associates (JP), Larson & Tuobro, and Samsung C&T, which compete in a global marketplace to secure contracts with the NHPC, a phenomenon that became even more pronounced after India's economic liberalization in the 1990s. Indeed, in a recent move, the NHPC rallied for the "Navratna status" to seek more autonomy from the government to "enter joint ventures, form alliances and float subsidiaries abroad," a shift meant to boost its profile as a "global corporation."[14]

The HCC, which successfully bagged the Kishanganga contract from the NHPC, self-identifies as a "world class engineering and construction service" that is "driven" by its deep commitment to "the local community and society at large" ("About HCC"). On the surface, there are no noticeable differences between the NHPC and the HCC CSR mandates, although as the case of Gurez demonstrates, the inflated rhetoric of socially responsible behavior does not correspond with everyday practice, mostly because Gurezis find navigating the official—and purposefully complicated—division of labor between the NHPC and the HCC to be difficult. The HCC does not hold itself responsible for providing jobs and rehabilitation to Gurezis, since issues related to land acquisition and compensation are considered to be the mandate of public-enterprises such as the NHPC. The NHPC, in turn, relies on the district government to avoid the thick bureaucracy that surrounds land acquisition in Gurez. The presence of the two corporate entities and several district administrators has done little to open multiple channels of redress for Gurezis, who feel utterly humiliated as they are shunted back and forth between state and corporate offices for basic compensation and rehabilitation rights. A clear outcome of private-public partnerships has been to render the corporate form "omnipotent" even in non-urban settings such as Gurez, while making corporations even more "impervious to regulation" or accountability (Bose and Lyons, "Introduction" 15).

Predictably, CSR emerges as a corporate ruse to hide the machinations of capital and to render novel formations of corporate paternalism invisible,

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resulting in new strategies to police and discipline workers.[15] Employees of the NHPC and the HCC frame Gurezis as less human, almost infantile beings who can be transformed into better humans only through corporate interventions and ethics of hard work, productivity, competitiveness, and efficiency. In the sections below, I focus on three distinct but closely related narratives that allow the HCC and the NHPC to reframe their damaging interventions as integral aspects of their moral corporate personhood. The first narrative, which is quite pervasive across India, portrays Kashmir as a "begging bowl," a rhetorical move that justifies its continued dependency on state and corporate largesse while obscuring the NHPC's exploitative control of a critical river system; indeed, given India's historic characterization of dams as "*dharmic* or religious projects," the NHPC's investments assume a sacred character (Morrison). The second narrative relies on the NHPC's vision of social and collective improvement that serves as the moral justification for people's mass displacements from Gurez; while the third narrative recasts corporate operations in Gurez as "fair" and "humanitarian" despite villagers' persistent greed for money, land, and entitlements. Ironically, the moral force behind these narratives allows the NHPC and the HCC to distance themselves from precisely those values that are considered foundational to corporate and market rationalities. Together the three narratives repackage generosity and compassion as corporate virtues, or key aspects of corporate personhood, while values of "greed," "opportunism," or "profit maximization" are no longer considered fundamental attributes of corporate praxis or ideology.

"BEGGING BOWL" AND THE NHPC'S *DHARMIC* PROJECT

Despite popular images that represent Kashmir as "paradise on earth" or extol its unparalleled beauty, segments of the Indian population, mostly critics of *aazadi*, see Kashmir as a "resource poor" region, unable to support itself politically or economically. Many other critics who view Kashmir's freedom struggle as an "insurgency" blame it on the "appeasement policies" of the central government, a stance that mocks the Indian's government's effeminacy and its inability to adopt harsh and punitive measures to silence Kashmiri dissent. To these critics, it is morally repulsive that the central government "doles out huge bounties to keep Kashmiris in good humor" instead of stomping out the insurgency "with a rough hand" ("Kashmir"). In other words, in the mainstream Indian view, government "benevolence" is seen to reward a population that is deemed unproductive, parasitic, and even dangerous.

Such ideological assertions do little to erase the brutal history of Kashmir's military occupation or silence the wails of women whose sons, husbands, or

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kin have either been killed through routine custodial deaths or have "disappeared" in dreaded Indian prisons that operate as part of the military's counterinsurgency war in the region. The assertions do, however, frame Kashmiris as passive and undeserving recipients of Indian largesse. Indeed, Kashmir's economic reliance on India, which many rightfully assert was "manufactured" by the Indian state to undermine Kashmiri sovereignty, has earned it the title of a "begging bowl"—an undignified label that not only chastises Kashmir's "culture of dependency" but obscures India's reliance on the region's rich and abundant water resources to fuel its growing economy (Talib). In particular, Kashmir's image as a begging bowl deflects attention from the NHPC's iron control over Kashmir's water resources, allowing the corporation to portray its personhood in the form of a "moral" actor toiling hard to develop and harness the region's meager resources.

Kashmiris forthrightly reject characterizations of their state as "resource poor," a label they attribute as much to the NHPC's exploitation of their water resources as to India and Pakistan's prolonged dispute over Kashmir's strategic rivers. The Indus Water Treaty, which many analysts claim has worked "reasonably well" in the context of "fractious" inter-state relations, has done little to minimize the many instances of allegations and counter-allegations from Pakistanis who view Indian dams as "weapons" or "water bombs" that will divert massive portions of water from their rivers and lead to unprecedented famines or droughts in their country, and from Indians who dismiss such allegations as baseless and paranoid musings of a weak neighbor (Iyer). It is hardly surprising that many political pundits consider water to be the primary reason why India and Pakistan might go to war in the near future. In the meantime, Kashmiri claims to their water resources, both in India and Pakistan, are completely ignored, subsumed by wider national interests deemed both strategic and technological.

Apart from their strategic value, dams are an "emotive" issue in India and Pakistan ("Emotive"). As Daniel Haines contends, in Pakistan's "first years of independence, the Imperial discourse of progress associated with barrages was [quickly] transformed into a nationalist discourse about 'building the nation'" (152).[16] In India, dams were even more imbricated in forging, in Partha Chatterjee's terms, the "Indian modern" (qtd. in Roy 157). Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, declared dams, as the most visible projects of post-independence nation building, to be the "new temples of modern India." No wonder then, as Srirupa Roy compellingly argues, secular and scientific projects such as big dams hardly "effaced religion" from India's public sphere. Instead, they played a critical part in constituting [Hinduism] as a "primary determinant" of Indian identity, an association that dates back

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to as early as the sixteenth century, when dams resembled "formal temple architecture" and were often considered important sites of Hindu worship (Roy 161; Morrison; Patel). The religiosity of Indian dams is specifically illustrated in Gurez, where the river most locals know as Sin was renamed Kishanganga—a Sanskrit name derived from Hindu scriptures—after the NHPC conducted its preliminary survey for the dam in the 1970s.[17] If dams are the temples of modern (and ancient) India, then the NHPC is the "architect" of India's sacred infrastructure, guiding the nation towards the promise of development and a future of energy self-sufficiency. The NHPC's moral vision to harness Kashmir's water resources is thus deeply motivated by a sacred duty to build a nation by taming Kashmir's recalcitrant rivers.

Clearly then, science, religion, and the unshakable faith in the power of technology have played a key part in solidifying dams as critical symbols of nationhood, and more recently, as indispensable structures for bolstering national and state security, both in India and Pakistan. Amidst the deafening rhetoric of an impending water war, or the explicit weaponization of dams, however, Kashmiris have had minimal access to their water resources to fulfill critical domestic and industrial requirements. In an egregious blow to the image of NHPC's corporate virtuosity—cultivated, as I have argued, through its obsessive investments in "India's modern temples" as well as through appeals to *dharmic* visions of social and moral improvement—the NHPC often resorts to violence to quell and even kill Kashmiri dissenters. Kashmir's image as India's "begging bowl" must therefore be situated within the incessant exploitation of Kashmir's rivers through bilateral treaties and water-sharing agreements as well as the corporate maneuvers by the NHPC that have fostered Kashmir's chronic dependence on India.

If the Hindu ideals of *dharma* and *karma* purportedly guide corporate India's vision of care, compassion, and generosity, Kashmiris use the Islamic virtue of *zakat* (charity) to reclaim their place as India's benefactors. For instance, Mr. Zargar, a prominent local activist, notes that

> it is not that Himalayas or its resources belong only to Kashmiris. But according to the Holy Quran, we can only give *zakat* if our basic needs at home are fulfilled. If we exert control over our water resources, we can sell it to India and Pakistan and put an end to our economic reliance on India. We want to be sellers not beggars.

Mr. Zargar expresses a pervasive local sentiment in Kashmir: the desire to reestablish Kashmiri control over local resources without precluding the option of maintaining trade links with India and Pakistan (and other countries) as long as these relations are built on Kashmir's recognition as a sovereign nation. Indeed, many Kashmiris, including Mr. Zargar, consider it their obligation as

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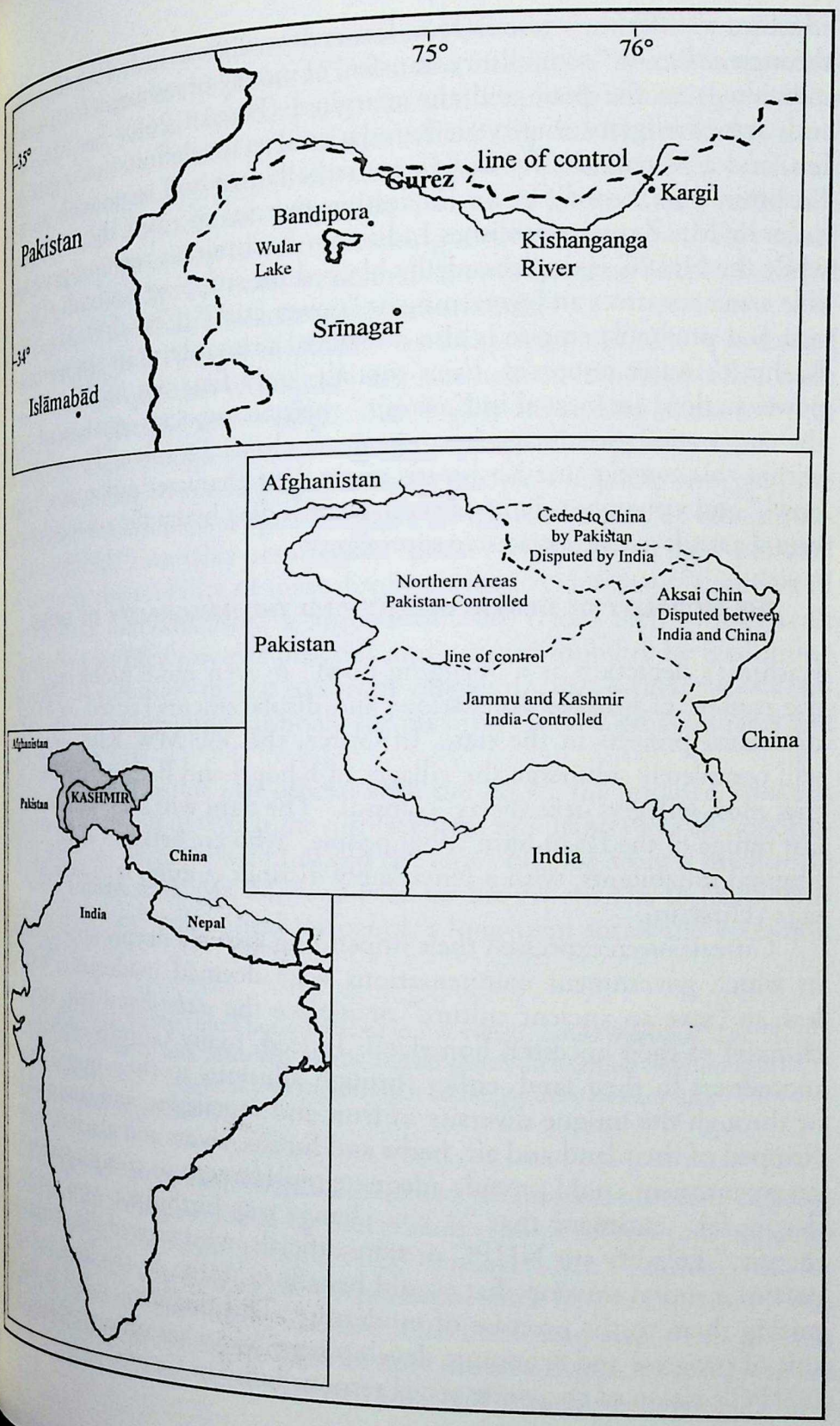

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Muslims to offer their resources to less endowed areas in India and elsewhere through *zakat*—a "compulsory transfer" of money or resources from wealthier individuals to the poor and the marginal (Hassan 265). For Mr. Zargar, such acts of religious charity are foundational to the definition of a good Muslim, and a prerequisite for building a socially just and responsible society in Kashmir, post *azaadi*. In an interesting reversal of roles, the invocation of *zakat* by Mr. Zargar establishes India, not Kashmir, as resource-poor region, while the NHPC is singlehandedly blamed for stripping Kashmir of its valuable water resources and worsening its "power crisis" (Chaudry). The NHPC's vast and profitable empire is also attributed primarily to its appropriation of Kashmir's water resources. Even though "only four out of fifteen" NHPC power stations are located in Kashmir," their net capacity equals nearly half of the corporation's total capacity to generate electricity (Dar, "Power" 20). It is within this context that Kashmiris reject their characterization as a "begging bowl," and view mega-dams as symbols of India's hydraulic colonialism and a brutal assault on their resource sovereignty.

THE MORALITY OF DISPLACEMENTS AND THE IMMORALITY OF GREED

Kashmir's depiction as a "begging bowl" is even more problematic within the context of massive dislocations and displacements caused by India's hydrological projects in the state. In Gurez, the 330 MW Kishanganga dam will completely submerge the villages of Khopri and Badwan by 2016, a loss that most villagers describe as "colossal." The dam will also "snatch away the last refuge of the Dard-Shin tribal people," who are believed to be Kashmir's original inhabitants, with a remarkably distinct culture, language, and heritage (Hussain).

Gurezis often expressed their impending loss in a deeply affective register in which government compensations were deemed inadequate, even useless, to "save an ancient culture" or replace the *aabo-hawa* (air, water, and climate) of their ancestral homeland. Indeed, many Gurezis expressed their rootedness to their land, either through allusions to their buried ancestors or through the unique diversity of fruit and vegetables, and lamented being stripped of their land and air, herbs and forests, rivers and glaciers, for which no government could provide adequate replacement or compensation. Their deeply felt sentiment that "if you change our birthplace, you change our identity" failed to stir NHPC or state officials, who viewed displacements as part of a moral mission that would benefit Gurezies in the long run by exposing them to the promise of modernity. This dogmatic belief in the pursuit of progress and economic development was what ultimately guided the NHPC's vision of corporate social responsibility in Gurez.

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Furthermore, many officials from the HCC and the NHPC, especially those who belonged to the plains of India, saw Gurez as a "wild," "unpredictable," and "treacherous" landscape, or deemed its people's farming practices to be "too primitive," characteristics that officials repeatedly invoked to draw attention to the generosity of their compensation schemes. Many officials viewed the mass displacement of people from their homes and hearths as a difficult yet important step toward relocating them to cities where they could learn the urban rhythms of time, work, and labor rather than remain shackled to their unpredictable and treacherous surroundings.

Many of the NHPC and HCC officials I interviewed found it awkward to respond to the question of people's displacements. No official called these displacements "forced," since villagers had legally acquiesced to the terms of the contract, even though most remained unaware of its precise details. Instead of responding to specific queries about people's ongoing struggles, the responsibility for which was quickly apportioned to the district administration, the officials invariably resorted to specific events from their personal lives to justify the morality of mass displacements. As ultimate "signifiers of entrepreneurial individualism," a number of them traced their own difficult yet rewarding journey towards progress and upward mobility by recounting their stories of voluntary migrations from villages to cities—their success stories providing a compelling rationale for pushing Gurezis off their land and resources (Bose 34).

Mr. Mayank, a senior HR official with the HCC, for instance, spoke at length about the ways in which the displacement of villagers was an opportunity for them to "socialize with folks in the city." Hailing from a small town in a North Indian state, Mr. Mayank used his life experiences to justify why moving into "cities" was critical for people's long-term social and economic development.

> I used to go to a *kaccha* (mud house) school in my village, called *madrasas*. The facilities were minimal and there was hardly any emphasis on learning English. But I decided to move to a bigger city so my children could get the best education. Now my son is studying in the US.

Mr. Mayank's life story casts displacement as a teleological narrative of progress that enables villagers' social mobility: mud schools morph into opportunities for foreign education. Another HCC employee, Mr. Chauhan, who for many Gurezis was the face of the corporation, since he lived in the HCC's plush bungalow in the village, likewise referenced mud structures as icons of the premodern in his explanation of how massive displacements from his village in Uttarakhand in Northern India had transformed people's lives

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for the better. Never revealing whether his family was "forced" to leave, he claimed that:

> people's standards improved dramatically after their migration to the town in Dehradun. The government provided concrete housing in addition to schools and hospitals, provisions that were hardly accessible to the 200 villages prior to their displacement by the Tehri dam.

Choosing to ignore the very different circumstances under which Gurezis were compelled to leave their villages, Mr. Mayank and Mr. Chauhan articulated a long-standing social evolutionary narrative that represents cities as hubs of progress while framing villages as impediments to modernity and civilization. That the villagers' resettlement in the city was "ultimately for their own good" and would provide younger Gurezis "better educational and health facilities" as well as opportunities to interact with the "civilized" folks in the city were rhetorical justifications to avoid conversations about the impending precarity of people's lives.

For Gurezis, however, the stale air of cities and their polluted roads and neighborhoods filled them with fear and trepidation for their future. Unlike corporate narratives that framed people's resettlements into cities as indubitable markers of progress and improvement, most Gurezis disputed such triumphalist assertions by expressing uncertainty and angst. They also viewed with deep skepticism the meager compensations the NHPC had promised in exchange for acquiring their land and property. Notably, the corporation did not directly track land compensations, relying instead on the expertise of the Sub District Magistrate (SDM), an important official of the district administration who was stationed in Gurez. Hardly any official records existed to legitimize Gurezi ownership over what was categorized by the SDM's office as "state-owned" land. Until the arrival of the NHPC, villagers had relied on a customary system in which user rights were privileged over land ownership. The construction of the dam destroyed the prevalent system, as monetary compensations and rehabilitation were now integrally tied to possessing legally viable ownership documents. Every morning men and women from Badwan and Khopri would walk miles to wait outside the SDM's office to resolve land-related matters, most of them losing days of labor. Everyday social life was saturated with extreme uncertainty, and people claimed that the government, in connivance with the NHPC, was deliberately "stealing" their ancestral lands. I was invariably asked to track official land settlement records from the 1800s, most of which were housed in the land records office in Srinagar. Frequently, families fought among themselves; brothers turned against brothers, while sisters, forced by their husbands and in-laws, demanded their rights to portions of land even if they had renounced them earlier.

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To add to the existing discord in the village, Gurezis, as I argued earlier, were often unsure of the complex division of "social responsibility" between the HCC and the NHPC. Despite being responsible for issues related to R&R (rehabilitation and resettlements), the NHPC had a minimal presence in Gurez, with only one official residing in a small bungalow at the far end of the village of Badwan.[18] In contrast, HCC officials either visited the dam site often or resided permanently in the village. Since NHPC officials were much harder to access, Gurezis frequently thronged outside the residence of HCC officials to demand employment rights and to seek compensation for their land and resources. Mr. Chauhan, a ubiquitous name in the village—both feared and hated—was an HCC engineer by profession, with very little experience dealing with the social aspects of mass displacements. In the absence of a credible NHPC officer in the village, it fell on him to "deal with village matters," a job he found "extremely burdensome" even as it made him an all-powerful figure with access to an entourage of personal staff. With his extensive experience dealing only with the "technicalities" of the dam, Mr. Chauhan, like many of his colleagues, was neither interested in nor sympathetic to people's stories of displacements or their everyday struggles to receive adequate compensation from the NHPC. Lacking credible expertise to deal with what were categorized as "social issues," and given NHPC's deliberate attempts to stay away from the village, Mr. Chauhan resorted to "moralistic" tropes of greed and "avarice" to undermine villagers' rightful claims to government compensations.

Management routinely described villagers' legitimate demands as "unfounded," or in many instances, as motivated by their "habit" of receiving "free" entitlements or "dole-outs" from the government. A smug NHPC officer who was soon to retire matter-of-factly dismissed my queries about compensations: "dam construction ends but issues regarding land compensation never do. In Gurez, the issue is even more complicated because as border residents, people are used to receiving free ration and other subsidies from the government." The problem, according to the officer, was insatiable greed and the sudden influx of large sums of money into an underdeveloped area: "When the project came, people got really greedy. They started constructing new houses and property so they could qualify for government remunerations. Often, they dismantled their houses to build new ones for more money."

Frequent invocations of people's greed allowed the NHPC and the HCC officials to represent themselves as humane actors who strived hard to provide "fair" compensation to Gurezis despite their persistent demands for additional money and corporate benefits. Indeed, corporate officials believed that their compensation package was generous, given that Gurez was Kashmir's cold and remote periphery. Rather than confronting critical questions about

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the equity and fairness of government compensation or the brutal logic of forced displacements, villagers' anxious responses to their loss were reduced to simplistic tropes of greed, avarice, and cunning. The NHPC's and HCC's claims rested crucially on contrasting their own moral version of corporate personhood with those of castigated Gurezis, who were framed as "less than human" so even their rightful entitlements could be packaged as corporate charity or largesse. Although deeply contested by the locals, corporate narratives were not entirely discredited; indeed, as the next few sections demonstrate, for Gurezis, they became formative of new subjectivities that were constituted through moral tropes of productivity, efficiency, entrepreneurship, and hard work.

THE LAZY NATIVE, THE IDLE WORKER, AND THE MORALITY OF "NORMALIZATION"

The tenacious desire of Gurezis for money and entitlements was not the only context in which moralistic tropes of greed and cunning were deployed to chastise the villagers and undermine their sovereign rights over their resources. Tropes that invoked the ethical nature of corporations while strongly denouncing local depravity were most explicitly visible in the context of social and political hierarchies between villagers and management that were emerging around new categories of work and employment. An important and popular narrative of this kind, strongly echoed by the officials of the NHPC and the HCC, framed Kashmiris as lazy and indolent, interested only in "government jobs" that "carry prestige, easy acceptance in the marriage market and [the luxuries of a] lazy life" (Naqvi). Such a reading of Kashmiri subjectivities was foundational to justifying corporate humanitarianism as moral work in which Indian corporations could join hands with the J&K government to build what Manmohan Singh, India's prime minister, purposefully calls the "new (*naya*) Kashmir" ("Udaan"). Many Kashmiris themselves bemoaned the absence of a "healthy work culture" in the state, having internalized hegemonic narratives about their idleness and indolence. From online blogs to social media sites they debated what was problematically perceived to be a "behavioral pattern wherein [Kashmiris worked] only when compelled" to do so (Ashraf). That Kashmiris preferred "only to philosophise, relax, and remain inactive" was also used to explain the influx of migrant labor from the plains of India (Ashraf).

Narratives like these were far from innocuous and performed critical political work in Kashmir: they helped erase the brutal history of coercive labor (*begar*) in the state, an institution prevalent until the 1940s under which Hindu Dogra rulers forcibly deployed people to do hard and menial jobs.[7]

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More importantly, however, caricatures of Kashmiri "laziness" masked wider national anxieties regarding Kashmiri non-alignment with India's political and economic culture. The moral, humanitarian work of corporations like the NHPC and the HCC thus consisted in disciplining or "normalizing" restive Kashmiri youth through the rigors of work, production, and efficiency. For instance, officials and managers of the HCC and the NHPC spoke at length about the "difficulty" of working in an area where rhythms of labor were remarkably different from, and even at odds with, the corporate management of time and productivity. Here, I offer some of the ways discourses of laziness and indolence became integrated into everyday characterizations about Gurezis and their "reluctance" to adapt to new and exacting temporalities of labor at the dam site. More importantly, I offer insights into the specific ways discourses of corporate humanitarianism hinged on transforming *idle* Kashmiri workers into *ideal* Indian citizens.

On a warm sunny afternoon in Bandipora, I made my way into the HCC complex—a vast compound housing concrete buildings with distinctive blue asbestos roofs and razor-edged concertina wire lining the entrance. After about fifteen minutes, I was escorted to the office of Mr. Mayank, a senior HCC officer in charge of employee issues in Bandipora and Gurez. I knew from my preliminary research that the HCC had recently hired security personnel from outside the state to beat villagers in Bandipora for protesting a Company policy that discouraged "local" recruitment for the project. The HCC's policy, I was told, was to avoid hiring "locals" because they demanded more bonuses, and especially better safety and compensation in case of death or injury at the dam site.

Mr. Mayank seemed perturbed by people's "persistent demands" in Bandipora, which, he claimed, was a trait peculiar to this region. However, a government employee sitting in the room interjected, stating that people had a precedent to demand additional compensation since government employees, including officials from the NHPC, received special entitlements for working in remote border locations like Gurez. Visibly agitated by the flurry of interjections, Mr. Mayank responded:

> See, there are two processes in place for any project of this scale: there is the formal law and then, there is a settlement, the latter being an informal negotiation between the workers and the management with the aim to keep the workers calm; for instance, 10% more or part of their salary can be called border allowance if we decide to name it such. Or, I can increase their bonus if the company is making substantial profit. Once these settlements are reached, they too become a binding. They are not laws, however, that can be universally applied. And, the fact of the matter is, that in Gurez and Bandipora we have arrived at no much settlement other than something called a regular attendance bonus to motivate people to show up for work.

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Mr. Mayank's account was at odds with what I had heard in Gurez from employees of the HCC and the NHPC. HCC officials frequently complained about a special provision for Gurezis who were allegedly paid their "basic salaries without ever showing up for work." Indeed, the HCC had created the category of an "idle worker" on its payroll so people would be less inclined to disrupt the critical work of the company through frequent protests or shutdowns. It was better for them to "pay the workers off" so they could be silenced.

Mr. Mayank refuted such statements, claiming that the "company knew how to make people work" and there was no way he would tolerate a policy of "no show." He did, however, echo widespread stereotypes about people's extreme indolence and their "inbuilt" reluctance towards work—traits he, too, labeled as peculiarly Kashmiri. Gurezis were considered even "lazier" and "less inclined to work" because of their limited activities during the harsh winter months. In his view, villagers' forced displacements from Gurez would compel them to "work consistently, throughout the year." Indeed, many in the HCC and the NHPC believed that people resisted their displacement from Gurez only because they could sit idle for six months in the winter, when everything came to a standstill and villagers survived on food and fuel wood collected over the summer months. "The only two jobs are that of eating and heating," said the smug officer, who seemed visibly perturbed by people's "unwillingness to work." Without any regard for the hard work involved in surviving extreme weather conditions, Mr. Mayank continued to reflect on his deep commitment to the ethic of hard work, tracking it back to his intensive training in the Indian Air Force.

> I was taught loyalty, discipline, and the tireless ability to get work done. If the work stops, it is HCC's loss and nobody else's. The NHPC is responsible for paying for disrupted work only in the context of wars or natural calamities. The logic is that other than wars and natural disasters everything else can be controlled.

While Mr. Mayank opined that his work ethic had ensured HCC's continued profitability, he was mindful of the NHPC's strategies to write strict contracts that had little to no room for negotiations. The HCC, he claimed, was forced to accept unfavorable terms in the contract to win out over other domestic and international competitors. It was a matter of pride for him to save HCC's time, money, and reputation by making sure that the villagers were not wasting the company's resources.

Although Mr. Mayank prided himself for "getting the work done," several junior HCC employees in Gurez complained incessantly about the "impossibility of making the villagers work." Mr. Singh, an HCC manager stationed at the crushing plant in Gurez, spoke bitterly about the "inability"

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and reluctance of locals to work at the dam site. Like Mr. Mayank, he relied on his prior experiences to reflect on what he considered a peculiar situation —one where locals "refused to work" but remained on the company's payroll as "idles." A "nuisance" at best, the "idles could arbitrarily decide to shut down work." And because "they were in a *majority*," Mr. Singh was "scared" to take action against them.

It was not clear to me until much later in the interview that Mr. Singh's fears about being in a *minority* were based on his identity as Hindu and Indian unlike Gurezis who were predominantly Muslim and therefore, according to him, "hardly Indian." He claimed that it was unfortunate that the company was wasting 12 to 13 lakh Indian rupees every month on people, "90% of whom had strong sentiments for Pakistan." He believed that the absence of Kashmiri Muslim loyalty for India, coupled with their unwillingness to work, was part of people's "fundamental nature" in J&K. Echoing dominant stereotypes, he considered Kashmiris and Gurezis to be "anti-national," although at the same time chronically habituated to "government dole-outs."

Such perceptions were common among employees of the HCC and the NHPC, although Gurezis, unlike their counterparts in Kashmir, had not actively participated in the Kashmiri freedom struggle, mostly because of their precarious location on the India-Pakistan border. In addition to massive military fortifications that dominate the landscape in Gurez, the Indian military has planted landmines in people's backyards. The LoC (line of control), made of razor-sharp concertina wire, runs through people's agricultural and grazing land, splitting it arbitrarily between India and Pakistan. Reports of local "cattle infiltrating into Pakistani territory," or grazing cattle getting mangled by the concertina wire, populate the news often——a poignant reminder of the multiple threats to Gurezi land, life, and livelihood (Parvaiz, "Kashmir Fence"). And yet, Gurez is widely perceived as a "hotbed of active militancy," where the Indian armed forces allegedly foil "infiltrations" from Pakistan every year.

Mr. Singh's concern about the "lack of a viable work culture" in Gurez must therefore be read within the context of an emerging counterinsurgency rhetoric in which "fully employed young men" or efficient workers are considered "less likely to [rebel against the state] or to participate in insurgent violence" ("Insurgency"). Providing employment opportunities and instilling an effective work culture are increasingly seen as indispensable strategies to reduce the risk of politically motivated violence" in Kashmir, and as noted in a 2008 US Army Field Manual, found frequently as well in the context of US counterinsurgency efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan (qtd. in Gregg 20). A new discourse around people's laziness is therefore fast emerging in Kashmir's public and political spheres that problematically links "insurgency" with "unemployment" while attributing people's anti-India sentiments to the "lack of

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a rigorous work culture" in the state. In such framings of Kashmiri "insurgency," the lazy or indolent worker becomes emblematic of moral depravity and the lack of political loyalty to India.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a long-term rhetoric of the state and the central governments, which has gained even more traction in recent years, is to make Kashmiri youth "employable" in the private sector so they might be less inclined to take up arms or resort to violent protest against the Indian state.[20] To realize the dream of "normalization," the central and state governments have collaborated with India's private sector, corporate firms, and NGOs to ensure that the moralistic task of transforming subversive populations into pliant citizens is duly accomplished. The Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) of India, for instance, started a program to "enhance employability and job opportunities [for] Kashmiri youth," claiming that although Kashmiris were "second to none in their capabilities" they needed rigorous "training to become industry-ready" ("Need"). Likewise, plans are underway to open an Information Technology (IT) park to make youth IT ready so they can compete at "national and international" levels. In Gurez, the Kishanganga dam is promoted by the state and the NHPC as an important investment in making at least portions of the Kashmiri population "less restive" and more "industry ready" and "employable." The scenario is similar to post-apartheid South Africa where, as Dinah Rajak claims, CSR's logic of "empowerment" is increasingly packaged as a "spiritual" (183) and a "patriotic duty" (94) for businesses that voluntarily assume the responsibility of creating good citizens by exposing them to the virtues of hard work and entrepreneurship.

In Kashmir, much like in other politically volatile contexts, the mandate of corporations extends beyond their conventional focus on Corporate Social Responsibility, with its emphasis on environmental sustainability, education, peripheral development, and health care. Instead, charged with the moralizing mission of "mainstreaming" Kashmiri youth through the lure of jobs and employment, corporations like the NHPC proffer a vision of "patriotic capitalism" in order to strengthen India's affective hold over Kashmir's alienated populations (Rajak 94). Corporate patriotism aims to establish Kashmir's image as an investment destination, attempting to build an effective work culture so Kashmiris, like their counterparts in India, can align themselves with the rationalities of the Indian market and the political ideologies of the nation state.[21] In Kashmir, capitalist *dharma* is not limited to producing better workers; instead, its ultimate purpose is to transform subversive Kashmiri youth into ideal Indian citizens (Rajak 94).

Notwithstanding NHPC's claims to provide dignified labor to the locals and harness Kashmir's vast yet untapped "human capital," most Gurezis

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were hired to labor inside a thirteen-mile long tunnel that was meant to divert the waters of the Kishanganga to Bandipora. The cutting edge technology of a tunnel-boring machine (TBM), which was exclusively designed to tame the "folded and tortured geology" of the Himalayas, did little to lessen the fears of villagers, who considered the work inside the tunnel to be unfamiliar and terribly dangerous.[22] Compared to the Indian engineers, whose relationship with the river and the local surroundings was superficial, long-standing Gurezi connections with their land, forests, and waterscapes were intimate —born out of fear and reverence for a natural world that was nurturing and benevolent but also potentially deadly.[23] The tunnel's primary purpose was to tame nature's fickleness and unpredictability by defying Gurez's seasonal rhythms and ensuring that the harsh winters in Gurez posed no hurdle to the pace and timing of work required to build the dam.

In the winter months, most work took place inside the tunnel, as the workers labored intensely inside the belly of the mountain, where it was damp and noisy. Meant as much to ensure year-long profitability as to prolong the working day, the tunnel allowed the HCC to extract long hours of surplus labor by mandating a twenty-four hour work schedule that relied on a very particular interpretation of the "relay system," one in which work *never* stopped and a different set of villagers labored inside the tunnel during the company's day and night shifts (Marx 370).[24] The effects of production were not limited to the workers. Young students were distracted from their studies because of "unbearable and unstoppable noises" from the crushing plant, while older villagers suffered from anxiety and sleeplessness. Yet the HCC interpreted the villagers' grievances as a pretext to escape "difficult" work. According to Mr. Chauhan: "We have employed 200 people here, most of who want to work as watchmen, *chowkidars*, or as safety helpers. These are jobs where people can roam around all day with hands in their pockets." Turning towards the headman of the village, he asked searchingly, although without the slightest trace of enthusiasm: Right, Surpunch jee, am I right about your boys not wanting to take on any responsibilities?" Without waiting for his response, he continued: "The problem is that these boys do not want to be trained for jobs even though we have immense technical expertise in the company. Here, Chauhan draws attention to the opportunities that the HCC claims to provide young Gurezi men by training them for technical jobs that require skill and expertise, training they would purportedly need for "adjusting to their new lives in the city." Informed by the ideology of socially responsible capitalism, the officials repeatedly claimed to be "going out of their way" to ascertain that young men in the village were trained. Yet, despite their "good intentions," the youth, according to Chauhan, refused to acquiesce to the rigorous demands of hard labor that was required at the dam site.

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Such stories, however, were not the only ones I heard. The lives of the villagers/workers were far more complex, and their counter-narratives profoundly challenged the *dharma* or ethics of corporate praxis in Gurez. Yet, corporate definitions of "good and hard work" were to an extent internalized by young village men who did not entirely resist the corporatization of their bodies or their labor. As my interviews with young men demonstrate, the morality of "work" and the immorality of "idleness" were potent tropes for reconstituting workers' and villagers' subjectivities. Young Gurezi men relied on notions of dangerous and masculine work to redefine notions of personhood that were quickly becoming part of people's moral consciousness, a topic I consider in the next section.

CONTESTING CORPORATE STORIES: *SHAHEEDS* (MARTYRS) FOR THE COMPANY

I sat in the living room of Rafiq's house waiting for him to return from the SDM's office. I had seen Rafiq many times before in the SDM's office, trying to negotiate a fair compensation for his older son, Zaheer, who had died in a snow avalanche while working for the HCC. I was nervous talking to the bereaved parents, who were still mourning the tragic loss of their son only eight months earlier. Fondly remembered as a vibrant and daring young man who never shirked his duties for the HCC even in formidable weather, Zaheer's death was a collective loss for a village where ties of kinship and community were still strong.

As I waited, feeling burdened by the weight of the difficult conversation that lay ahead, Zaheer's sister, Haseena, brought me tea and a handful of her deceased brother's pictures. Near tears, she spoke about the difficulty of his death for a close-knit family who relied overwhelmingly on his youth and enterprise. Shortly thereafter, Zaheer's mother entered the room—seemingly composed although on the verge of breaking down. "It was God's will that Zaheer had died at an early age," she stated in a subdued voice. After a brief and thoughtful pause, she corrected herself, "this is how we console ourselves. . . . otherwise, we could have held people at the HCC accountable for opening the road in mid-January, an unpardonable act that killed our son." Lamenting further, she said in a resigned yet angry tone: *hamara jigar jalta hai* (Our hearts are on fire). We are not happy with the Company. We could have sucked their blood." Notwithstanding her initial attempts to console herself, either by attributing Zaheer's death to God's will or to the demonic forces of nature, her sudden burst of anger for a company that had devoured her son was hard to miss. That "their hearts were on fire," or that the villagers could transform into blood sucking vampires, indicated that losing Zaheer to the

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avalanche was hardly considered an accident. Instead, villagers saw Zaheer's death as the tragic outcome of HCC's unconscionable act to enslave nature. To continue their work uninterrupted, the HCC had decided to open the road for traffic in mid-January, during the peak of winter when the road was buried under heavy snowfall. They had summoned Zaheer to repair the shelter. Without care for the dangers that lay ahead, Zaheer left the house after an early lunch and never returned. It took the villagers seven days to find his dead body.

Villagers call him a "*shaheed*," a martyr who had died for the HCC—an ironic symbol of the relentless sacrifices made by local men for a company that treated them with such contempt. According to Shahnawaz, a spirited young man who was also Zaheer's cousin, it was heartbreaking that the HCC viewed them as lazy and incapable when the entire company relied on the labor of able-bodied men from the village. Reflecting on his bond with Zaheer, Shahnawaz continued: "I was so close to him, I had a room that was reserved only for the two of us." Cracking a smile, he said, "I had posted a note on the front of the door that said, no one allowed, only Zaheer allowed. Only three days before he died, we were in Ismarg. He was such a generous man." Shahnawaz looked at me with sad eyes and said in a thoughtful tone:

> Honestly, I think the work of the Company was already killing him from within. He had two or three basic tools to fix company cars and he did such a great job. He had grown weak, I could tell. He gave up his life and no one in the Company ever acknowledges his sacrifice.

Shortly afterwards, Shahnawaz recounted his own experience working inside the tunnel for long periods of time, an experience that made him "lonely and useless." "You know, I used to come home, silent and depressed, not wanting to talk to anyone. When I worked night shifts in the tunnel, I felt like a dead man." That Zaheer's "work was killing him from within," or that prolonged night shifts inside the tunnel depressed and silenced Shahnawaz, demonstrates the monstrous nature of exploitative labor relations that Marx so brilliantly captured in the phrase "vampire capitalism." Both the transformation of Shahnawaz into the living dead and Zaheer's actual death in an avalanche aptly illustrate capitalism relentlessly feeding on the lives and spirit of labor. And yet, the motif of *shaheed* or martyr that the villagers used to describe Zaheer's death also indexed new subjectivities of resistance by conferring a quasi-insurgent meaning upon these deaths.

The motif of a *shaheed* has been used in Kashmir since 1931, when twenty-one Kashmiri Muslims died fighting the oppressive Dogra Hindu rulers, an event that many argue "inaugurated" the freedom struggle of Kashmiris against external rule (Rai). Since then, the term is routinely deployed for

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the countless deaths caused by police or military encounters or for Kashmiris who willingly sacrificed their lives to free their nation while bearing witness to the state's oppressive apparatus. The resignification of Zaheer's death as martyrdom rendered his loss meaningful, and more importantly, marked his death, according to Islamic law, as a "collective experience of suffering"—a sentiment captured most poignantly by the phrase "our hearts are on fire" that Zaheer's mother used so compellingly to mourn her son's loss (Khan 386).

At the same time, however, the trope of martyrdom, even though it expressed people's collective loss and suffering, ultimately served the banal logics of capitalism. The motif of the martyr stood witness to the oppression of capitalism as much as it used the ideal of sacrifice to valorize deaths caused by corporate greed and negligence. Zaheer's martyrdom dignified his death while unwittingly aligning Gurezis with exacting regimes of work and labor at the dam site.

Despite their scathing critique of corporate labor, young men continued their pursuit for "better" and "permanent" jobs with the HCC and the NHPC instead of overtly resisting their operations. Work, it was clear, had become "the central locus of psychic and emotional investment, even as the new libidinal economy induce[d] widespread panic, depression, [and the specter of death] among the youth in the village" (Smith 12). "We are putting our lives on hold when we go inside, knowing that a loose rubble of stones and rocks might injure or even kill us any moment, " said Shahnawaz to me in an unguarded moment as he stared at the long, dark tunnel in front of him. Such widespread anxieties, however, did little to discourage young men from seeking employment opportunities with the HCC, mostly because work at the dam site was tied to new conceptions of manhood and masculinity and young men prided themselves, even though reluctantly, for being capable of doing the difficult work. Even Shahnawaz, who seemed alienated by his work, foregrounded the machismo of working inside the dangerous tunnel:

> Chauhan or the villagers don't know the dangers of working inside that long dark tunnel. It is easy for them to say that we wander aimlessly in the village. But, I know how I survived my time inside the tunnel. I put my music on so I could drown out the unpleasant roar of the machines and the deafening sound of breaking rocks.

Refuting corporate perceptions that villagers were scared of big, heavy machines such as the TBM, Shahnawaz said proudly: "We are not scared. We have seen India's Bofors guns. We have experienced 80 kg shells dropped on us by Pakistan when border tensions were high. A TBM won't scare us." For Shahnawaz, the outright denial of fear or the thrill of bravely confronting

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dangerous situations on the border was an assertion of a newly cultivated masculinity, one that extolled wartime bravado and extended it to his difficult and tedious work inside the tunnel. Dismissing his sister's interjections about "suffering several sleepless nights because of his dangerous night shifts," Shahnawaz continued, emphasizing once again how his critical interventions had successfully mobilized an entire village to "forcibly demand" work from the HCC:

> I was the first one to take initiative in this matter. I saw a bunch of young men assemble at the mosque and complain about not getting work with the HCC. I intervened and suggested that we needed to act. I suggested that we protest on the road and burn some tires, a strategy that drew immediate attention. We were able to stop HCC vehicles. Soon, several senior police officials arrived at the scene and complained about the smoke bothering them. I was aghast and terribly angry. I asked him if he had thought of people who were soon going to be submerged under water. What is going to happen to them? Young men and women came out in droves to protest. Fearing that something untoward might happen, our Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) suggested that we leave the scene at once and that he would negotiate on our behalf. We resisted, persuading him that because he was our representative, we needed to stand with him while he spoke with the HCC officials. Finally, after some quick deliberations that took less than an hour, the HCC agreed to appoint us.

Shahnawaz's sense of triumph was short lived, as the villagers soon realized that they could obtain jobs only through local contractors who were hired by the HCC to make local recruitment easy and less burdensome. Working for the contractor would not guarantee them access to compensation in case of death or injury. So, they protested again:

> The second time around, there was complete *hartal* (strike) from Bandipora to Gurez to demand jobs directly from the HCC. I happened to be one of the two graduates from the village employed by the HCC. But they gave me the job of a helper even when I performed the job of an engineer or a geologist.

Shahnawaz prided himself on being one of the two college-educated employees while acknowledging that the company's presence was disrupting a deeply entrenched culture of education that had produced noted poets, scholars, and visionaries from his village. Since the beginning of the "project," many young boys had given up schooling to work for the HCC; the village was no longer deemed conducive for education given the dramatic uncertainties of the future and the shrinking job prospects in the government. Villagers recognized that as a state-owned enterprise the NHPC offered better job prospects and security than the HCC, a private company that hired mostly on a contractual basis in order to cut costs and ensure the mobility of labor. Securing a

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permanent job with the NHPC instead of temporary or contractual employment with the HCC was therefore the primary goal of local protests and shutdowns, even as villagers resented the NHPC's rigid control over their land and resources.

CORPORATE HUMANITARIANISM AND RESISTANT SUBJECTIVITIES

Corporate claims to morality in Kashmir were not only forged through routine CSR discourses of environmental stewardship, education, and health care, or through a refashioning of corporate subjectivities alone. Instead, the NHPC and HCC articulated corporate morality through their assertions that they were molding Kashmiri subjectivities to align with emerging values of corporate productivity and competitiveness, celebrated by many in India as the prized outcome of economic liberalization. As my interviews with corporate managers and state officials in the region evidence, many in the Indian state and corporate sector considered the creation of new identities around work and employment in Kashmir an integral step towards building a *naya* (new) Kashmir, where political resistance could be routed out by socializing Kashmiris to the rhythms of global capital and the exacting demands of labor productivity.

The "humanitarian" zeal behind such efforts—the *dharma* of CSR in Kashmir—complemented India's other military and non-military pursuits to secure its hold over Kashmir's "subversive" populations and its claims over local land and water resources. The crux of an emerging humanitarian praxis in Kashmir rested on the "morality" of transforming "indolent" and "lazy" workers into pliant and productive citizens even as the lives of young workers were rendered acutely precarious. To cultivate their virtuous, humanitarian image in the midst of Kashmir's deep political turmoil, the NHPC and the HCC used rhetorical tales of "corporate goodness" and "social responsibility" that included an emphasis on "mainstreaming" Kashmiri youth and instilling in them "a productive work culture" better aligned with India's economic and political order. Moral corporate discourses of unproductivity, greed, and indolence were even more pronounced for populations in Gurez, Kashmir's "remote" and "dangerous" periphery.

As I have demonstrated, ethnography provides a particularly important form of life writing for critical corporate studies. Interviews with mid-level managers make visible the ways discourses of hard work, entrepreneurship, and morality animate multiple iterations of corporate personhood in the context of an ongoing counter-insurgency. Ethnography also exposes the various ways in which workers resisted or subscribed to new categories of wage labor; their "life narratives" reveal the complex and contested interactions between

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workers and management and the ongoing social and cultural reevaluations of work, labor, and masculinities. An attention to everyday forms of resistance additionally shows how Gurezis mobilized counter-narratives of martyrdom, hydraulic colonialism, and vampire capitalism that had devoured young minds, as well as their spirits, souls, and bodies to challenge the moral precepts on which the NHPC and the HCC had built their affective foundations. And, yet, by desiring "better" work, young men acquiesced to new demands and temporalities of corporate labor. Ultimately, corporate moral narratives produced new avenues for rearticulating emergent relations between workers and corporations in Kashmir, relations that sought to align Kashmiris with the rationalities of the market and the logics of the nation-state.

NOTES

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1. Conceived by India in June 1994, the Kishanganga dam would be the first to create an inter-tributary diversion of water, reducing by 27 percent the river's natural flow into Pakistan (Dar, "Power" 16). Strongly resisted by Pakistan through legal battles that were not merely bilateral but involved the Hague's Permanent Council of Arbitration, India finally agreed to reduce the height of the dam to 37 meters, with important consequences for village communities in Gurez. While the 73-meter high dam would have displaced populations from twenty-five different villages, the shorter dam will by 2016 submerge the two villages of Badwan and Khopri, in addition to causing irreversible damage to the local climate and ecology.
2. For details, see Duschinski and Mathur.
3. For more on the logic and modality of Indian occupation in Kashmir, see Junaid.
4. Baba Umar notes that the state has no records for at least 624.24 acres of land currently under NHPC's occupation. Only 12 percent of the electricity generated by the NHPC and its contracted private corporations is guaranteed to the state of J&K, while the rest is distributed through the national grid to key cities across India. Under the Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) scheme of the NHPC, the J&K state is the ultimate owner of the projects, although there are ongoing legal and public disagreements around the delayed transfer of multiple projects to the state government. In a recent move, even the J&K government, echoing popular sentiment, blamed the central government for preventing Kashmiris from harnessing their water resources and using them to develop local agriculture and industry (see Parvaiz, "Pay"). The NHPC's occupation of Kashmiri land and

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resources is even more problematic within the context of Article 370, a constitutional provision that prevents outside agencies or non state-subjects from buying or acquiring land or property in Jammu and Kashmir (for details see "India's NHPC").

5. India Inc., a term that has caught on with the media, refers to the corporate sector of the nation (see "Packages").
6. Narendra Modi, Chief Minister of Gujarat and Bharatiya Janata Party candidate for Prime Minister, talks of healing wounds in Kashmir (see "Modi").
7. As opposed to "enemy-centric" counterinsurgency war, which is focused on "capturing and killing the enemy" (Springer 2011). For the use of humanitarian discourses in medicine and psychiatry in Kashmir, see Varma.
8. For a detailed discussion of the interface between morality and markets, see Browne; for CSR in particular ethnographic contexts, see Dolan and Welker.
9. In the period after independence, dynastic businesses in India were deeply influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's concept of "trusteeship of wealth," which was a blend of Indian religious philosophies and a Western emphasis on Christian humanitarianism (Sundar 41, 118). According to Shankar Gopalakrishnan, the two "reactionary projects of Hindutva and neoliberalism" emerged "simultaneously" in India in the 1980s and 1990s. Despite some ideological differences (mostly around the idea of freedom), Hindutva like neoliberalism "reduces social developments to questions of individual choice" while social problems are attributed to "individuals' demoniac ways." Hindutva is therefore based as much on the "totalizing notion of the state/community" as it is invested in the "production of an essentialized individuality" based on the virtues of a "good Hindu." In India, the "tactical alliance" between the two was most explicitly witnessed during the BJP's India Shining campaign, as well as during the 1992 Babri demolition campaign, when right-wing political parties used neoliberal strategies of "branding," "consumer citizenship," and commodification to mobilize widespread support for their regressive religious project. Likewise, Indian corporate businesses draw from Hindu tenets of dharma to validate their corporate enterprise.
10. Kurian John Melamparambil, Chairman of Melam, a leading food export company, characterizes CSR as "humanitarianism, not charity" ("Chairman's Message"). Erica Bornstein argues that charity or philanthropy is now tethered to Hindu notions of *dan*—"disinterested gift giving"—even in non-corporate sectors across India, as many NGOs and Aid organizations routinely contribute towards "human" causes.
11. See Doniger for a detailed explanation of *karma*.
12. For additional details on CSR in India, see Muniapan and Satpathy.
13. It is not only the Hindu principles of *dharma* and *karma*, however, that are being reinvented to stem the excesses of capitalism or ensure that spiritual values become integral to capitalist praxis (see Rudnyckyj); in Italy, we see an iteration of "Catholicized neoliberalism" that stresses "redistribution" over "accumulation" as a way to suture market rationality with a newfound moral economy (Muehlebach, "Catholicization"). Likewise, many Islamic scholars offer the divine revelations of the Quran and the Sunnah—considered to be more "enduring, eternal, and absolute"—as an antidote to Western secular models of CSR that fail because of their purported reliance on human reasoning, which is contingent and "transitional" (Dusuki 12, 13).

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14. Conferred by the government of India since 1997, navratna is a status assigned to Public Sector Enterprises selected to be turned into "global giants" by granting them more autonomy in their investment decisions (see "Turning" and "Maharatna").

15. Anthropologists rightly argue that it is not sufficient to analyze CSR or emerging market moralities as a "smokescreen" or "palliative" that obscures or masks the exploitative characteristics of corporations. It is also critical to pay attention to how new moral economies based on the ethics of social responsibility and humanitarianism might engender new worker subjectivities that are more in line with the demands of corporate labor. In Italy, for instance, Muehlebach notes that the "intensification of marketization" is deeply linked to a wider shift in ethical values associated not only with corporations but also with how good citizenship is perceived and practiced (*Moral* 9). Likewise, Rajak underlines the need to focus on what CSR *does* for corporations and the social and political order as opposed to viewing it only as a routine strategy to enhance profits.

16. Indeed, as is clear from the many pronouncements of national leaders, the burden of "constructing the new nation" fell squarely on the "shoulders" of "Pakistani engineers" (qtd. in Haines 161).

17. Most Gurezis I spoke with mentioned "Sin" as the local name for the river, and held the NHPC responsible for changing its name to Kishanganga. I was unable to corroborate this information from other sources.

18. The NHPC formulated its own Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy in accordance with the Government of India's 2007 National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy. Under its new policy, the NHPC claims to put aside "0.75 percent of the hard cost of a project for Community and Social Development Plan" ("NHPC Director Report").

19. Despite British measures to either reduce its severity or abolish it completely, *begar* continued in Kashmir until 1947 (Rashid 84). Indeed, the Indian military still relies on *begar* or *khral* for manpower during wars and other emergency missions, especially in Kashmir's border regions. The villagers are now paid for rendering their services, but the obligatory aspects of military labor persist (Bhan).

20. Politicians, bureaucrats, and even spiritual leaders tirelessly lament the misfortune of educated Kashmiri youth who are "unemployed and wander from pillar to post in search of jobs" (see "India Pakistan"). Many even attribute the restiveness of Kashmiri youth to the dearth of jobs in the region. With roughly 600,000 unemployed youth, J&K is considered to have the "highest unemployment rate in Northern India," a fact attributed to years of violent conflict but also to the absence of a culture of "hard work and entrepreneurship" in the state (see Wani).

21. Globally, too, "promoting stability in their areas of operation" is increasingly seen as an important step towards transforming profit-oriented corporations into "public minded" businesses, especially in conflict zones where values of "good corporate governance, economic inclusiveness, and community goodwill" are considered fundamental for ensuring global security and stability (Bennett 393, 394; also see "India Inc.").

22. The TBM was built by SELI, an Italian company celebrated for "its continuing reach into India." It was exclusively designed to counter the "poor and variable rock conditions and zones of squeezing ground" in the Himalayas through its "very high cutterhead torque and thrust and its capacity to overcut" (see "Special"). The TBM was used

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to drill the tunnel from Bandipora, the site of the power plant. Although the traditional drilling and blasting method was used to build the other end of the tunnel in Gurez, many Gurezis were hired to work inside the tunnel in Bandipora.

23. Villagers often spoke about the severity of winters in Gurez and the threat of floods and avalanches that overwhelmingly determined their agricultural and habitation patterns. But they also spoke about the ways they relied on their forests and glaciers for food, herbs, medicines, and fuel.

24. Marx describes the relay system in "Day and Night Work: The Relay System," section 4 of chapter 10 of the first volume of *Capital*; see also Walsh and Zacharias-Walsh.

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MY NAME IS CATERPILLAR: CORRIE ET AL. V. CATERPILLAR, INC.

BARBARA HARLOW

Of more significance for our special theme [juridical personality] is the fact that the underlying controversies and their introduction into legal theory and actual legal relations, express struggles and movements of immense social import, economic and political.

———John Dewey (1926)

Ultimately, the purpose of a legal challenge is not to secure victory in court, but to change behaviour on the ground in line with the legal norms prevalent in international society. If the threat or instigation of litigation, combined with the various civil society campaigns, moves the company to change its behaviour in order to preserve its privacy and protect its most valuable asset (its brand) then this goal is accomplished. 'Market-induced compliance' may thus prove an alternative where judicial enforcement is not forthcoming.

———Grietje Baars (2004–2005)

According to Israeli Judge Oded Gershon, in his August 2012 opinion in the case of *Estate of Rachel Corrie v. The State of Israel*, Corrie's death by Caterpillar bulldozer was an "unfortunate accident," Rachel's own fault. "Even when she saw the mound of earth moving towards her," Gershon opined, "she did not move away. The accident was caused by the deceased," the judge cynically concluded. *Estate of Rachel Corrie v. The State of Israel* was but the latest in the prolonged litigation narrative following the death in March 2003 in Gaza of Rachel Corrie, a youthful International Solidarity Movement (ISM) activist who had been in Gaza just a few short months when she was killed. Whereas this latest case for redress of grave human rights violations addressed a state actor (the State of Israel), an earlier case, *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, brought on behalf of Craig and Cindy Corrie, the dead woman's parents,

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together with four Palestinian families who had also lost close relatives to Israel's house demolition policy, was aimed at a corporate actor and prosecuted in US courts under the Alien Tort Statute (ATS). That case too had been summarily dismissed in 2005, a dismissal that was eventually—perhaps all too inevitably—upheld on appeal in 2007.

Rachel Corrie was just shy of her twenty-fourth birthday when she was destroyed by a Caterpillar bulldozer driven by an Israeli soldier in the Gaza Strip. Born in Olympia, Washington, on April 10, 1979, Rachel had barely arrived in Gaza in early 2003 before she died there, a scant two months later. The young college student, however, even in that brief duration, had come to sympathize—even if empathy, given her personal background of relative privilege, was biographically out of reach—with Gaza's Palestinian at-risk inhabitants. As she poignantly described the politically awkward, materially perverse, and thus personally fraught narrative situation in her diaries, "If any of us had our lives and welfare completely strangled and lived with children in a shrinking place where we knew that soldiers and tanks and bulldozers could come for us at any moment, with no means of economic survival and our houses demolished; if they came and destroyed all the greenhouses we'd been cultivating for the last however long do you not think, in a similar situation, most people would defend themselves as they best they could" (Rickman and Viner 37). Part of that same "self-defense"—and indeed "selves" and their respective stories are so very much at stake in the case/s of Rachel Corrie—involved the work of the International Solidarity Movement (ISM) and its volunteers from around the world, who, like Rachel Corrie herself, were participating in what Harvard sociologist Mica Pollock, in her ethnographic study of ISM, has described as the "actual work of participating in 'global civil circuits'" (233). At the time of her death, Rachel was a senior-year student at Evergreen State College in her native state of Washington (the same state in which the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.* would first be heard), with a strong and extended background in local and national social justice projects. Her study proposal in Palestine at the time also involved establishing a sister-city project between her own hometown of Olympia in the state of Washington and the city of Rafah in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip.

But who—or what, for that matter—happened to have killed Rachel Corrie? According to the Israeli Judge Gershon, the "accident had been caused by the deceased." In *Promoting Impunity*, its 2005 inquiry into the "Israeli military's failure to investigate [its own] wrongdoing," Human Rights Watch (HRW) proposed that the young woman "was killed by an Israeli bulldozer on March 16, 2003, while she was attempting to block it from demolishing a [Palestinian] home" (92). Suicide? An Israeli bulldozer? Or a Caterpillar bulldozer? The Israeli soldier operating the US-made machine? Foreign policies?

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Corporate responsibilities? The Human Rights Watch report cited an eyewitness, whose testimony was corroborated by another solidarity partisan at the scene: "Rachel was kneeling on one leg. She got up on the rubble as the bulldozer approached, five miles per hour, at a steady pace. It did not change. Rachel probably noticed it would not stop, and she tried to get off the mound. Her foot caught in the mound, and she was carried over frontaways onto the ground and the earth was piled on top" (94). Rachel Corrie was subsequently pronounced dead at Gaza's Najjar Hospital. And the more satisfying simplicity of a who-dunnit narrative solution to the question of "who killed Rachel Corrie?" is frustrated, entangled instead in the competing intricacies of corporate complicity, issues of aiding and abetting, and contextual definitions of cause and effect. As philosopher and educational reformer John Dewey opined in 1926, "underlying controversies and their introduction into legal theory and actual legal relations, express struggles and movements of immense social import, economic and political" (26).

Multiple narratives involving different forms of life writing—variously claiming the status of biography, personal memoir, eyewitness testimony, judicial hearings, human rights inquiries, with all the attendant rights and responsibilities that disputatiously attach thereto—inform these historic litigations and literary renditions. The dramatically competing narratives staged in both national courts and in the courts of world opinion, as well as in the pages of more generically acknowledged versions such as personal memoir, eyewitness testimony, and intimate diaries, have further engaged contemporary political issues of human rights, national sovereignty, and corporate social responsibility. In the "biographies" of the several plaintiffs and defendants in the two cases, and in the impact of their interpretation on the respective cases' outcomes, Rachel Corrie features prominently, together with the "et al." Palestinian families and the Estate of Rachel Corrie, on the one hand, and Caterpillar, Inc. and the State of Israel (less honorably), on the other. These cases have been fought on legal terrain over the right of Palestinians to a land of their own, a right articulated not only in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), but also in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and its companion, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), as well as other international instruments and treaties regarding international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL). Several legal questions thus further inform the literarily-inflected discussion, involving "corporate legal humanity," statutory jurisdiction and international law, and personal narrative/testimony. Anna Grear has noted, for example, that "the sheer reality of global corporate dominance has produced a situation in which human rights discourse struggles to retain critical distance from the human rights-colonising activities

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of formations of global capital" (9). A closer reading of the arguments and the historical rationales and rationalizations of the several parties to the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, could perhaps contribute to that struggle for "critical distance."

ATS cases assert that these same corporations, representative of the "human rights-colonising activities of formations of global capital," must be held responsible for gross human rights violations, invoking in particular the doctrines of "aiding and abetting" so central to the case against Caterpillar, Inc. Just as egregiously at play as complicity, however, in particular in those ATS cases where Israel is involved, is the "political question doctrine," allowing for judicial dismissal on the grounds that the case deters the effective prosecution of the executive and legislative functions of the US government, and requiring thereby that the judiciary defer in its opinionated prerogative to executive foreign policy priorities. In her discussion of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, Grietje Baars, for example, in contrast to Grear, argues in support of testimony and witness: "ultimately, the purpose of a legal challenge is not to secure victory in court, but to change behaviour on the ground in line with the legal norms prevalent in international society" (133).

A brief review of Caterpillar's public website reveals a remarkable omission from its historical timeline of any financial transactions or business deals with the State of Israel, which in fact date back to 1967, and are contemporaneous with Israel's military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and the escalation of its house demolition policies. What, after all that will have been said and done in the courtroom, will yet become of Caterpillar's eventual "behaviour on the ground"—and/or in its boardroom? That very behavior raises persistent questions regarding the status—and the rationales and apologias—of the corporation's legal "corporate personhood" and its incumbent rights and responsibilities. How, that is, might parsing further the particulars of the roles and rhetorics parlayed by and through the participants in the saga of the ATS litigation of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.* contribute to both a comprehension of the rights and responsibilities inherent in "corporate biography" and a rewriting of the script of global human rights protections?

DRAMATIS PERSONAE: *CORRIE ET AL. V. CATERPILLAR, INC.*

Argued in significant part by the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), the very name of the celebrated ATS case, *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, contains cryptically eloquent, and equally misleading, monikers that signify the distorted personal relationships and unequal global alignments implicated in the litigation, a deformation that is not unlike the prevaricated prosecution of human rights regimens and international humanitarianism between and

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among the several parties to the case: Corrie, the immediate family of US citizen Rachel Corrie; et al., the four Palestinian families who were only added to the case in the First Amended Complaint; and Caterpillar, Inc., a multinational corporation with business interests throughout the world but based in the United States. First heard in the US District Court in the Western District of Washington at Tacoma in May 2005, the case was dismissed, and subsequently appealed to the Ninth Circuit's US Court of Appeals the following year, in March 2006, where it was also summarily dismissed, largely on grounds of the "political question doctrine." As professor of international law Richard Falk has provocatively suggested with respect to "achieving human rights" and the unequal distribution of power over rights at all, the very "globalization of human rights resembles military intervention in its bifocal division of abuses in the North and the South" (8). Would Corrie et al., in other words, stand a better chance in a US courtroom than they did facing a Caterpillar bulldozer in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories?

Falk's rhetorical incitement, if not indictment, is reiterated again by, among numerous other critics of the users and abusers of "human rights," Israeli architect Eyal Weizman, who argues that the "larger and more influential the humanitarian world has grown, the more incoherent it has become. As the humanitarian movement became more openly partisan and political, governments around the world began recasting their own political projects and military adventures as humanitarian ones" (*Least* 51). Not just governments, however, but corporations as well, for as anthropologist/humanitarian aid worker Didier Fassin has described the currents—and currency—of humanitarian language, the "politics of compassion is a politics of inequality" (*Humanitarian Reason* 3). And so it would seem to be, in the case of *Corrie et al.* Nonetheless, Weizman's own disciplinary experience—his professional bias perhaps—leads him to suggest that that very "compassion" has perhaps always already been misplaced, and is still in need of being displaced, if not displaced, by a more forensically grounded approach to redressing critically the political distortions of global—and local—inequality. "While personal testimony," he writes, anticipating the individual and collective stories of *Corrie et al.*, "has brought histories of violence and abuse into the public domain, the limits of the frame by which historical accounts foreground individual victims rather than collective action have also become apparent" (*Least* 113).

To what extent, then, might the particular stories of each of the dramatis personae, both plaintiffs and defendants (or more colloquially perhaps, victims and perpetrators) in *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, be recounted so as to render them capable of producing "collective action"? The stories, that is, of international solidarity work (Rachel Corrie); displacement, dispossession, disenfranchisement (et al., aka the four Palestinian families); and house

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demolitions as war crime (Caterpillar—and the State of Israel), each providing competing narrative emphases that amount to moral, legal, and political indictments of alleged perpetrators and their complicitous associates.

THE ALIEN TORT STATUTE (ATS): PROMISES AND PITFALLS

Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc. was argued under the auspices of the Alien Tort Statute (or the Alien Tort Claims Act [ACTA], as it is also known), a United States law originally passed in 1789, in the very early days of United States independence, only to fall into desuetude, disuse, and neglect until the second half of the twentieth century, when it was argumentatively resurrected as a "vehicle for U.S. courts to hear human rights abuses" (Steinhardt 594). Most recently, in April 2013, the US Supreme Court moved to thwart the burgeoning number of such cases that were being brought in US courts on behalf of "alien" plaintiffs, cases directed in significant part against US corporations and their collusion in human rights abuses in foreign countries that were more often than not identified as "areas of conflict." In its majority opinion in the much-watched and protracted case of *Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum*, brought by plaintiffs from Nigeria against the multinational oil (extractive) corporation, Chief Justice John Roberts (supported by Justices Antonin Scalia, Anthony M. Kennedy, Clarence Thomas, and Samuel Alito) relied on the constitutional separation of powers, or the political question doctrine, to decide that "Indeed, the danger of unwarranted judicial interference in the conduct of foreign policy is magnified in the context of the ATS, because the question is not what Congress has done but instead what the courts want to do." With rhetorical flourish, he continued his interpretation of the statute: "there is no indication, that the ATS was passed to make the United States a uniquely hospitable forum for the enforcement of international norms." Chief Justice Roberts further reinforced this particular line of reasoning with the addendum that, after all, "Corporations are often present in many countries, and it would reach too far to say that *mere* corporate presence suffices [to implicate them in gross human rights violations]" (*Kiobel v. Royal Dutch*, italics added).

Noting more than a decade previously, with the supposed cascade of ATS cases being brought before US courts, what they denominate as a "growing chorus of nontraditional actors," legal scholars Anne-Marie Slaughter and David Bosco have identified the continued litigious trend as "plaintiff's diplomacy" in the form of "lawsuits that shape foreign policy." According to Slaughter and Bosco, "By targeting major corporations and business concerns, private plaintiffs have thus become a diplomatic force in their own right, forcing governments to pay attention at the highest levels" (107).

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paying attention perhaps, even at the highest levels, but rarely paying the price of reparations or indemnities to the plaintiffs, both governments and their corporate colleagues have had recourse to an expanding human rights vocabulary, from "complicity" to "complex environments" and "overdetermined atrocities," not to mention the "political question doctrine," each of which played a prominent role in rationalizing the summary dismissal of cases like *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.* Indeed, to repeat Anna Grear's observation, "The sheer reality of global dominance has produced a situation in which human rights discourse struggles to retain critical distance from the human rights-colonising activities of formations of global capital." As Grear notes, human rights discourse would seem, to some scholars at least, to have become a veritable "Trojan horse for neoliberal capitalist values" (9).

Contributing to these legal lexical disputes, however, allegedly independent international organizations in turn have elaborated on definitional implications for a multiple terminological mobilization to fend off extraneous challenges and to defend proprietorial, indeed territorial, claims on corporate government against their rude, if not crude, abuses of the rights of the plaintiffs. Not only is the international slogan of "corporate social responsibility" (CSR) in play, but also at stake, contrarily, is the long-standing US constitutional tradition of the "separation of powers" (executive, legislative, judicial). In this critical lexicon, manifold and competing global interests jockey with and against each other. In its 2008 report on "corporate complicity and legal accountability," the International Commission of Jurists' Expert Legal Panel defined "complicity" as the "ways in which one actor becomes involved in an undesirable manner in something that someone else is doing" (1: 3, sect. 1.2.1), referring as well to the synonyms "aiding and abetting" and "involvement" to describe the shared responsibility to be assigned to the relationship of the partnered culprits (for example, Caterpillar Inc. and the state of Israel). While expanding on the possible narratives that would account for these complicitous relations, such as a "causation continuum" or "complex environments," the ICJ's Expert Panel noted in particular the "providing of goods and services" (such as Caterpillar bulldozers?), further specifying that, yes indeed, to loosely parse the ICJ's argument, "Businesses often face allegations of complicity when they provide goods or services, such as vehicles [bulldozers], weapons [refit with protective armor], technology [continued maintenance], and communications equipment, financial assistance, or logistical services, to actors [the state of Israel] who use them to commit gross human rights abuses [house demolitions, murder]" (1: 14, sect. 3.1).

In the meantime, and in a separate document, John Ruggie, former United Nations Special Representative for Business and Human Rights, described in his influential "guiding principles" presented to the UN's Human Rights

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Council in 2011, the global imperative of the need to "protect, respect and remedy": protect the potential victims, that is, respect their rights, and remedy, somehow, the corporate predations on the human rights and environmental well-being of their victims. The Ruggie Principles have received considerable critical attention in both the corporate and the legal arenas, as well as among humanitarian NGOs, noting in particular the corporate investment, however venal, in weighing business risks against business costs. As Robert Blitt has commented, "corporations genuinely concerned with ensuring the effective minimization or elimination of exposure to potentially embarrassing and costly human rights liabilities" (35) are obliged to calculate the extent of the damage done to their brand, their reputation, and/or their very name that might well result from campaigns organized to emblazon the atrocities (such as murder and house demolitions) ensuing from their profit-making, human rights-violating business deals. Susan Ariel Aaronson and Ian Higham similarly estimate the complicated intersections in figuring out a multinational corporation's bottom line in its annual reports of "legal liability, reputational and operational risks, [and] loss of investor or consumer confidence" (35). As Ruggie himself noted with regard to the ATS, and in the conclusion to his recollections on the working agenda toward the drafting and ultimate approval by the UN Human Rights Council of the "Ruggie rules," "on several occasions during the course of my mandate I expressed concern about having so large a fraction of the world's court cases against multinational corporations for involvement in human rights abuses abroad hinge on so *quirky*—and, as the Supreme Court [*Kiobel*] hearing demonstrated, so *poorly understood*—a statute in a single country" (198, emphasis added).

But then, of course, there are as well what James G. Stewart has discussed, using the firing squad as a telling example, as "overdetermined atrocities"—events, that is, in which there are "multiple sufficient causes [such as the several members of the firing squad] for (their) occurrence" ("Overdetermined" 1189). Who? or what?, in other words, killed Rachel Corrie and demolished et al.'s homes in the Occupied Palestinian Territories? Caterpillar? The state of Israel? The bulldozer's soldier-driver? Rachel herself, according to Judge Gershon? Or some other agent? According to Stewart, "overdetermination emerges as the central moral problem of our time that implicates us all, not some particular feature of international criminal justice that necessarily demands non-criminal responses to atrocity" (1189). Or, as Laura E. Lyons has argued with regard to the BP oil disaster in the Gulf in 2010, these "overdetermined atrocities" generate a "legal and narrative shell game, in which the locus of responsibility is perpetually in play and thus impossible to pin down" (105). Stewart, whose legal research is particularly focused on the issue of "prosecuting corporate actors for the pillage of natural resources and

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for complicity through the supply of arms" ("Pragmatic" 261), insists that "We live in a world where there is perfect impunity for international crimes perpetrated by corporate actors and their agents" (298), and goes on consequentially to champion the ATS (or ACTA) as a "framework of choice for human rights advocates" (289).

Thus, the Alien Tort Statute, originally passed in 1789 to prosecute violations of the law of nations or of a treaty signed by the United States and applied, rarely, at the time of its passage to questions of diplomatic infringements and/or piracy, remained largely an atavism until reactivated in the 1980 landmark case of *Filártiga v. Peña-Irala*,[1] but has since played a central role in numerous cases brought in US courts seeking redress for international human rights violations, not least cases revolving around multinational corporations and their violations of human rights (e.g. Rio Tinto, Unocal, Royal Dutch Shell—and Caterpillar, for example). In the case of *Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum*, most recently decided, negatively, by the Supreme Court, Caterpillar was part of an amicus curiae brief on the part of an assemblage of mendacious multinational corporations arguing that "clear rule is needed from this court to forestall future waves of ATS litigation." Caterpillar, Inc., after all, along with its predictable amici BP America, Conoco Phillips, General Electric, Honeywell, and International Business Machines, should know from experience that those "waves of ATS litigation," both past and future, that threaten their eventual global hegemony, or that, as Stewart tellingly puts it in near apocalyptic terms, expose them to "conviction for a war crime," could well turn into "nothing short of a commercial catastrophe" ("Pragmatic" 273).

US government policymakers might well fulminate and fret about "national security," as if human rights—for all that the discourse has been conscripted, and as Anna Grear has argued, has become integral to the "human rights-colonising activities of formations of global capital"—might yet somehow, in a perverse application of the UN-approved doctrine of R2P or "responsibility to protect," impede US international interventionism to protect instead its corporate and national interests. While the otherwise widely endorsed doctrine of R2P has been challenged by critics of the distorted and unequal regimen of human rights distribution, its apparently humanitarian appeal continues to underwrite hegemonic interference to the detriment of appellants against human rights violators. As Slaughter and Bosco have already noted with regard to the ATS, it would seem now that the "world's sole superpower is arming itself with superpower courts" (115). Against the corporate amici and their courtly cronies, however, human rights scholars and advocates have persistently maintained that, contrary to so much contravening evidence and even testimony, the ATS represents a "badge of honor," a tribute not to an eroding national security, but rather to an open opportunity

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to recuperate a "national honor" (Burley 482) by providing the possibility of redress, or at least address, to "victim(s) of transnational corporate crimes from the Global South—likely to have little or no access to the civil liability mechanisms we take for granted" (Stewart, "Pragmatic" 283). "Victims," perhaps, such as the Palestinian "et al." included as plaintiffs in the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*

In such a gladiatorial contest, that is, the "political question" ought to be posed across a more diverse cast of characters. Seven "career foreign service diplomats," for example, with experience from northern Europe to the Middle East and Indochina, presented a seemingly impartial, "diplomatic," amicus curiae brief, "in support of neither party," that assessed the apparent conflicts of interest, noting that it should be recalled that "continued recognition of liability for aiding and abetting serious violations of universal human rights norms is consistent with, and indeed advances, U.S. foreign policy interests," and further emphasized that the "ATS is one of the tools in the United States' overall efforts to promote compliance by government officials and private actors with fundamental human rights standards" (*Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*). The foreign service officers ended their brief for the benefit of the court by asserting that their "experience as diplomats for the United States leads us to conclude that aiding and abetting liability under the Alien Tort Statute supports U.S. foreign policy. Accordingly, *amici* respectfully urge this Court to hold that aiding and abetting is actionable under the ATS."

CORRIE ET AL. V. CATERPILLAR, INC.: PLAINTIFF'S DIPLOMACY OR THE POLITICAL QUESTION DOCTRINE?

Although questions of "complicity" (or "aiding and abetting" as well as "modes of liability," for better or for worse) and "overdetermined atrocities" figured prominently in the arguments presented by both plaintiffs and respondents in the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, the two courts' decisions to dismiss, both in the original case and on appeal, turned principally on what is known as the "political question doctrine," a central component of ATS litigation and one that refers for its maintenance to the constitutional separation of powers in the United States. In other words, as Chief Justice Roberts opined in *Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum*, the Court must be wary of the "danger of unwarranted interference in the conduct of foreign policy." As Seth Korman notes, "What is interesting, about the adjudication of [ATS] cases, however, is that the merits of the alleged tortuous conduct and violations of international law are rarely at issue. Instead, because the defendant corporations want to avoid judgment on the merits, they seek dismissal through other means. . . . Enter the political question doctrine" (93). In his

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review of multiple ATS cases, Korman nonetheless concludes, almost inevitably, at least in the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, that a "court could not find in favor of the plaintiffs without implicitly questioning, and even condemning, United States foreign policy toward Israel" (108–109).

In their introduction to *Corporate Complicity in Israel's Occupation*, however, a selection of critical testimonies that had been presented at the second session of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine, held in London in November 2010, editors Asa Winstanley and Frank Barat argue that the "starting point for the tribunal was always that Israel is guilty. The question is what can be done about it? The emphasis of the Russell Tribunal is on how to seek legal remedies in courts (both national and international), and how to campaign effectively" (1). The Russell Tribunal's 2010–2013 hearings on the "question of Palestine" were summoned pursuant to Israel's brutal, prolonged, and devastating assault on Gaza in late 2008/early 2009, "Operation Cast Lead." The tribunal also responded to Israel's wanton disregard for the International Court of Justice's 2004 opinion on the illegality of the ongoing construction of the "apartheid" wall through and around the Occupied Territories. The Tribunalists previously had convened international consultations concerning United States aggression in Vietnam (1969), the 1973 Pinochet military coup d'état in Chile (1974–1976), and Iraq (2004), again relating to yet another US-initiated aggression, in that case the military invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003, allegedly in pursuit of the George W. Bush-declared "global war on terror."

Founded in 1966 by the eminent, if politically outspoken, British philosopher Bertrand Russell, over the decades since its inception, the Russell Tribunal—or the International War Crimes Tribunal, as it was also known—has come to function, according to its own most recent self-description, as an "international citizen-based Tribunal of conscience created in response to the demands of civil society (NGOs, charities, unions, faith-based organisations) to inform and mobilise public opinion and put pressure on decision makers." Although the Tribunal has no legal jurisdiction or authority to implement its conclusions, the body nonetheless has succeeded over the course of its several conventions in mobilizing an august genealogical roster of international opinion-makers and cultural innovators, including Nobel laureates and eminent literati from around the world, together with prominent jurists and human rights activists, to speak critically to multiple "courts of world opinion." The Russell Tribunal held four sessions on Palestine: in Barcelona on EU complicity, in London on corporate complicity, in Cape Town on "apartheid" Israel, and in New York on the complicity of the US and the UN in underwriting Israel's illegal occupation of the Palestinian territories. Although the tribunal exercises no legal sway over the enforcement

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of international law or the remedying of even its most egregious breaches, the hearings serve effectively to galvanize public opinion and provide crucial argumentation in the courts of world opinion for popular campaigns, much as Grietje Baars argued that the "*Caterpillar* litigation has given new impetus to a high profile boycott and divestment campaign" (132).

In the first amended complaint submitted on appeal to the United States District Court, Western District of Washington at Tacoma in May 2005, attorneys for Corrie et al. charged Caterpillar with "war crimes; extrajudicial killing; cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; violation of the racketeer influenced and corrupt organizations act; wrongful death; public nuisance; and negligence." Demanding at the same time a jury trial, the lawyers argued that "Caterpillar, Inc., has aided and abetted or otherwise been complicit with the Israel Defense Forces (hereinafter 'IDF') in the above-mentioned human rights violations and war crimes by providing bulldozers (and/or parts or other assistance related to the bulldozers) used to demolish homes of Palestinians in Occupied Palestinian Territory in violation of international law when it knew, or should have known, that such bulldozers were being used to commit human rights abuses." Ignoring, if not altogether rejecting, the substantive merits of the case, Caterpillar retorted the following month, in June 2005, in its motion to dismiss, that the plaintiffs sought a "judicial declaration with respect to an ongoing conflict in a currently sensitive area of the world that is integral to current U.S. foreign policy objectives," further emphasizing, all too forebodingly, that "It is difficult to conceive of a single foreign policy issue that has consumed more time and energy of the executive and legislative branches of the United States government since 1990 than the Israel-Palestine Conflict." One might question the respondents' fixation on 1990 as a watershed date, given that the conflict in question has a much longer, and much more vexed, history, and that Caterpillar's own narrative of complicity dates at least to 1967 and the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The court nonetheless agreed with Caterpillar's contentions in its November 2005 order granting the motion to dismiss, and this with particular reference to the political question doctrine: "Plaintiffs arguments are not persuasive," the court judiciously pronounced. "For this court," the decision to dismiss read, "to order Caterpillar to cease supplying products to Israel would certainly invade the foreign policy prerogatives of the political branches of government. As Caterpillar states and this court agrees: 'This lawsuit challenges the official acts of an existing government in a region where diplomacy is delicate and U.S. interests are great.'" In other words, the court concluded, "This cause of action must be dismissed." After all, "Caterpillar *merely* sold bulldozers. The IDF used them" (*Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar Inc.*, emphasis added).

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Corrie et al. and their attorneys from the Center for Constitutional Rights, however, were not deterred by political question prevarications or put off by hedging the charges and their merits through recourse to Caterpillar's "merely" selling bulldozers, much less dissuaded by the "delicacies of diplomacy" when it comes to placating an unusually precious US ally. The plaintiffs appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit the following year, in March 2006, maintaining, even if rather disingenuously, that the "fact that the wrongs occurred in a context that is controversial does not destroy this right [to seek relief under the ATS]; this lawsuit is seeking the adjudication of legal questions, not political ones." The Appeals Court in its turn nonetheless held fast to the earlier decision to dismiss. Noting that the US government had itself paid for every single bulldozer that Caterpillar has transferred to the IDF, the Court ruled that "Allowing this action to proceed would necessarily require the judicial branch of our government to question the political branches' decision to grant extensive military aid to Israel. It is difficult to see how we could impose liability on Caterpillar without at least implicitly deciding the propriety of the United States' decision to pay for the bulldozers which allegedly killed the plaintiffs' family members."

The amici of both sides to the dispute who filed briefs with the court's regarding the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.* addressed at some length the apparent "difficulty" that the court found for itself in "imposing liability on Caterpillar." Ranging from career foreign service diplomats to the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Roundtable to professors of international and constitutional law, together with still other academics concerned with the rationale of "military necessity," and the International Labor Rights Fund, these briefs variously argued—for and against—the continued relevance of the two centuries old Alien Tort Statute as a "means of assuring that the United States does not become a safe haven for human rights violators and those victims of human rights abuse who find their abusers in the United States have some means of redress" (Steinhardt 594).

BIOGRAPHIES: PLAINTIFFS, RESPONDENTS, AND ASSORTED OTHER PARTIES TO THE DELIBERATIONS

Although the ATS case of *Corrie et al. v. Catperpillar, Inc.* is perhaps most viscerally, and vitally known to activist audiences by the shortened nomenclature of "Corrie v. Caterpillar," it was brought not only by Rachel's parents, Cynthia and Craig Corrie, and her "next of kin," but in the name of other plaintiffs who counted among those individuals who made up the "et al.": Palestinians whose personal stories of loss and family histories of military occupation are at least told more fully in the plaintiffs' "first amended brief"

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filed in May 2005 by the CCR attorneys. Mahmoud Omar Al Sho'bi, Fathiya Muhammad Sulayman Fayed, Fayez Ali Mohammed Abu Hussein, Majeda Radwan Abu Hussein, and Eida Ibrahim Suleiman Khalafallah had homes in the West Bank and Gaza, like the one that Rachel died attempting to protect, which had been demolished by IDF soldiers maneuvering with all deliberate insouciance Caterpillar-provided militarized D9 bulldozers. Multiple narratives—from the literary to the legal, including drama, testimonial, and memoir—thus compete and complement each other in attempting to recount the case of *Corrie v. Caterpillar.* These various life narratives involve just as many multiple voices, at once intimate and public, as well as vested interests, from the amici curiae on one side or another to the court proceedings themselves, to playwrights, cinematographers, eyewitnesses at the scenes of demolition and death, activist memorialists, committed jurists, and even Israeli soldiers who have served, often reluctantly, sometimes regrettably, in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Rachel Corrie's story continues to be told, in other words, in and across many generic and political divides—and often to conflicting ends.

In "The Humanitarian Politics of Testimony," his reading of the recent work of Médecins Sans Frontieres in the Israeli Palestinian conflict during the second, or Al-Aqsa, intifada (2002–2005), physician and anthropologist Didier Fassin juxtaposed the "politics of justice" with the "politics of compassion," in describing testimony as being now "as essential a part of humanitarian activity as rendering aid" (552). Even while acknowledging that the witness has "become a key political figure of our time," Fassin, like Eyal Weizman, remains concerned that "humanitarian testimony contributes to forming victim subjectivities" (554). For Weizman, that is, the risk remains that personal testimony, for all its popularly persuasive and intimate appeal, threatens, when not contextualized, to distract attention from the structural and systemic, indeed historic, roots of abuse, and thus thwart any collective or concerted response redressing the alleged injustices (*Least* 113). Do the stories—and histories—that attach to *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, tell of a politics of compassion or propose a politics of justice? Or both perhaps? If John G. Ruggie's memoir, a more than half-decade-long saga of "how the mandate [to elaborate a set of Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights] got from here to there," emphasizes in its almost prosaic, "just business," storytelling the mundane practicalities of boardroom and back-room dealings, fraught conversations with both stakeholders and shareholders, and victims and perpetrators, the testimonies from Israeli soldiers collected by the organization Breaking the Silence expose instead a ruthlessly "harsh logic" directed to routing the Palestinian population from their homes and homeland and uprooting both their built and socio-political culture. In just one of the several soldierly and occasionally defensive reports regarding house demolitions,

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a member of the Engineering Corps told his interviewers of the soldiers' activities in the Bethlehem district in 2001: "The truth is that the Shimshon Brigade did the worst of the things I saw. That house where they destroyed a wall, they went like crazy looting it" (85). Just business? Perhaps so.

But what was Rachel Corrie doing there, in Rafah, in 2003, facing a Caterpillar bulldozer? After all, as Mica Pollock suggested in her ethnography of Boston-based committed International Solidarity Movement partisans, "At times it seems as though one cannot even tell Corrie's story without reinforcing the privilege of her visibility" (228). Not dissimilarly, UK-based philosopher and critic Shahidha K. Bari concludes her more philosophical rendering, "Being in the Care of Philosophy: Thinking About Rachel Corrie," with an even bleaker rumination on the "failings of philosophical discourse in the light of political realities" (13). Simone Bitton, by contrast, the French-Israeli documentarian and film director, whose film *Rachel* was released in 2009 to international acclaim (and Zionist vituperation), made Rachel Corrie's story almost her own. It was, she explains, almost as if paraphrasing Fassin, a matter of "choosing between justice and compassion." Replying to an interview question from Howard Feinstein, "How did you become involved in the subject of Rachel Corrie?" Bitton reflected: "It's very complex, the motivation. When you choose a subject, it means that you are going to live with it for two to three years. Some of the motives are cultural, and some I discovered only after I finished the film. She was twenty-three when she died and I am fifty-three. Then you have reasons of moral conscience. I wanted to make a film about Gaza." Contrary perhaps to both Fassin and Weizmann, Bitton goes on, with particular reference to testimony, justice, oppression—and compassion, "Plus I wanted the challenge of how to make a cinematic documentary. I wanted to find a new way to deal with people talking, so that it wouldn't be just talking heads. I *love* the talk. I wanted to address the situation of interviews, the situation of concentration, in documentaries" (Feinstein, emphasis in original).

Writing in a different, but nonetheless related, context—that of contributions of the Lebanese philosopher and diplomat Charles Malik to the drafting in the late 1940s of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—Glenn Mitoma has suggested that the debate between justice and compassion notwithstanding, "biography may be a particularly significant mode for understanding the political discourse of human rights," adding that it is "Precisely because the discourse of human rights is addressed to the human individual as a person, the narrative of the individual person is a critical component in the scholarly engagement with human rights" (223). Rachel Corrie's biography—her life and death—has been told by many authors, with varying claims to authorial credibility: she was "privileged," her death was an "unfortunate accident," maybe even her own "fault," etc. According to Rachel herself, however, "Writing is

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brave. It is maybe the only brave thing about me." These words are cited by Corrie's father, Craig, in his introduction to the compilation of a posthumous selection of the young woman's journal entries between 1995 and 2003, *Let Me Stand Alone* (2008). Rachel's story is told in the volume's pages, according to Mr. Corrie, "through her writing: the letters, e-mails, journal entries, school papers, and sometimes paper napkins saved by Rachel or by her mother, stashed in tubs that sat for years in our attic" (ix). Not exactly a biography, or even an oral history for that matter, the journals that make up *Let Me Stand Alone* and other related personal and personalized documents had already provided material for the 2005 London play, *My Name Is Rachel Corrie: Taken From the Writings of Rachel Corrie*, a "verbatim" drama, edited by Alan Rickman and Katharine Viner and first performed at the Royal Court Theatre. Egyptian theater director, dramatist, and critic Mahmoud El Lozy has dramatically described the play's own short performance biography in "Palestine Uncovered in *My Name Is Rachel Corrie*." From the "vilification" of the play's main protagonist, Rachel Corrie, to the mainstream corporate press's all too predictable reiterations of "character ridicule," contemptuous dismissals of the "shortcomings of the play as a piece of drama," and "unadulterated invective" (120), El Lozy suggests that the "history of the play's text transcends the text itself" (110). As in the court litigation, in theater criticism too, there does seem to be at work a "political question doctrine," or at the very least a gentlemen's agreement of sorts that if politics is going to intrude abrasively into a literary work, that politics must not offend the biases of reviewers.

And then, of course, there is the story of Caterpillar in these works. According to War on Want's 2005 "alternative report" on the multinational corporation, "Caterpillar's bulldozers are currently used in almost every significant operation by Israeli forces in the Occupied Palestinian Territories." One Israeli military commander went so far as to reveal that Caterpillar bulldozers are "'the key weapon', D9s, the most commonly used bull dozer, have been used extensively in house demolitions, the destruction of Palestinian infrastructure and agricultural land, and in urban warfare support. The Israeli army currently [2005] has around 100 D9s in operation" (3). Political question doctrine indeed, a question written brazenly, if sometimes aslant, across the lives and litigation of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*

ET AL. (AKA "OTHERS"): HOUSE DEMOLITIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW (OR, "HOW DOES ISRAEL [AND CATERPILLAR FOR THAT MATTER] GET AWAY WITH IT?")

While there are other historical hyperboles and euphemisms— "overdetermined" atrocities" and "conflict areas," or "currently sensitive areas" invoked

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to delineate the long-running, now near historic, contestation between Israel and the Palestinians, Jeff Halper, in his 2008 memoir *An Israeli in Palestine: Resisting Dispossession, Redeeming Israel*, describes the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as "undoubtedly the most documented and transparent conflict in history" (7). Cofounder and director of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (IACHD), Halper juxtaposes the personal recollection of his own public activism and private ruminations as an "Israeli in Palestine" with the story of the multiple, serial demolitions of the home/s of the Shawamreh family. According to Halper, "witnessing and resisting Israel's policy of demolishing Palestinian homes" provided the "question underlying my entire analysis: Why in the hell did Israel destroy the Shawamreh family's home?" (7). Halper's memoir offers a probingly extended reading of what the relentless struggler against house demolitions identifies as Israel's "message of the bulldozers," a destructive communication brutally delivered by Caterpillar bulldozers in no uncertain terms, which left behind more than, but not least of all, the wreckage of a home and a family's shared lives, past memories, present circumstances, and future prospects. For Halper, the "message of the bulldozers" was clear: "I knew that Israel's occupation policies had little to do with security, that they were in fact proactive claims to the entire country" (36). In other words, following decades of resisting the systematic demolishing of houses alongside and in solidarity with their Palestinian occupants—residents like the Shawamreh family—Halper argues that Israel's "demolition policy is part and parcel of *nishul*, dispossession; turning the Land of Israel into an exclusively Jewish space—at least a Jewish-controlled space; a sustained 60 year process of de-Arabization and Judaization" (45–46). Ilan Pappe has compared this same process to "ethnic cleansing," such as that practiced in Bosnia. And in Jonathan Cook's titular, somewhat ambiguous. words, *Disappearing Palestine* (is the gerund transitive or intransitive, active or passive?), it is nonetheless the *desaparecer* that has been universally condemned as a gross human rights violation during Argentina's "dirty war." War crimes all, from forced disappearances to house demolitions.

According to the much cited, particularly in the context of the nearly half-century long Israeli military occupation of the Palestinian Territories, Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, enacted in August 1949, just a year after the establishment of the Israeli state, in reference to the protection of civilians in time of war, "Any destruction by the Occupying Power of the real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons . . . is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations." House demolitions, in other words, are a violation of international humanitarian law—and thus are tantamount to a war crime. Although itself a party to the Fourth Geneva Convention, and therefore bound

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by the strictures of Article 53, Israel continues to refuse to acknowledge the Convention's applicability to its military occupation of the Palestinian Territories. In the face of such recalcitrance, Halper insists that "genuine negotiations based on international law or the application of existing international laws, such as the Fourth Geneva Convention . . . would cause the collapse of the Occupation under the weight of its own illegality" (250f). Meanwhile he remains concerned about the Shawamreh family's need for sustainable housing, a home that will not be vulnerable to Israel's US-paid-for Caterpillar bulldozers, and he is at pains to ensure that the story of the family's enduring and endured travails are writ large in his memoir, not to mention what legal recourse might (not) be available to the family and their compatriots: "Now that I have an explanation," the director of the IACHD writes toward the end of his memoir, "of why Salim and Arabiya's house was demolished four times, how can I prevent the fifth demolition?" (283). How indeed?

In *Hollow Land,* his devastatingly disciplined study of Israel's "architecture of occupation," forensic architect Eyal Weizman argues that the "national policy of forced migration, unofficially referred to in Israeli circles as the 'silent transfer', [is] a crime according to international law," and both Amnesty International and the Israeli-based NGO B'tselem concur in their respective reports from 2004, just a year after the murder of Rachel Corrie by a Caterpillar bulldozer, paid for with US dollars, and driven by an IDF soldier. According to AI's "Under the Rubble," in the concluding recommendations, which encompass Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and the international community, Caterpillar Inc. deserves particular mention: "Caterpillar Inc., the US company which produces the bulldozers used by the Israeli army, should take measures—within the company sphere of influence—a guarantee that its bulldozers are not used to commit human rights violations, including the destruction of homes, land and other properties." Caterpillar, furthermore, according to AI, "should respect and ensure the application of Article 3 of the UN [human rights] Norms [for Business], which states that Trans National Corporations and other business enterprises shall not engage in, nor benefit from, war crimes, crimes against humanity and other violations of international humanitarian law." To which the B'Tselem report, "Through No Fault of Their Own," a documentary examination of Israel's policy of "punitive house demolitions," adds an equally scathing condemnation of the demolition of houses as collective punishment "solely on the grounds of suspicion."

To reprise then Jeff Halper's plaintive, if strident, query, "Now that I have an explanation of why Salim and Arabiya's house was demolished four times, how can I prevent the fifth demolition?" As well as the demise of their denizens and their supporters, such as Rachel Corrie?

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THE NAME IS PALESTINE

Denominated—oxymoronically perhaps—by some as a "complex emergency," an emergency of nearly fifty years duration if one counts only from the *nakba* (setback) and the consequent Israeli military occupation of Palestinian territories seized following the 1967 June (or 6 day) War, but well over half a century calculating from the *nakba* (catastrophe) and the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, the relentless Palestine/Israel conflict also comes under the rubric of "overdetermined atrocities" in "currently sensitive areas." Egregious human rights abuses continue to emerge out of the competing activities of contenders to the territory, activities that warranted the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.* A near irremediable "conflict area," others would argue in the bleak attempt to exculpate Caterpillar's complicity in the commission of those abuses. Or is "Palestine" to be indefinitely deferred to the perpetual courtroom ruminations of a "political question"? The biographical histories embedded in *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*—Rachel Corrie, et al., Caterpillar, etc.—offer a provocative opportunity to probe the relation of a "200-year-old statute with the modern-day concept of human rights litigation" (Geannette 1009). No less significantly, however, perhaps Palestine too will eventually earn its rightful name—Palestine—both before the courts of world opinion as well as in international tribunals and institutions. In the meantime, Jeff Halper recommends a "divestment campaign against Caterpillar" (288–89), a campaign that would draw on the resources of individual experience, personal testimony, and collective action alike in challenging both corporate derelictions and hegemonic disregard for human rights abuses, in the courtroom, in the boardroom, and in the corridors of power, to rebuild Palestinian homes and hopes.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I want to express my appreciation to the Center for Constitutional Rights for its provision of vital documents related to the case of *Corrie et al. v. Caterpillar, Inc.*, as well as to audiences at the American University in Cairo and at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's Center for Biographical Research, where early versions of this paper were presented. Special thanks go to Purnima Bose and Laura E. Lyons.

1. *Filártiga v. Peña-Irala* is often credited with relaunching prosecutions under the Alien Torts Statute. Filed in 1979, the Paraguayan family of Joelito Filártiga charged that their son had been kidnapped and tortured to death by Américo Norberto Peña-Irala, Inspector General of Police in Asunción, Paraguay in 1976. The court decided on appeal in 1980 in favor of the Filártiga family.

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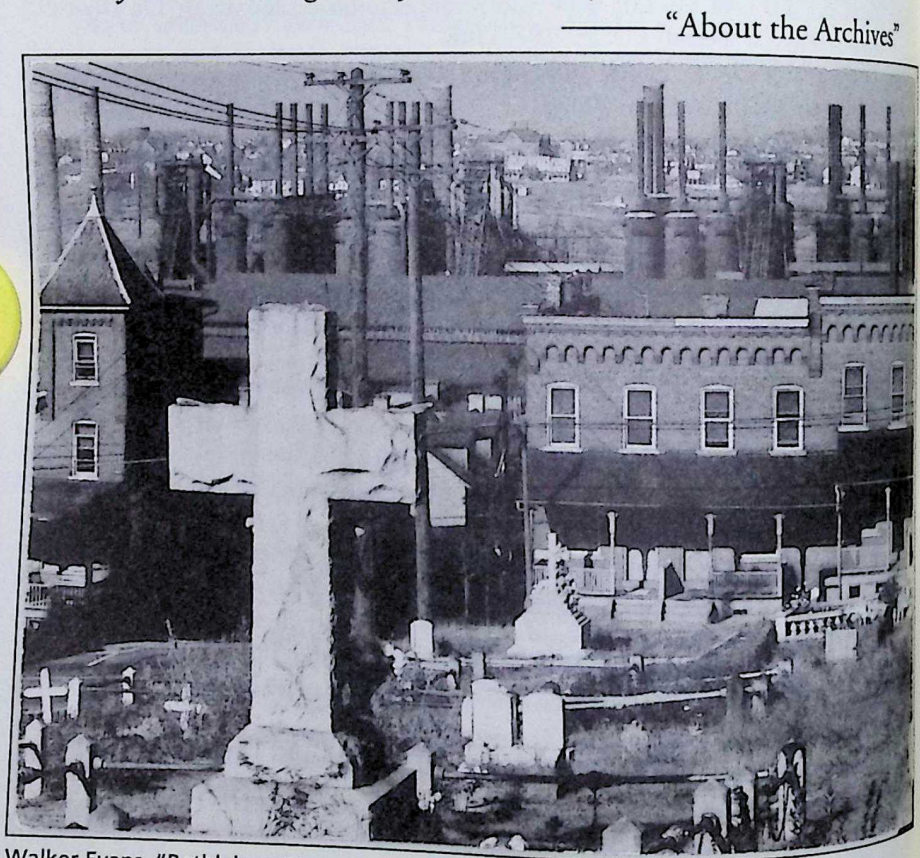
REWRITING THE DEATH AND AFTERLIFE OF A CORPORATION: BETHLEHEM STEEL

MICHAEL D. KENNEDY

Whether through work, family or friends, by its bounty or its decline, everyone in the Lehigh Valley was touched by the Steel.

———"About the Archives"



Walker Evans, "Bethlehem Graveyard and Steelmill," 1935.[1]

Biography 37.1 (Winter 2014) © Biographical Research Center

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The Steelworkers' Archive, one of the most important articulations of Bethlehem Steel's history, gets it right. And Jon Stewart got it wrong when he said "I still don't understand how a corporation can have person-hood if it has no soul and never dies." Bethlehem Steel died, and its afterlife is manifest in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania today. To attribute mortality, afterlife, and even "soul" to a corporation seems antithetical to the critical spirit that informs many current studies of corporations. However, focusing on particular corporate deaths and their afterlives is important for thinking about the place of corporations in communities, nations, and the world. To recognize how various stakeholders account for the life, death, and even soul of a corporation can help us appreciate the scripts people use to diagnose their present and envision their future even as they recall their past. Yet regardless of prognostic value, corporate afterlives also help us see more clearly the relationality at the heart of any corporate life story. In the afterlife of a corporation, those legally authorized through corporate personhood to tell the corporate tale lose their voice. Others, always already present but rarely so audible, gain additional volume through a moral authority elevated by job loss through no fault of their own. Of course, others can make corporate decline labor's fault.

When so many voices compete to explain the cause and consequences of any corporate death, critical theorists must struggle to tease out the threads of the social fabric of particular sites that have suffered loss. Scholars embedded in a community who not only engage a corporation's authoritative managerial class but also address those who contribute their labor to the daily operations of the corporation can't help but recognize the relationality at the heart of the corporate life story. One can't overlook how any account of a corporation's trajectory must implicitly, if not explicitly, offer an account of the relationship between labor and management, between community and business, in that corporation's story. Those struggles are quite apparent in Bethlehem, and have become even more discursively evident in the corporation's afterlife.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation went bankrupt in 2001 and was dissolved by 2003. In other words, "The Steel" died. The people of Bethlehem use that term to refer to the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, not to a fictitious corporate personhood. The Steel was real. The Steel was a place—"down at The Steel." It was an actor—"Without The Steel, I could never have sent my kids to college." It was also salvation, for people owed prosperities of which they could hardly have dreamed otherwise to The Steel. But The Steel could also be a demon. Brothers, sons, and fathers, and one daughter, died in serving The Steel.[2]

For those focused on corporate legal fictions, The Steel was born in 1904 when it became a corporation. Developing its manufacturing niche in armaments, shipbuilding, and structural shapes for construction over its first

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decades, it also led the way among "Little Steel" (to be contrasted with U.S. Steel) in resisting the organization of independent unions. By the late 1950s, management and labor (through the United Steel Workers) had achieved a relative compromise. By the late 1970s, The Steel faced a number of problems for which it was ill prepared. In the following decades, its corporate strategy focused, among other things, on shedding non-core business activities. Whether that was simply a mistaken strategy, or whether The Steel's demise was inevitable given broader changes in trade, investment, and technology, remains a matter of debate. What is not debatable, however, is that Bethlehem Steel's decline and bankruptcy devastated the community in which it was founded, and that the memory of its life and death shapes the making of Bethlehem, as a community, even today.

In what follows, I elaborate the various stories that those connected to Bethlehem and The Steel offer in their accounts of The Steel's life, death, and soul. I draw on more conventional forms of life writing like memoirs of its executives and workers as well as their oral histories. I also turn to less typical sources, including Facebook accounts about Bethlehem and the more material reminders of Bethlehem Steel's presence, from monuments it made to physical infrastructures it left. Having grown up in Bethlehem, I also draw on my own family's oral history and archives to tell different aspects of this story.

My father, Floyd D. Kennedy, worked at The Steel from 1938 through his retirement in 1982. He began in their management training course as a "looper," the term used for these trainees, invoking both the "loop" around The Steel's various plants and a round of golf, the game favored by The Steel's management. He finished his career as the Sales Manager for tubular products, putting him at the boundary between top and middle management. Most of my extended family members and childhood friends' relatives worked there too. They were executives like my dad; they also were clerks and laborers in the plant. My beloved Uncle Bill Petfield worked as a laborer across all three shifts down at The Steel without the relative security his younger brother enjoyed in a foreman's higher grade. My friends in the public schools of Hellertown cut across all Bethlehem's classes. Those with whom I golfed at Saucon Valley Country Club had privileged lives, a distinction I saw up close when I caddied for their elders in the summer of 1979. My social circles were wide. I learned much from both family and family friends.[3] For those from Bethlehem as I am, the articulation of these various narratives is intrinsically interesting. For most reading this volume, however, Bethlehem Steel's story becomes most important insofar as it informs broader approaches to life writing and critical corporate studies. Like many other residents of "company towns" across the United States that have experienced deindustrialization, the people of Bethlehem know all too well that corporations do indeed die, and when they do.

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what remains are the people and the place. Our accounts of a corporation's demise, then, matter most urgently for those left jobless throughout the company's structure, as well as for those who must contend with rebuilding a local economy and the aftereffects of such loss on the fabric of a community. It also matters for those of us who want the corporations and commercial enterprises that take root in particular places to be accountable not just to shareholders or investors but also to the local communities in which they operate.

In the end, Bethlehem Steel's life, death, and afterlife create the conditions for a different, if not more vital, social imaginary than those whose lives and communities are defined by the continuities of corporate hegemony. Radical transformations like those Bethlehem Steel and its community have endured should inspire a much more vigorous sense of the times in which we live and what might otherwise be. Indeed, that chance to envision richer alternative futures also depends on recognizing how differently the past is understood through various corporate life narratives told after, and accounting for, corporate death. And in this instance, that begins with a fuller accounting of Bethlehem Steel's life and death.

Working in what they call "critical corporate studies," Purnima Bose and Laura E. Lyons mobilize a number of corporate life histories, organized around the premise that "the stories corporations tell about themselves and the ways that they weave corporate history into the larger narratives of communities and nations [are] a means of consolidating and justifying their practices." They use

> memoirs of CEOs, annual reports, management manuals, advertising campaigns, Web sites, customer-service publications, employee recruitment materials, corporate-sponsored educational materials and activist cultural production to map the rhetorical maneuvers that consolidate and obscure the powerful cultural, economic, and political operations that sustain companies in present-day capitalism. ("Introduction" 3, 4)

The significance of their approach became even more apparent to me as I read Bethlehem Steel materials like those they described for other corporations. Many of The Steel's representations did indeed hide some of its greatest troubles. These publications also obscured labor's place in the corporation. Corporate histories devote little space to documenting labor, its lives, or its strategies. The life writing of executives, their (auto)biographies, reflect and reinforce those academic portraits. Histories of a broader industry, like Thomas Misa's *A Nation of Steel,* focus more on market and technological transformations. Indeed, critical corporate studies itself tends to focus on representations of the corporation in which workers are not so evident. Both labor studies and critical corporate studies implicitly develop a critical approach

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to corporate power, but labor studies attend much more to the labor process and struggles to organize workers to contest that power. These two approaches do not fit simply together, as I explore later when I focus on labor's story in Bethlehem Steel. To account for a corporation's death and its afterlife, however, we should strive to find points of articulation between industry and corporate histories, between critical corporate studies and labor studies.

Bethlehem Steel's case puts corporate death, and not immortality, on the analytical table. Although beyond the scope of this paper, Bethlehem Steel's demise invites us to figure the variety of reasons for and forms of corporate death. Contrasting the demise of the RCA Corporation, which unfolded incrementally over decades (Cowie), with that of Bethlehem Steel, for example, could illuminate the different lifespans of corporations. We might also consider whether and how those differences matter for things we care about, including the dignity of work and respect for workers, the health of employees and their families, as well as the broader public health and environmental well-being left in corporate footprints.

The Steel was a huge corporation that was not absorbed by another. Both its headquarters and its plants dominated the small town (with 70–75,000 residents since 1960) for which it was named, even while the corporation had an impact on many other communities across the nation, and the world. The Steel defined itself relatively narrowly with a particular set of commodities in particular ends of the market. Some business critics use that corporate strategy to explain its demise, while others simply identify the ways in which "foreign steel" undermined their business.

Bethlehem Steel also experienced a particularly intense class struggle for the first sixty years of the twentieth century, followed by twenty years of the industrial arrangement typifying Fordism. Others invoke that class compromise as the critical element accounting for Bethlehem Steel's end. Finally, the memory of Bethlehem Steel's life is now recast in a context of relative economic rebound, albeit defined by a kind of community without the solidarities of which Bethlehem Steel was part, and The Steel that labor built.

Bethlehem Steel's expiration enables us to consider the significance of a corporation's own afterlife. In particular, how does its remembrance shape imaginations of alternatives for individuals and the communities of which they are part? With the death of Bethlehem Steel, the community's residents and its former employees struggled to find their economic survival while often using the life story of Bethlehem Steel to shape their sense of what they faced and what was possible. On the one hand, there are real investments in the community and former corporate landscape that make stark the difference between then and now, between a steelmaker and a dream maker, between a Bethlehem Steel and a Sands Casino, which opened in 2009 on

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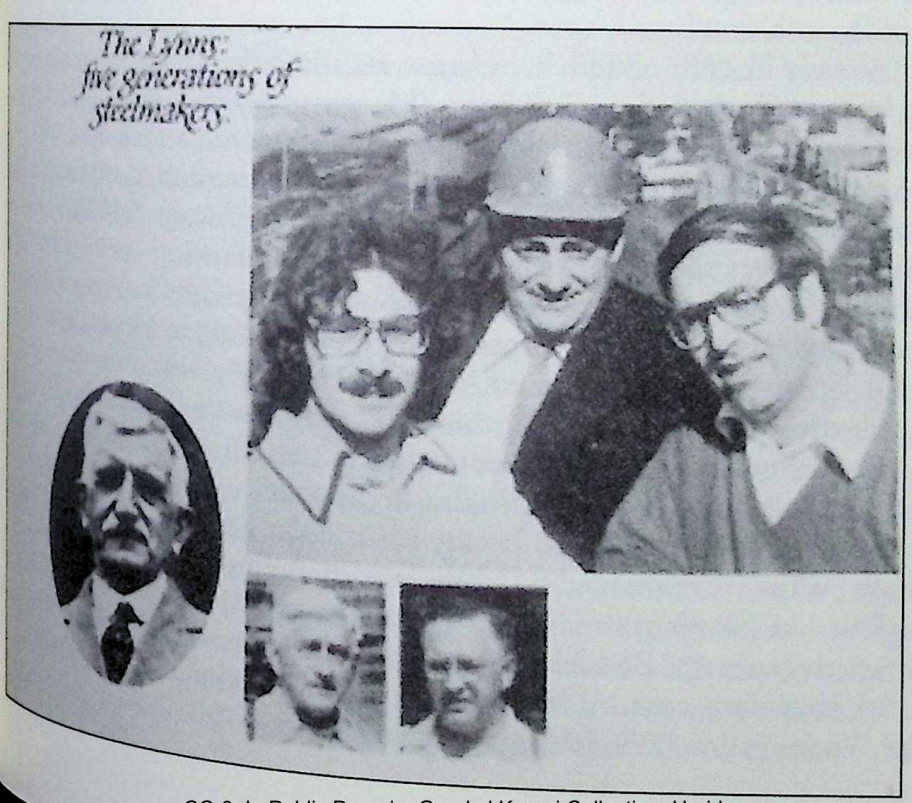
the very remains atop The Steel. On the other hand, such contrasts can live in more cultural formations too, where memories are sparked by new views of past memorials, or troubling remembrances of injustices and indignities never reconciled.

BETHLEHEM STEEL'S CORPORATE LIFE STORY

The beginning of Bethlehem Steel's end may have begun some thirty-five years ago, but was hardly evident in the celebrations that took place at the time.[4] Published in 1980, Bethlehem Steel's Diamond Jubilee booklet, *Recollections: In Celebration of 75 Years*, is triumphant. Beginning with its incorporation in 1904, continuing on with its technological innovations, major products, and corporate acquisitions, and finishing, in 1978, with a celebration of its "L' blast furnace, largest and most modern in the Western Hemisphere," the booklet represents Bethlehem Steel as a corporate and technological dynamo that was also very much a family affair. On the booklet's first page, the corporation's promoters celebrate five generations of the Lynn family who made iron and steel in South Bethlehem. The booklet's dedication "to the men and women of Bethlehem Steel—past and present—who have made our corporation what it is today" depends on life stories like that offered by the Lynn family.



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Were Bethlehem Steel's corporate trajectory to have ended in this public relations attempt to paint a family of managers and laborers commonly proud of product and generations of dedicated service, one could undertake a more conventional critical tale, one that typically begins with deconstructing the familiar corporate history. Corporate histories of dead firms, however, bear some affinities with critical corporate studies. Far from legitimating corporate practices, such historians work to determine what went wrong, and why a corporation could fail at all. Kenneth Warren, author of a similar study of U.S. Steel, offers just that kind of critical corporate history of Bethlehem Steel.[5] I rely substantially on him to narrate the tale of Bethlehem Steel's life and death.

The corporation's predecessor, the Bethlehem Iron Company, was one of a number of such companies built around the confluence of coal, limestone, and railway construction in the eastern part of Pennsylvania during the second half of the nineteenth century. It could have faded like any other, but the company's decision to focus on armaments paid off at the century's end. First supplying plate to the US Navy, and then selling to others including Russia in 1895, Bethlehem "regained center stage in its new field of production" (Warren 57). Indeed, shortly before World War I its leadership declared that it wanted to become as prolific in armaments production as Germany's Krupp (92). World War I proved the foundation for Bethlehem Steel's growth into the second largest steel company in the US.[6] Its mines abroad reinforced its worldly ambition.

Already in 1883, Bethlehem began its interest in a Cuban mine, importing iron ore through Sparrows Point, Maryland together with its Pennsylvania Steel partner. That port would subsequently become a major manufacturing site as well. While the Spanish American War complicated that supply route (even as it provided demand for Bethlehem's products), Bethlehem's Cuban connections set the stage for its global reach. Following construction of the Panama Canal, the rich iron ore to be found along Chile's coast made it a new site of Bethlehem Steel's investments (99), beginning in earnest around 1922 (119). Sparrows Point, acquired in the 1916 merger with Pennsylvania Steel, became the destination mill for these ores, and the site for shipbuilding too.

Bethlehem Steel built its success around its distinction in armaments first and shipbuilding second, but it also became an important supplier of structural steel used in buildings. Using a particular technology for making wide flange beams (that enabled a lighter steel that could be used for and was exemplified in New York's Gimbels Department store in the first decade of the twentieth century), Bethlehem Steel became central to the skyscraper boom of the twentieth century, contributing to approximately 85 percent of the New York skyline (*PBS39 Documentaries*).[8]

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During the 1920s, the corporation also was able to buy a number of smaller steel-associated manufacturing sites, increasing its capacities in a variety of specializations such as fabricated steel, structural steel, and even such commodities as wire and tubular products in addition to their earlier production of rail and plate. In the 1930s, the company moved into sheet steel, and by 1939, with all these acquisitions, Bethlehem Steel had become the second largest steel company in the world.

And then World War II began. One legend describes how, as he was playing golf at Saucon Valley Country Club, Eugene Grace, The Steel's Chairman of the Board, remarked upon learning the news: "we are going to make a lot of money" (Warren 143). Of course, corporate taxes increased between 1940 and 1942, from 24 to 40 percent, with the excess profits tax at 95 per cent (Koistinen 430). Because of those taxes, The Steel did not earn as much as Grace expected, but it did operate at full capacity. In fact, in 1941 Bethlehem Steel led all corporations in defense contracts, enjoying $1 billion in orders (Koistinen 170).[9]

Grace continued to lead the company, eventually resigning as president but remaining chairman of the board until 1957, years that may have been the company's very best (Warren 151). In 1959, the steel workers went on strike for 117 days, and Vice President Nixon oversaw the agreement that brought workers back to work. But the corporation passed on the higher costs of labor in the form of new prices, and at the same time found new competitors. As foreign producers developed new capacities and so called "mini-mills" emerged with new technologies responding to different kinds of demand for steel, Bethlehem Steel faced a different kind of consumer market.

The watershed moment for The Steel may have been in 1967 when it, together with U.S. Steel, lost the bid to build the "Twin Towers" of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan.[10] A variety of fabricators with significant foreign investment built the Towers, signaling the beginning of the "foreign steel" problem.[11] Following that loss, Bethlehem Steel should have recognized that it faced a different era than the one in which it became great. Perhaps The Steel could not recognize those changes because it was too busy building a steel company that its management thought its customers should want. During the 1960s and 1970s, it built three monuments to what the steel business was supposed to be.

In 1961, Bethlehem Steel completed a magnificent research facility on the mountain separating the plant from the homes of the elites in Saucon Valley.[12] Homer Research Labs, named for The Steel's previous chairman, was at the time the largest steel research complex in the world. Located on 1,000 acres atop South Mountain, with eight buildings and nearly 1,000 researchers, these

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labs were responsible for technological innovations of various sorts (Shoppel), most famously a kind of rust-resistant coated steel called Galvalume.[13]

Another monument to The Steel's ambitions was a factory in Indiana, the Burns Harbor plant on Lake Michigan built in the beginning of the 1960s to capture Midwest markets (Warren 174). It became the corporation's largest plant, and was the only fully integrated steel plant in America built from scratch in the last half of the twentieth century (Martin 133–43). At the time, it was a terrific source of pride for The Steel, especially in management; its superior quality represented what Bethlehem did best: making high quality product at competitive prices.[14] However, those in charge of the Burns Harbor facility, like other plants, did not anticipate properly the shift in technology toward the use of recyclable steel scrap in electric furnace melting "minimills" (Lovis, "Final Years").

Between 1969 and 1972, The Steel built a more ostentatious monument to its ambitions and its identification with Bethlehem: a new executive building, "Martin Tower," named for another Steel chairman. Edmund Martin himself suggested that building the tower at this time was the signal of The Steel's commitment to the city (152). Given the nature and scope of its business, The Steel could have relocated its headquarters to New York but chose to keep its headquarters in Bethlehem, and built magnificence right there.

Corporate historian Warren wonders whether the aged leadership in the end of the 1950s kept The Steel from recognizing the transformations necessary (185). Some thought the company's zenith came in 1974, when Stewart Cort handed the reins over to Lew Foy. But it was under Cort's leadership that the problems of insularity became most apparent, at least to those who could read behind the headlines and knew the social and family ties that constituted The Steel's elite. Cort was himself the son of a director of Bethlehem Steel who had been Vice President for Operations before retiring in 1957 (Martin 77). The younger Cort's stepson, Jerry Johnstone, became Manager of Sales in St. Louis, and Stewart Cort's brother in law, C. Thompson Stott, became senior Vice President of Operations. Although not openly discussed in Bethlehem at the time, kinship and dense network ties likely blinded the upper reaches of Bethlehem's management to the market changes happening around them.

Bethlehem Steel's decline became distinctly apparent in 1977 when the company produced its first deficit since 1933 (Warren 199). Their Diamond Jubilee was no time to sound worried, however, and in fact they didn't appear to be concerned with costs. Lew Foy organized a spectacular trip for The Steel's management to Boca Raton, Florida in June 1980 to introduce the team to Don Trautlein, the man who would succeed him. An outsider—he previously handled Bethlehem Steel for the financial firm Price Waterhouse—Trautlein

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was supposed to clean things up. The Steel's elite apparently knew financial troubles were coming, but changes at the top may not have been enough. "The company parochialism continued," Warren writes, "it was a matter for remark that the top management did not include anyone with work experience outside the United States. On the other hand, it was true that the handful of vice presidents brought in from the outside proved disappointing" (210).

Nevertheless, Don Trautlein was determined to cut and focus production. He appointed Walt Williams, a long-standing Steel man and former vice president of shipbuilding, as president.[15] With three others, including D. Sheldon Arnot, Paul A. Henschen, and Edward H. Kottcamp, Williams was charged with turning The Steel around (Warren 220–21). The executives recognized the bad investments of the past, and a profound lack of long-term strategic thinking. Outside consultants advised them of bankruptcy's possibility. The old managerial guard, it is said, forced Trautlein out in just a few years. Walt Williams then became Chairman. However, in his account of The Steel, Warren is not kind: he found that Williams was

> infinitely better equipped to understand steel making. He was less trained to pursue cost economy and, most dangerous of all, was also emotionally committed to preserve as much as possible of the old Bethlehem Steel Corporation. This emotional attachment was particularly unfortunate when a second major report by outside consultants made clear that survival might depend on a radical shake-up. (222)

Of course, the crisis of Bethlehem Steel was much bigger than any individual. The company was insulated even beyond its management; it was the only major steel company in the 1980s without a principal Japanese partner of some sort (223). The company also failed to diversify, as U.S. Steel did when it acquired Marathon Oil; in fact, The Steel divested its non-steel holdings (226).

There certainly were problems in management. Williams retired in 1992. His successors struggled with the business plan, but they did manage, by 1998, to make Bethlehem Steel the country's largest plate producer (255). In that same year, they closed the last plant in South Bethlehem. They kept other plants operational, including Sparrows Point, Burns Harbor, and Steelton. But while these more modern plants were profitable, the company's overall finances were not. Bethlehem Steel filed for bankruptcy at the end of 2001. A government agency took over the company's pension plans by the end of 2002. Curtis Barnette, then Duane Dunham, then Robert Miller oversaw the company's decline and end. By 2003, Bethlehem Steel no longer existed. In a sense, steel making was no longer viable for the corporation. As Warren concluded, Bethlehem Steel was a "victim of its own illustrious history" (274).

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LABOR AND CONFLICT IN BETHLEHEM STEEL'S HISTORY

Because of corporate power and hegemony, the most broadly distributed story of any corporation tends to be told with management in focus. It may also be because life stories—even when of a corporate personage—typically focus on a single subject. Labor histories are inconceivably singular given the variety of personalities, particularities of labor process, and the struggle for authority within labor's representation of itself. Furthermore, Marxist accounts are inevitably relational in composition even when the subject of history is proletarian. Antagonists are as prominent as the protagonist in any tale of labor's struggle. Warren wrote about this absence in his own book: "although this is a company history and not a labor history, that aspect of operations must receive some attention" (201). He gives labor about eight pages in his volume, mostly attending to technology, products, economic conditions, and other matters critical to management strategy.

Labor's visibility matters, perhaps especially, in corporate death, because labor can be charged with unreasonable demands or resistance to necessary changes in process and so become the fall guy for the corporation's inability to survive in a competitive marketplace. Such obituaries of corporations are not only important for those suffering loss, but for those anticipating future labor struggles. Acknowledging how labor process and organization implicitly and explicitly shape corporate tales of life and death makes it more possible to locate the corporation in the social fabric and not only in its cultural representation. From that social location, we can write different kinds of corporate stories, ones that would focus, in this case, on the importance of Bethlehem Steel to the overall labor movement and the fight for an eight hour workday. So, too, such an account would necessarily attend to both ethnic differences within The Steel's labor pool and the moments of solidarity that involved crossing those divides in order to win tangible gains in working conditions.

Within six years of forming the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, South Bethlehem suffered the most openly violent confrontation in the city's history (Neill). On one Sunday back in February 1910, a laborer refused to work overtime; a committee was formed to support that worker, and plant superintendent C. Austin Buck fired them as he had fired their mate a few days earlier. On February 4, a strike was called, and some 800 workers walked off the job. This followed efforts in preceding years to protest both working every day of the week and the lack of any overtime compensation for the long hours. This labor action was, therefore, the result of an accumulation of grievances for which there were no organized representatives to negotiate workers' needs (15).

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On February 24, the workers paraded, and that night, one of the workers was taken from a trolley on Third and New where he was "pulled around some" and his dinner pail taken away (40). Later that night, somebody threw a brick through plant superintendent Buck's window. Shortly thereafter, Hungarian laborers, paid worse than the mechanics on strike, joined the German-led walkout.

On February 25, the sheriff requested the assistance of state police, who came on the 26th, contrary to the knowledge or intentions of the local police. The strikers jeered as these troopers sought to beat innocents on the street, even while Bethlehem's local police, overwhelmingly Irish in background (Yates et al. 122–25; Stolarik 82), tried to protect their fellow community residents. One state trooper fired two shots into the Majestic Hotel's bar, where organizers typically met, and killed Joseph Szambo, a striker (Weiner and Samuels 121–24).

Charles Schwab, the Company's president, refused to negotiate with strikers or with representatives of organized labor (Neill 26). The community appears, however, to have supported the strikers and their protests, at least initially. Following that weekend of terrible hostilities, a number of community organizations sought to have parades, including one organized by the children of the strikers themselves. All requests for parade permits were denied.

The strike committee also tried to mobilize clergy on their behalf.[16] In one letter submitted to President William Howard Taft, the strikers reported that "Father [Alois] Fretz [of the German-based Holy Ghost Parish] who is a lover of his kind and an honored spiritual leader in South Bethlehem," said: "I have labored among my people in this community for nineteen years and I know that the Bethlehem Steel Company is a human slaughterhouse" (Heller 383; Neill 130). In their appeals for solidarity, the strike committee wrote on circulars:

> For years the thousands of men employed by the Bethlehem Steel Company have suffered under the iron heel of the most crushing institution known to the civilized world. Its chief owner, Mr Charles M. Schwab, has boasted and advertised the world over that he owned and controlled the lives of human beings as though they were mere cattle, willing to obey and suffer under the lash of intolerant master, without rights which the autocratic power of the giant institution is bound to respect. (qtd. in Neill 131)

Labor was particularly savvy, for they also reached out to the federal government in Washington, which was Bethlehem Steel's principal customer, to demand justice for their workforce. Following the tragedies in steel factories across the country, Congress, and the President, were prepared to be

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responsive. In March, the Senate actually directed the Bureau of Labor to investigate the matter, resulting in Charles P. Neill's remarkable report on working conditions at Bethlehem Steel, on which labor historians and I rely.

The strike ended on May 18, 1910, when workers accepted Schwab's offer for optional overtime and Sunday work, but with no wage increase. This settlement was tough on Schwab; he hated unions, and didn't believe that increasing wages in keeping with productivity was good business. In 1912, when asked in a congressional hearing why wages went up only 10 percent when output increased 58 percent between 1902 and 1909, he replied that "would be bad manufacturing" (qtd. in Brody 39–40). Despite his prejudice, and maybe even because of it, the 1910 strike and political mobilization in South Bethlehem and its reverberations led to legislation resulting in the eight-hour day. South Bethlehem has reason to be proud of the part it played in that incredible achievement in labor's struggle.[17]

Following that confrontation, both employers and employees grew increasingly coordinated across corporations. Carnegie Steel, which became United States Steel, was publicly known as "Big Steel" for its size and influence; Bethlehem Steel led "Little Steel," a group of steel companies that included not only itself but also Republic, National, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, and Inland Steel. Employers waged an extraordinary public relations campaign to change the image of their industry's leadership. For example, Arundel Cotter published a volume on U.S. Steel in 1915, reissued in 1921 with a subtitle, "a corporation with soul." He also published a small book in 1916 about Bethlehem Steel. In both, this ex-president of U.S. Steel and president and majority shareholder of Bethlehem Steel figured prominently as hero.

> Created . . . from the debris of a failed company, it is now paying 30 percent on its common stock and earning many times that, being probably the most prosperous of steel companies in the world, certainly in the United States. During the same time Bethlehem has changed from a somnolent town to a bustling, active, and wealthy one. One thing was the cause of all these changes. It was the coming to Bethlehem of Charles Schwab. (13–14)

Together with the other "boys of Bethlehem," Cotter tells a tale of business leadership genius. He never mentions the 1910 strike, nor does he discuss the question of labor conditions; he certainly does not reveal how the strike leaders wound up being blacklisted, not only at Bethlehem Steel, but also across the industry.

Bethlehem Steel continued to resist organized labor, even in contrast to "Big Steel" (Brody 165). That changed slightly during World War I, when President Woodrow Wilson established the National War Labor Board that in effect gave workers the right to organize (208). The NWLB sought to

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assure continued steel production so that the war effort would not be dam-
aged, and among its first actions was to challenge Bethlehem Steel's corporate
leadership in its treatment of machinists and its management of labor rela-
tions more generally. Management, however, saw the NWLB as an initiative
strengthening the hands of workers. Building on what he learned by studying
John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s initiative at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company,
William Dickson of Midvale, one of Little Steel's vice presidents, promoted a
vision of industrial relations that informed what would become Bethlehem's
"Employee Representation Plan" (ERP) (Hogler 20–21).

The ERP was the most durable and successful of its type in the industry
[9]. By 1923, Bethlehem Steel had six plants beyond Bethlehem, including
Steelton, Sparrows Point, and Lebanon; publicists attributed the company's
ERP with effectively discouraging strikes. Indeed, a report indicated that the
ERP's dispute resolution mechanism not only addressed a range of issues, but
in the great majority of cases sided with workers' claims (Calder). With the
passage of the National Industrial Relations Act (NIRA) of 1933, most of the
steel industry's leaders recognized the superiority of the Bethlehem model
over having to deal with unions as collective bargaining agents.[18] Further, the
American Iron and Steel Institute helped pay for the model's favorable pub-
licity so that other sectors beyond steel might embrace it (Hogler 25).

Of course, the ERP was not embraced in all households, especially those
dedicated to union organizing. Frank Behum, Sr., a union advocate in the
Bethlehem plant and a fourth generation Bethlehem steelworker, wrote to me
on August 4, 2013, that "The ERP program was a farce. Called by my rela-
tives who started working in the plant in 1885 'Eugene (Grace) Robs Plenty.'
...ERP was a management tool to get employees who were well intended
TO RAT ON THEIR FELLOW STEELWORKERS" (Behum's emphasis).

Despite Grace's best efforts, this approach to labor could not last, espe-
cially as industrial unionism gripped labor. The Congress of Industrial Or-
ganizations (CIO) was established in November 1935, and the Steel Work-
ers Organizing Committee was established in June 1936. That committee
decided to focus on Big Steel's plants in Pittsburgh and Chicago. By 1937,
SWOC had forced U.S. Steel to recognize the union. Bethlehem Steel still
resisted, using a variety of methods, within legislative halls and in the streets
(Hogler 42).[19]

To keep his own workers at bay, Grace granted them the same deal for $5 a day, 40 hours a week, but refused to recognize SWOC. Instead, he armed Bethlehem Steel to keep the union out by force. The company supplied its policemen with tear gas, pistols, revolvers, rifles, shotguns, machine guns and submachine guns, and hired undercover agents to spy on union organizers. (Hilliard and Venditta 87)

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SWOC took on the other firms in "Little Steel," suffering in the end of May 1937 a massacre of ten men and the beatings of many others. SWOC left Bethlehem Steel alone until the movement tried to organize one of The Steel's plants in Johnstown. The Steel rewarded Johnstown's corrupt mayor with bribes to break that strike (Hilliard and Venditta 87–88).[20]

Finally, despite considerable litigation, the National Labor Relations Board found that Bethlehem Steel intimidated its workers, and demanded the decertification of the ERP. The company, however, continued to resist. In response, SWOC organizers declared a strike if The Steel organized another round of ERP elections. Elections proceeded, and on March 24, 1941, 2,000 South Bethlehem workers went on strike (Hilliard and Venditta 88).

It is hard for the corporate tale to address very seriously the intensity of this class conflict. The Steel's Diamond Jubilee booklet simply says: "As the country emerged from depression, labor organized in earnest. Bethlehem's production and maintenance employees were eventually organized by the Steel-Workers Organizing Committee, the forerunner of the United Steelworkers of America" (16).

The *Morning Call* newspaper's history of the time recalls it as something more than an evolutionary progression. After 2,000 workers struck,

> An explosion of violence followed on Tuesday as more than 50 cars were overturned and many people were injured, including three Bethlehem police officers. Gov. Arthur H. James declared an emergency, closed all local saloons, clubs, and liquor stores and sent 125 troopers wielding nightsticks to restore order. (Hilliard and Venditta 88)

At the time, however, the newspapers did not report the strikes in any fashion that could be identified as neutral or sympathetic to the workers. The man who would become its editor recognized how *The Bethlehem Globe Times* had in fact been a company mouthpiece (Strohmeyer 25–26). Today, however, not only historical accounts but oral histories with the men and women who led the union's charge, or suffered the blows of state police, are readily available in *In the Age of Steel: Oral Histories from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.*

A federal mediator came in, and following negotiations, the SWOC, later United Steel Workers, was certified. Bethlehem Steel was the last major steel company to go union (Strohmeyer 26). But the move to unionize was momentous, as union organizer John S. Wadolny recalls: there were only about 165 steelworkers paying union dues before the strike. When it ended, the union organized a parade, and 10,000 steelworkers and their families joined in (5).

Bethlehem developed a more familiar steel industry arrangement in the years that followed World War II. Strikes occurred again in 1952 (lasting 53

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days) and in 1959 (117 days), with each industrial action producing better and better benefits for the workers, with the government, as The Steel's major contractor, allowing for increases in the price of steel.[21] That last strike showed Bethlehem Steel's labor policies into the regime Purnima Bose found at General Electric, one that was more or less in tune with the "New Deal and social welfare." Rather than ushering in a golden age, however, that strike, as many people in Bethlehem talk about it, was the beginning of the end. On the Facebook page *"You Know You're From Bethlehem . . .,"* Cecilia Graser Brandt writes on July 15, 2013,

> I remember the strike, even tho I was only 6 yrs old. My dad worked in the beam yard. Recall it being a rough time & my mom talking about it & making the same thing to eat forever . . . soup! It lasted a very long time. Then I remember my dad getting 13 wks vacation! The contract that broke the Steel's back!

At some level, Ms. Brandt is right. The Steel decided to push all costs onto its customers, and developed one of the most generous contracts for labor in the manufacturing world. It also shared that largesse with other employees not unionized so as to keep them from collective organizing.

For many, especially in management but also from the working classes, that contract was the beginning of the end for Bethlehem Steel. Except it wasn't. Corporate historian Warren writes,

> Late in the twentieth century it was common to attribute some of the persistent problems of the major steel companies to the inflexibility and intransigence of organized labor. Although there is much evidence to support this opinion, there seems to have been a lack of recognition that the roots of the problem lay deep in the history of the industry and that, in fact, much of the reason for it was to be found in the inflexibility, intransigence and lack of imagination on the part of management teams in the past. (201)

As Jill Schennum explains, the workers treated the plant in Bethlehem as a world unto itself. By the 1960s, these workers had realized a certain class justice and moral economy, and a certain confidence in their position in Bethlehem and in America:

> For the steelworkers, the Bethlehem mill was more than just a mill. It was symbolic of a much broader cultural commitment in American society—a commitment to the ethos of manufacturing production, a legitimation of the importance of the industrial working man, and a recognition that industrial workers had earned the right to a middle-class standard of living, dignity at work, and broadly-defined citi-

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That moral economy, that class justice, was all the more special, one might argue, because it was so hard won, and finally realized only after much struggle and additional strikes.

A familiar list of reasons for The Steel's collapse circulates in the community and in the commentary of business journalists. Fountain Hill historian Ed Redding summarized that list for me on August 2, 2013:

> From what I have heard and read, the factors that led to the bankruptcy of the Steel include: poor management; excessive salaries for management; unreasonable pay and benefit demands of the unions; foreign competition; failure of the Steel to modernize its plant; and the expenses paid to meet environment standards set by the Environmental Protection Agency, starting in the early 1970s. The degree to which these played a part may never be determined.

Business publications tell a similarly complex tale. *Fortune Magazine* offers its own account:

> Autopsies of corporations may be harder to do than autopsies of people, because typically there is a conspiracy of causes, rather than a single malady, that fells a company. Bethlehem fits that mold. Its past 50 years were harshly invaded by competition from foreign steel and the mini-mills; by substitute materials, such as aluminum and prestressed concrete; and by onerous environmental costs.
>
> But those are the usual suspects, and they won't get much attention here. The truth is that Bethlehem did itself in. It was not fit enough to deal with the new competition nor perceptive enough to sense its need for radical treatment. (Loomis, Nearing, and Tkaczyk)

Situated as I am between local sensibilities and social scientific knowledge cultures, it's hard for me to figure which accounts are "right." If popular cultural accounts are right, it's certainly foreign steel and US government policies that did in The Steel and the way of life it enabled. Working classes are quite ready to indict management's conspicuous consumption. Both labor and management can look back to find waste in the organization of the labor process itself. These tales, rooted in a moral economy, find particular resonance now because The Steel did enable a community animated by greater equality, at least in comparison to the one that now exists. At the same time, measures of justice rarely explain corporate fates.

More satisfying analytical accounts are typically found in market and technological transformations, especially when they might be combined with insider knowledge about the actual decision-making process informing The Steel's strategy. John B. Lovis offers one of them. Lovis got his BS in engineering from Norwich University, entered the 1956 loop course, and then

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joined the Sparrows Point Blast Furnace Department. He came to Bethlehem in 1963 and over the next twenty years did engineering work at most of Bethlehem Steel's plants. He retired in 1995 as "Director-Strategic Planning," but would not consider himself to have been "an executive." Lovis remains, however, a strategic thinker about what The Steel's prospects could have been. "In the final analysis," he writes,

> there was little that either management or labor could do to change the outcome. By the 1990's new technology, different raw material requirements and site limitations had made the mills and their location in Bethlehem, non-competitive. What was an efficient site for processing local iron ores and coals in the 1800's was no longer appropriate and modernization of the mills was not economically feasible. ("Final Years")

Lovis's account sutures local sensibilities and analytical expectations. Surveying both technological and market transformations, he also offers what might be the most satisfying cultural account for the demise of The Steel: there was nothing it could have done. Neither workers nor management could have saved The Steel.

Those with greater expertise than me might challenge that account. Perhaps a different kind of federal government could have saved The Steel. Had there been a more interventionist government, one more like the presidential administration that saved the American automobile industry, maybe The Steel could have survived. However, Bethlehem Steel's elite viewed Democratic presidential administrations as political opponents, lacking the kind of elite alliances Detroit found so helpful.

Alternatively, The Steel might have been saved by shedding its steel making identity, focusing on the acquisition of more profitable businesses beyond steel as U.S. Steel did. But that survival would have torn the community further apart, if management could have held onto their lives of largesse while its workers lost gains hard won through decades of collective struggle. Indeed, when corporate historian Warren (222) indicts former Steel president Walt Williams for being "emotionally attached" to the steel making industry, he indicts the very character of Bethlehem Steel as well. Its commitment to technology and community could not survive the move to post-Fordism. In the end, I think that is why Lovis is likely right at both analytical and community levels.

Regardless of causality, the death of Bethlehem Steel was traumatic, and has become something of an icon for the death of manufacturing, and Fordism more generally, in the United States. Every family connected to The Steel, regardless of class background, can hear their members combining disbelief with anguish, and with bitterness, as Schennum recounts. Still, debating why

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The Steel died matters, not just for the historical record, and not only as an antidote to nostalgia, but to help shape the community's alternative futures.

Labor's presence enables, first and foremost, real contrasts among classes to be made. For example, in its Diamond Jubilee statement, The Steel offers this summary sentence: "Bethlehem today stands as a fulfillment of the hopes and dreams of Charles Schwab and Eugene Grace" (28). For management and the corporation's stockholders, it might be feasible to embrace that identification, but such a view requires a superficial sense of both the corporation and the community. Far more stories about the lives of common men and women of Bethlehem Steel's working classes emerged in the company's posthumous days. Frank Behum and his United Steelworkers union mates elaborate the lives of labor in relation to Bethlehem Steel's death with their recollections.

The Steelworkers Archive has become an invaluable resource in the community's collective memory. George A. Pinckney, himself a Bethlehem Steel pipe fitter for 35 years and subsequent Vice President of the Pennsylvania Labor History Society, describes the archives beautifully:

> a group of former steelworkers, historians and people interested in preserving Bethlehem Steel's history and culture is working to ensure that future generations will understand and appreciate their proud legacy. Because of the archives, and the oral histories they have collected and recorded, we can know and remember the men and women who worked at the Steel. They were of many and varied personalities, skills, intelligence, and abilities. They shared an esprit de corps and a bond similar to soldiers hardened by combat. They were good citizens who served their cities, boroughs, and townships as elected and appointed officials. They coached children's athletic teams. They ran their churches, fraternal organizations, scout troops, and fire companies. Like the company they worked for, they tried to be good citizens and to serve their communities. (17)

Not all former laborers are so generous to The Steel. David Kuchta, in particular, recalls the meaning of The Steel's demise:

> When the Steel is gone, the graves of the hundreds of fallen workers will remain. I do hope these workers will not be forgotten, for they gave their lives so the Corporation could prosper and grow. Management probably wrote them off long ago. Usually when a worker died from any type of accident, it was considered his fault. It was never the company's fault. These workers gave the ultimate that any worker can possibly ever give to a company. I imagine that many of these workers who are buried on hills overlooking the Steel Company would have tears in their eyes if they could see what is happening to their beloved steel plant. (9)[22]

As Kuchta's description of "their beloved steel plant" suggests, for workers the plant was theirs and not management's. And from their histories, one can

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appreciate the way of life made in those mills. They may not be directly tied to the profits and strategic choices shaping The Steel's survival, but they are part of The Steel's life that embedded it in the community.

Bethlehem Steel's shop floors were places where not only steel, but identities and comraderies were forged. And such affective ties among workers could be found not just in South Bethlehem. Jill A. Schennum worked with Bethlehem, and collected eighty-five oral histories to document the ways in which meaningful work "was shaped in the steel mill through crew work and a complex division of labor that built a moral economy in which principles of seniority, solidarity, and citizenship validated worker dignity, constructed collaborative social relations, and imbued work with powerful significance" (p). Bethlehem Steel had plants in other towns whose workers and others have offered their own labor histories—in Johnstown (Metzgar), Steelton (Bodnar), Sparrows Point (Reutter, Rudacille) and Lackawanna (Langan). Taken together these local accounts would make for a marvelous comparative labor history, one that would complement more general labor histories of steelworkers available. But I also wonder how labor histories can do more than complement corporate life stories. As this collection of *Biography* indicates, labor rarely appears in more than a supporting role, as management, consumption, and other social movements provide dominant descriptions.

Labor might, however, redefine the meaning of a corporation, as the workers of Bethlehem Steel have recast the meaning of The Steel as a site of struggle and opportunity and not just work.

THE STEEL AS TOTEM IN CORPORATE AFTERLIFE

Emile Durkheim believed a soul real because through shared mental constructs and ritualistic practices people solve a problem that is existential: how is it that the community lives on even after an individual dies? It exists in the "*conscience collective*," that consciousness and conscience where "inborn essences and fabulous collective identities" thrive (xviii, lxvii–lxxiii). Bethlehem's essence is expressed in the totem that is "The Steel." Yet it was the shock of The Steel's death that made its soul visible because Bethlehem Steel was supposed to have life everlasting.

The Steel continues to evoke a kind of collective effervescence by its sacred quality, but a kind of sanctity that is different from what Durkheim or Karen Fields describes. Its sanctity is filled with profanity—with curses for both workers and management, for those responsible for its death, and with resentments for the inequalities that many believe led to that demise. At the same time, those impurities can be overlooked by the memory of what The Steel once was, and continues to stand above, both physically and

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symbolically, the community it once made. That collective effervescence depends on moving beyond, but embracing, the social relations that made The Steel a site of real class struggle, as well as a community where people knew one another in church or in school, or even on the golf course. Bethlehem was a company town, and filled with the abuses characteristic of that kind of social geography. But it also remains a place that could revere the way of life The Steel made, especially in retrospect, and increasingly on Facebook.

"You Know You're From Bethlehem . . ." is a Facebook page on which contributors share recollections of what life was like in Bethlehem during the years they lived there.[23] One relatively new member of the Facebook group wrote on August 11, 2013 how the steel plant reminded her of a concentration camp. She didn't explain why, but I gathered that comment was based on the association of each kind of space with death and desolation. The reaction to her trope was swift. Thomas Beahm wrote,

> Maybe because I worked there as did many family members but it reminds me of strength, hard work, and the industrial power that built our community and the nation. I think just through living in Bethlehem during the time of the steel's hey day that there is something of the steel in all of us.

Within seven hours, Beahm's response produced more "likes" than I had seen on any such posting. Nobody agreed, despite the number of comments that followed, with the original premise that The Steel, despite the decay of the infrastructure, was an eyesore or worse. Rather, the plant was a reminder of what was great.

This sentiment extended to feelings about a distinctive sculpture made of a special steel that sits next to Bethlehem's public library; its picture inspired more than 100 comments on a June 21, 2013, posting on *"You Know You're From Bethlehem . . ."*. Some recalled working on the sculpture too. Larry Smethers told the list it was built by Bethlehem Fabricators on the bottom of 8th Avenue along Lehigh Street. Kathy Zoshak reported to the group that, "The steel in the structure is Mayari R, a special weathering steel." Others recalled seeing it being transported by a Chinook military crane helicopter to its resting place in August 1967. A significant part of what made this monument special is the fact that people knew how it was made, what it was made of, and how it got there. It was not just a sculpture, but embodied a whole labor process, and also inspired thoughtful discussion of its meaning. Ed Cann wrote, "I always thought it looked like it was reaching to the stars, like here's Bethlehem PA." Steve Yob said, "I may be wrong but I think it had something to do to commemorate the coming together of the 3 boroughs (North, South, and West Bethlehem) into a single city." Greg Horvath "thought it had to do with

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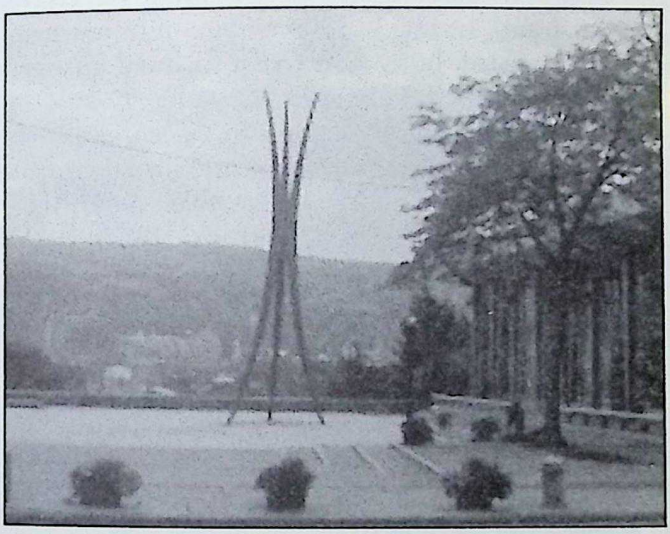
either the three boroughs or Bethlehem's sister cities in Japan and Germany." Finally, after conducting a google search, someone found the intended meaning of the artist, Joseph Greenberg, Jr. for his "Symbol of Progress": "The 60-foot-high steel sculpture symbolizes the various ethnic groups of Bethlehem. Wide at the base, the legs of the sculpture merge, before separating and continuing skyward. It stands as a representation of the diversity, the unity and the upward advance of the City of Bethlehem." The source was Lehigh University's *Epitome Yearbook* for 1968. Jack Ohmacht offered a similar account in his own words later, and Ed Cann applauded: "it speaks volumes as to what Bethlehem stood for and who its citizens are!" Later, Ohmacht corrected himself, and declaring that he is writing a book on the history of Bethlehem and has been a tour guide for seven years, stated that the sculpture represented the three parts of the city that made Bethlehem in 1917.



Joseph H. Greenberg Jr.'s *Symbol of Progress* (photo by the author).

Regardless of the artist's original meaning, the sculpture inspired thoughtful exchange among Bethlehem residents of all ages and class backgrounds, invoking Lehigh University, parts of the city, its various ethnicities, and The Steel itself to represent the solidarity of community.[24] The discussion did not focus on the aesthetic qualities of the sculpture, exploring instead its materiality. The sculpture's materials and the technology that produced them, its manufacture, its movement, and its place are each important to those who recognize in their collective conscience the power of The Steel as totem. In their semi-public Facebook discussion, they put labor across all classes at the heart of what was The Steel. Class conflict is less obviously apparent in Facebook memories, but critical to recognizing labor's place at The Steel.

CASINO CAPITALISM AND LABOR'S PLACE

It's easy for outsiders to interpret Bethlehem residents' tales of The Steel as expressions of nostalgia. The Steel's survivors' recollections are more than that, however, for they also signal a critique of the present that might be useful

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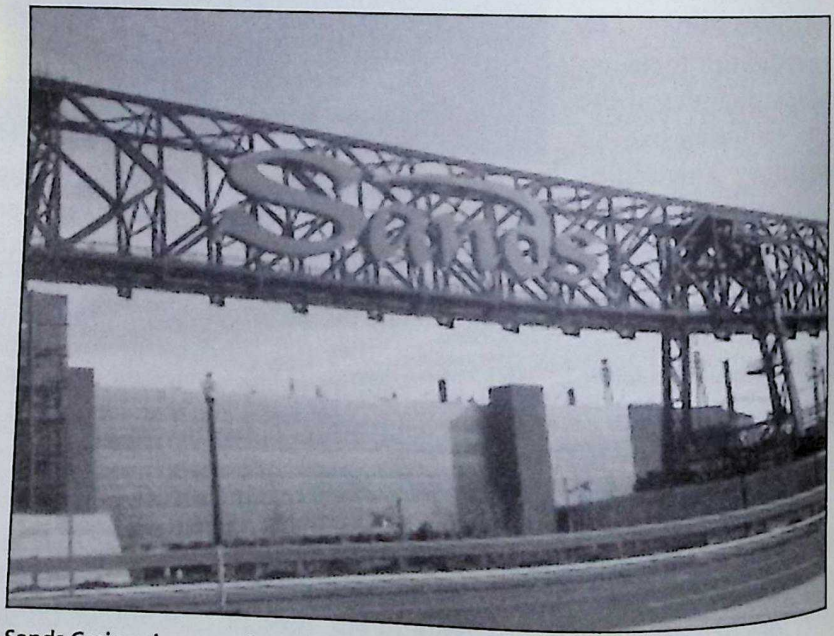
for recasting the future. Instead of focusing on corporate hegemony in recalling The Steel, most residents of Bethlehem remember working class gains through real and courageous struggles, as I describe above. As Jill Schennum so powerfully argues, The Steel produced a kind of working-class morality and community integrity that the currently most prominent investment in south Bethlehem, ironically a casino, can only mock in its historical gestures.

The Sands Casino has risen on the ruins of Bethlehem Steel (Friess). Those responsible for industrial redevelopment regard it as a kind of savior. One generally applauded development enabled by the Casino's investment was the Steel Stacks, an arts center housed in the repurposed steel plant. The capital generated through gambling is being reinvested in infrastructural projects and cultural centers. As one publication dedicated to such discussion indicates,

> The casino has certainly been a boon for the rest of the parcel [the site of the former plant], leading to $900 million in infrastructure investments and 2,400 jobs being created. In its most recent financial quarter, it brought in $113 million in revenue; another $15 million came from Sands's other facilities on site. Pennsylvania requires casinos to pay a 55 percent tax on all revenue. Four percent of that goes directly to the gambling center's host community. Being in a zoned Tax Increment Financing (TIF) district, that revenue then subsidizes other infrastructure projects on the Bethlehem Steel site. "When we were looking for other cities that did a great job integrating a casino into their city we couldn't really find any," says Bethlehem Mayor John Callahan. "I decided that Bethlehem was going to be the city that did it right." (Byrnes)



Sands Casino sign on a former Bethlehem Steel crane (photo by the author).

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Bethlehem has developed a reputation for that management; at least other casino developers now use Bethlehem as a model for their own redevelopment (DeCosta). Indeed, places like Cleveland publish accounts that celebrate such investments, highlighting the words of the Sands' President Robert DeSalvio in his claim to honor The Steel's memory:

> "The whole Bethlehem Steel story was the building and defending of America, and we wanted to respect that story through the architecture and design of the property," said Robert DeSalvio, the casino's president. "You've got people all over the country that have connections to Bethlehem Steel, and I think there is generally a real warm feeling that now life has been brought back." ("Sands Opens Casino")

Indeed, not only is the Casino on the former factory grounds, but its interior evokes The Steel's spirit. As the following picture suggests, "Steelworks" now seem to be the foundation for dreams fueled by luck, by the right roll of the dice, or the right play of a quarter in the slot machine.

Photo by the author.

In the design of the Casino, brownfields and industrial wreckage are repurposed into a new way of life organized around the circulation of people and money. When the Casino claims to be the viable reincarnation of The Steel, it not only tells us that manufacturing goods is an anachronism for

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Bethlehem. It also tells us that the kinds of communities and struggles that once defined the making of Bethlehem Steel no longer have their place.[25] Indeed, it's hard to find any soul in gambling's economy, making the notion of The Steel's "reincarnation" in casino capitalism especially offensive. The Casino represents a profound turn away from what made South Bethlehem the community it was.

As I drove my ninety-something year old Aunt Mary Petfield around the complex a few years ago, she said her father would not have believed, and would have been disgusted, that Bethlehem Steel could have died like this and been resurrected in gambling. My aunt and grandfather are not alone, especially if labor's place in making The Steel can be remembered.

Bethlehem's Redevelopment Authority accepted the terms of Sands Casino when they deeded the site: labor unions can't organize on the Casino's property. Indeed, anything offensive to a "reasonable casino operator" is prohibited. Not everyone is content. As Nicole Radzievich wrote for the local newspaper in the summer of 2011,

> Seth Moglen, co-director of the Southside Initiative at Lehigh University, said the restriction "strikes at the very heart of a democratic society." He pointed out the irony of squashing labor activity at one of the sites where the steelworkers union was born.

"There are a whole lot of things we can't express there—not because we have laws against them but because a particular business owner might not like them," Moglen said: "This should be a matter of fundamental and grave concern to the political representatives in the city, and it should be of grave concern to the people of Bethlehem."

Time may wear down that resentment, may lead the people of Bethlehem to accept the definition of their city as one that enjoys labor defined only by corporate need. After all, that *was* the way of Bethlehem Steel before the SWOC redefined the terms of The Steel. It may be good to remember that, and to remember as well that it wasn't the union that spelled the end of The Steel that was.

At the same time, it's important to remember that the community was not The Steel. In response to my invitation on July 26, 2013, to read an earlier draft of my paper on *"You know you're from Bethlehem . . .,"* Bill Cengar wrote, "While our industry has died, the city lives on, striving, hoping, growing, innovating . . . not for a time that was, but for a future that will be. The city is not bricks and mortar, latitude, longitude and terrain. It's the people, with life, with soul, with spirit! Great place to grow up, still a great place to visit and to live. Whether near or far, it's OUR TOWN."

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Bill articulates the Soul of The Steel in the spirit of its people and the community that endures beyond corporate death. At the same time, Bethlehem cannot forget, should not forget, the industry that made its community in labor's struggle and the corporation's purpose beyond profit.

CONCLUSIONS

In telling corporate life stories, it is tempting to focus on deconstructing the dominant narratives, to highlight the gaps between corporate self-presentation and corporate practices. But that critical project feels less consequential when the corporation is dead. It's easy to turn the memory of lives lost into a kind of nostalgia, but that is likely available only to those who have forgotten the struggles and sacrifices that led to the conditions memorialized. Some can forget because their social circles kept them isolated from the class conflicts or the community's everyday injustices. They might choose to remember the communities made around the many churches, mostly Catholic but not all, that organized the steelworkers' ethnic communities. They could recall the social infrastructures that kept the children of the local ruling class in public schools rather than in boarding schools. They might even recall the kinship patterns that connected more across class than across ethnicities. They might even celebrate the cultures of golf and of wrestling that, while enjoying different class weightings, would nevertheless lead to cross-class contest, and applause, in the halls of Lehigh University or the holes of Bethlehem Municipal Golf Course.[26] But even as the community reinvents itself around the solidarity made in the shadow of The Steel, the class differences and struggles can't be forgotten.

Beyond the historical justice achieved by projects like the Steelworkers Archive, remembering labor's place in corporate life stories serves another function that might be more important than emphasizing the gap between ideology and practice. After all, few would acknowledge being fooled by Casino Capitalism's celebration of luck at the expense of securities won in labor and community. Bethlehem's residents, and others who see the spin of a roulette wheel as their only hope in a world of increasing inequality and injustice, often act as if their better future rests only in chance, because they think there is no other way. But then the story of Bethlehem Steel, through the story of labor's organization and struggle, does show how a corporation can change. At the same time, the possibilities have grown for using different media to recognize how corporate persons are remade in collective memories. In particular, by using Facebook pages and other social media, especially as monumentalities of various sorts prompt reflections on the meaning of the corporation, we can be reminded that ledgers and marketing campaigns don't define a corporation for those who work there, for those who live around its footprint.

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For corporations that have died, the meaning of life writing itself changes. One necessarily engages the meaning of corporate afterlife. One might take Durkheimian inspiration to find the soul of a corporation in the collective effervescence of rituals designed to mark a corporation's passing, and its past. One might deconstruct the nostalgia present in those memories, while at the same time recognizing the loss of corporate voice in setting the record straight. In the case of Bethlehem Steel, those who once had authority lost their singular, privileged place in defining the narrative given their failure to keep the corporation solvent. At the same time, authority in defining The Steel and its life and death remains with those who were on the shop floors and in the furnaces, who seem now to embody more the Soul of The Steel than those who managed its markets. As we write the lives of corporations that promise immortality, it might be good to remember where we put labor in their stories, and what might allow labor itself to more prominently define its place.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Based on discussion among contributors to this volume and the editors, I revised and abbreviated "The Life, Death and Soul of Bethlehem Steel" for publication here (see Kennedy). I am grateful to Shiva Balaghi for her careful reading of an earlier version of this ms, to family and old friends from Bethlehem, especially Christina Denzel Connar and to some who prefer to remain anonymous, to new Facebook friends from Lehigh Valley History and *"You Know You're From Bethlehem . . .,"* and to the scholars of Bethlehem—Karen Samuels, Ed Redding, Jill Schennum, Frank Behum, John Smith, and John Lovis for their comments on a previous version of this paper. I am especially appreciative of the quality of intellectual community made through the Center for Biographical Research's innovative practice, and of those, notably Laura and Purnima, who bear especially great distinction in making the whole of this collection so much more than the sum of its parts. Through their careful attention, they made my particular part much better too!

1. This iconic image is from St. Michael's Cemetery, where my great grandparents are buried. See Berenyi; for a discussion by Lincoln Kirstein of Walker Evans in American photography, and a thoughtful sequence of his pictures, see Evans.
2. Over 650 people died since 1905 making steel. They were all men but one: Daisy Taylor in 1918, whose reason for death remains "a mystery" (see "In Memoriam").
3. I found it instructive, in preparing this paper, to consider how anthropologist Sherry Ortner dealt with her location within her own high school class's ethnography.
4. In this distinction, one might develop an interesting contrast to Del Monte's last pineapple plantation in Hawai'i. Del Monte's identity changed profoundly, and its pullout allowed the Campbell Estate, which leased the land to Del Monte, to lease some of it to the military to develop housing for those stationed on the island. The conclusion of Del Monte's pineapple operations served to continue the foreigner's expropriation of indigenous lands and rights. Bethlehem Steel made no such provisions in its departure

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from Bethlehem, and in fact is typically celebrated for trying to figure ways to revive its economic landscape. On Dole, see Lyons. On Bethlehem Steel, see Brownlee and West.

5. Warren is the most academically prominent, but Lance Metz has been the closest to the subject for the longest time. His attention to the technology and production facilities of Bethlehem Steel's manufacturing is compelling.

6. E. G. Grace clearly delights in telling the tale of how C. M. Schwab found a way around the technically neutral position of the US in the war by delivering to Winston Churchill twenty submarines, shipped out of Canada (41–42). E. G. Grace is not related to the also well-known W. R. Grace Company, nor is Charles Schwab connected to the insurance business.

7. After World War II, Bethlehem Steel turned beyond its familiar proximities and Great Lakes and southern hemisphere sources to move into Africa, specifically Liberia. Note how Martin (113–15) describes it.

8. "The Iconic symbol of Bethlehem Steel. The legendary I-beam, introduced by Bethlehem to the marketplace in late 1908, started to make its presence known the following year when Adam Gimbel built his flagship midtown Manhattan department store with 12,000 tons of steel. The Gimbel Brothers building was the first to use the new beams on a large scale, and during construction the store was donned with a large banner proclaiming it was 'Built the Bethlehem Way'" (Treiber and Kovach 40).

9. Koistinen (434) extends Warren's point by saying the federal government, following the 1942 Supreme Court ruling "to the effect that Bethlehem Steel Corporation's World War I profits on government shipbuilding contracts were exorbitant but nonetheless legal," introduced legislation to assure "fair" contracts.

10. It wasn't the loss of the business per se—if The Steel had won the contract on the terms that were winnable, they, like others, may have been hurt by the years of delay in its construction and the loss of money the contract's fixed bid represented vis-à-vis inflation's effect. Thanks to one of my informants, who prefers to remain anonymous, for this account.

11. "Unofficial estimates of foreign steel being used in the trade center range from 30 to 60% of the total" ("World's Tallest Towers").

12. While Warren hardly discusses it, Martin gives Homer Research Labs its due (99–100).

13. Donald Blickwede, Vice President for Research, considered the construction of the labs to be one of his greatest contributions, and Galvalume to be one of his leading innovations (Obituary).

14. The plant is still in operation, and according to the *Wall Street Journal*, thriving using the business model evident in Lakshmi Mittal's ArcelorMittal (Miller).

15. I would like to see a linguistic anthropologist study the terminology of The Steel. Its executives often talked about their colleagues in such terms: a real "steel man," connoting expertise, intuitive understanding, and strength.

16. Brody notes that this was difficult given that the clergy depended on the company's generosity, and supporting the strikers could affect that disposition (116–17). Hessen paints a much more flattering picture of management in these times, and a view of the strikers that resonates with how management saw them (194–210). His account is remarkably inconsistent too with the Neill report, although it is consistent with how the

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local newspaper reported events. That paper, however, could not be a neutral reporter and was not so even through the 1940s, as its post WWII editor, John Strohmeyer, acknowledges (25–26).

17. This pride is selectively evident, but certainly apparent in union households. An organizer around the 1941 strike recalled with pride how his father, as a fourteen-year-old boy, participated in the 1910 strike (Wadolny).

18. Strohmeyer called Bethlehem "one of the more benevolent companies. An internal union known as The Employee Representation Plan (ERP) had been in place for nineteen years and Bethlehem had led the way in the industry with a company-financed pension plan for blue-collar workers" (21).

19. A union organizer emphasized how hard "The Company" resisted the union's organizing through the 1941 strike. While labor peace was assured during World War II in order to win the war, he says, those hostilities resumed in 1946. By the time of his interview, however, he declared labor and the company partners: "It wasn't a question of whose problem, but what is the problem" (McFadden).

20. In Bethlehem, SWOC organizers felt that they had the greatest chance for organizing those who were working in the hottest and dirtiest parts of the plant. But management did what they could to get rid of those organizers. One organizer claims that he managed to keep his job because he knew some of the bosses, having caddied for them at Saucon Valley Country Club (Strohmeyer 22–24).

21. According to Martin, management was trying to break the spiral of inflation gripping the country when it approached negotiations with the United Steelworkers in 1959, setting off the strike (89). The Kennedy administration then blamed the Steel industries for the inflationary loop and the Steel industry blamed Kennedy, whose labor secretary was the former lawyer for the United Steelworkers (Martin 90–92; McConnell).

22. According to Hilliard and Venditta, 650 workers died in industrial-related accidents between 1905 and the closing of the mills. Most of those deaths took place before World War II. The Steelworkers Archive remembers those fallen by name ("In Memoriam").

23. I draw upon this Facebook page as one virtual expression of Bethlehem's public sphere. It's not quite public, however, as it's a page by invitation only, and from which one can be excluded by those who manage the page. People communicate there, assuming a certain privacy while, of course, it is not at all private. Nevertheless, I shared an earlier version of the paper with those members, and in some cases, asked in particular if they minded I share a posting or picture they put up. In one case, one of these Facebook contributors said, "I would prefer you not use that out of a sense of privacy." I honored her request, but I mention that here because it stands as a good reminder, once again, of Facebook's ambiguously public character.

24. Many in Bethlehem never liked this symbol much—some called it the celery stalks—as the daughter of one of Bethlehem's most prolific painters recalled in that Facebook exchange.

25. Bethlehem residents also refashion their past tales of ethnic diversity to accommodate the significant increase in numbers of those of East Asian ancestry the Casino's business brings to Bethlehem (Assad).

26. I detail these in the longer version of "The Life, Death, and Soul of Bethlehem Steel."

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"REFUGEES FROM THIS NATIVE DREAMLAND": LIFE NARRATIVES OF OCCUPY WALL STREET

EVA CHERNIAVSKY

We have come to Wall Street as refugees from this native dreamland, seeking asylum in the actual. That is what we seek to occupy.

—"Communique 1"

Among the various organizations protesting *Citizens United* and the legal fiction of rights-bearing, corporate personhood, the Occupy Wall Street movement (OWS) is perhaps one of the few to enact that protest in the form of their organization. Unlike many of the groups litigating the *Citizens United* case, after all, OWS is not a non-profit, nor is it plausible that they might, in the future, follow the path hewn by so many social justice oriented groups, and seek incorporation as a 501(c)(3).[1] As an extra-institutional, self-organizing entity, or more exactly, series of entities, OWS seems more akin to what Hardt and Negri style "the multitude," a figuration that many occupiers are eager enough to embrace.[2] Indeed, as this essay will argue, OWS in its various sites and iterations is engaged in rethinking the form of "the people" as no longer an abstract body politic, but (a proliferating set of) concrete, participatory collectives. Yet interestingly, the movement's reconceptualization of modern mass politics proceeds, *rhetorically*, by recourse to the testimonial and the life narrative: that is, the mission statements and manifestos of OWS read less as the expression of a political program and more as the self-elaboration of a (collective) subject. I will argue that the turn to self-narration—what we might call, movement autobiography—helps us to gauge the present political situation to which OWS is a rejoinder.[3] Ironically, perhaps, some of the more rhetorically retrograde gestures to emerge from the movement—such as an embrace of realism and authenticity—are an index to the novel situation it inhabits.

Central to this situation is a fundamental shift in the form and practice of state power. Even as the institutions of modern representative democracy—

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rule of law, separation of powers, popular sovereignty exercised through the vote—abide in nominal form, the organization of power they were intended to secure is all too obviously moribund. Historically, the emergence of modern democracies as they functioned to contest authoritarian power (in both its feudal and colonial variants) required of the capitalist ruling classes that they frame their particular economic and political interests as broadly societal. We might say that modern democracies are wrought in an impossible dual obligation to the protection of private property *and* to the promotion of the general welfare. The exercise of political power thus entails managing the contradiction, such that the prerogatives of the propertied classes can appear, more or less, to align with the health of the social body. In this situation, political power is hegemonic: it proceeds by identifying a broad cross-section of a national people with the political values and convictions of the dominant bloc. For better and for worse, we find ourselves today, perhaps especially in the US (though no doubt elsewhere too, in regionally and historically differentiated ways), at the point of emergence into *something else*: a situation marked by the effective privatization of the state, now overtly dedicated to the interests of the corporate elite (the *Citizens United* decision is less a turning point than the culmination of the process whereby legislators are reimagined as corporate functionaries); by the dismantling of every governmental apparatus for directing public monies to the funding of general, social benefits; by the transformation of "public" debate and "free" elections into sheer farce and distraction. Less commonly noted, it is a situation marked by the irrelevance of popular consent to the exercise of governmental power, and what follows, the disappearance of a hegemonic politics, bound to the unending task of reproducing consenting subjects.

Indeed, it is interesting and not a little surprising to observe how routinely the most astute Left analysts, who assess with admirable acuity the demise of democratic institutions in the US, also bemoan the absence of popular mobilization against the private appropriation of state power. In some iterations of this critique, the passivity and "anti-democratic" sensibilities of the electorate are themselves made responsible, or at least partially responsible, for the corporate seizure of government. Yet we might as readily invert the proposition and suggest that the "passivity" of the electorate is not an index to their pacification, but rather to their own canny assessment that the performance of popular dissent no longer bears on the operations of political power. There is surely something contradictory in remarking the demise of democratic political institutions while proceeding at the same time to fault the electorate for their failure to participate in those institutions or to act within the norms of political possibility (and political reason) that these institutions once sustained. In short, there is something contradictory

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in berating "the people" for failing to exercise a sovereignty that has, in effect, been rescinded by the state.

While OWS was broadly hailed on the Left as the much awaited rising of "the people," I want to suggest how the movement registers, to the contrary, the decommissioning of "the people" as a mass political subject and ideological reference point, and labors to develop alternative imaginaries, contexts, and practices of dissent in the face of the state's neglect. My interest lies neither in championing OWS, nor in charting its deficiencies, especially inasmuch as both perspectives tend to imply that we have already to hand—since well before the autumn of 2011—a calculus for assessing Left movement strategies. Both the celebrants and detractors of OWS, in other words, typically take the measure of the movement by reference to a *preexisting* view of what constitutes a viable Left. Yet what seems most significant and compelling about OWS is the movement's will to acknowledge that our measures are themselves in crisis. No doubt, we know to tally our gains and losses in opposing hegemonic power, as it aspires to norm the terms of public debate and to produce mass political assent to the pursuit of elite interests. But how do we measure ground gained against forms of political power that are indifferent to the condition of our hearts and minds, and that answer opposition through technologies of surveillance and securitization that (whatever their instrumental value to the aims of the surveillance state) are also a major sector of corporate development and accumulation? From this perspective, the interesting question about OWS is not what it gets right or wrong, but how it struggles to reimagine the form and scale of politics itself.

NO DEMANDS

"Dear 1%," reads one of the more widely circulated Occupy Wall Street posters, "We fell asleep for a while. Just woke up. Sincerely, the 99%." In line with this brief and compelling narrative, many active occupiers, as well as sympathetic demonstrators and Left observers, have tended to frame the movement as the resurgence of a temporarily incapacitated citizenry. What Occupy Wall Street signifies, or signified—it is not entirely clear whether the movement is dormant or dead—is in many respects too early to say; for those who suspect that its interest lies in its staying power, or at least the staying power of other movements *like* Occupy and perhaps modeled on it, the question is how Occupy or its analogs will present five years from now, or in a decade. Yet it seems impossible not to address Occupy in a necessarily premature and speculative fashion, if only because it appears to represent the fulfillment of a prospect long deferred: the popular insurrection that oppression and misrule will inevitably spark, a "civil revival," in the words of one protester, in which

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the Occupiers are "becoming citizens" (qtd. in Sharlet 61). This idea of civic "becoming" cuts at least two ways, suggesting the need to relearn what has been forgotten (becoming *citizens*), but also the aspiration to remake the category through new practices of active inhabitation (*becoming* citizens).

Historically, of course, to speak of civic mobilizations in the US is to presuppose and affirm the relation of the sovereign populace to the representative state. In this modern context, "the people" is necessarily a national people—comprised of citizens, the dependents of citizens (women and children), and (or) segments of the population pressing claims for full citizenship. Even from this broadly sketched perspective, it seems dubious to understand Occupy as the revival of a slumbering citizenry, not only because most elements of the movement, to their credit, reject the premise of an exclusionary nationalism, embracing citizens as well as legal and undocumented immigrants, but also, and perhaps more profoundly, because it is not clear that OWS represents a demand for recognition, much less a demand addressed specifically to the institutions of the state. Indeed, the absence of specific demands was a source of Left consternation from the get-go, mitigated by the insight that the consensus-based operations of the movement's General Assemblies was bound to delay the production and publication of demands. Predictably, there was no shortage of academic sympathizers willing to educate the occupiers on the need for demands, or on the optimal form these demands might take, as though the activists had simply overlooked this point, although from the first, the most perceptive commentators began to discern that the focus of Occupy was directed *inward*, on the movement's political self-fashioning.[4] In Douglas Rushkoff's canny evaluation,

> Occupy is anything but a protest movement. That's why it has been so hard for news agencies to express or even discern the "demands" of the growing legions of Occupy participants around the nation, and even the world. Just like pretty much everyone else on the planet, occupiers may want many things to happen and other things to stop, but the occupation is not about making demands. They don't want anything from you, and there is nothing you can do to make them stop. That's what makes Occupy so very scary and so very promising. It is not a protest, but a prototype for a new way of living. . . . [Occupiers] are not interested in debate . . . but consensus. They are working to upgrade that binary, winner-takes-all, 13th century political operating system. And like any software developer, they are learning to "release early and release often. . . ." This is not a game that someone wins, but rather a form of play that is successful the more people get to play, and the longer the game is kept going. (3, 4)

From this perspective, Occupy stands as the epilogue to modern democratic citizenship, rather than its continuation. If Occupy is the awakening of the

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people, as the placard insists, it is of a people who no longer exist at the level of political institutions, and so find themselves compelled to devise other arenas in which collectively to conceive and cultivate modes of political identification and political agency. The strategy of Occupy is about the production of alternate realities in the (erstwhile) public spaces so pivotal to the cultures of democratic nationalism.

As Chris Hedges has observed, the core of Occupy—those who launched the encampments—is comprised of people living off the grid, outside the formal economy, "traveler types," in the self-description of one, practiced street travellers and squatters with anarchist leanings, and no interest "in the traditional political process" (2). While in various locations and for various durations a much more heterogeneous contingent has supported the movement at the street level—eating, sleeping, or working in the encampments—the critical project to occupy and repurpose existing infrastructure was imagined and begun by dissident drifters. Hedges himself is committed to situating this core—and, by extension, aspects of the wider Occupy movement—in the tradition of anarchist politics and *lumpenproletariat* mobilizations, citing Bakunin's rejoinders to Marx and the value of theory forged in committed activism, or "fierce physical struggle." Indeed, in Hedges's rather sweeping account of both socialist and anticolonial revolution in the twentieth century, Bakunin's vision is supposedly affirmed, as in every instance, Hedges avers, the "alliance of an estranged class of intellectuals with dispossessed masses creates the tinder . . . for successful revolt" (4–5). Yet in many respects, Hedges's account of Occupy's drifter core is more in line with Rushkoff's analysis than his own, insofar as it makes central to the movement's genesis a group whose politics *is* the practice of an alternate "way of living," committed to refusing both the hold of property on subjects and a conception of freedom based on the pursuit of individual self-interest.

While the movement as a whole embraces portions of this ethos (Occupy's manifestos are pervasively if implicitly opposed to practices of accumulation that perpetuate structures of social inequality), at the same time, the movement's documents cite broadly from a range of quite heterogeneous political traditions, promiscuously cathecting disparate elements from the discourses of political modernity. The formation of General Assemblies, for example, draws (somewhat unexpectedly) from the French revolutionary tradition, although nonviolent civil disobedience is central to the imaginary and practice of the occupation. Occupy's emphasis on leaderless and radically antiauthoritarian self-governance is clearly indebted to anarchist thought and practice, and most centrally autonomist ideas, while (other) aspects of the movement's communalist orientation seem to gesture to nineteenth-century utopian socialist traditions, routed, perhaps, through more accessible recollections of

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1960s counter-culture. But these historical citations, so to speak, are arrayed on an improvised performative terrain that also encompasses an orientation to liberal proceduralism (knowing your rights; taking evictions and other repressive actions to court), as well as, crucially, an affirmation of responsibility, transparency, and accountability that are surely the neoliberal mainstay of contemporary institutional cultures.

Consider, for example, the draft "Principles of Solidarity" of the New York City General Assembly:

- Engaging in direct and transparent participatory democracy;
- Exercising personal and collective responsibility;
- Recognizing individuals' inherent privilege and the influence it has on all interactions;
- Empowering one another against all forms of oppression;
- Redefining how labor is valued;
- The sanctity of individual privacy;
- The belief that education is human right (*sic*); and
- Making technologies, knowledge, and culture open to all to freely access, create, modify, and distribute. (amendment passed by consensus 2/9/2012)[5]

Here the liberal sanctity of individual privacy sits alongside unlearning privilege and participatory democracy, aligned, in turn, with the exercise of "responsibility"—a term currently central to the prescription for "the neoliberal citizen-subject"—and the recoding of austerity as the opportunity for self-determination (Brown 43). Indeed, the NYCGA's Principles might be read, in part, as the re-orientation of "responsibility" from the individual to the communal level, at least insofar as it posits the agency of social transformation as fully internal to the community of occupiers, who will realize transformation *in the very form* of their self-organization. To be sure, the relation between what we might call the disposition of a movement—its political ethos as expressed through internal structures and protocols—and the movement's aims—its designs for (and on) the larger world—are always complexly interrelated. Yet in reading through the statements approved by the General Assemblies, it is often difficult to maintain the sense of the distinction, as approaching the desired disposition of the movement begins to appear *as* its primary political aim.

Curiously, for example, these "Principles of Solidarity" are exclusively concerned with the conditions for attaining solidarity *among movement participants*. Moreover, reading through testimonial pieces and blogs, and scrolling through on-line posts, one gathers that the preponderance of debate among occupiers pertains less to priorities for change in the world, and rather more to the movement's (in)adequate efforts at constituting an apparatus of

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genuinely non-hierarchical, consensus-based (self-)government. At any rate, the fusion of aspirations for participatory, leaderless democracy with a kind of non-mercenary entrepreneurialism (collectively making one's own opportunities) and communalized iterations of self-care appear with regularity in the statements and other "living documents" posted online.

My point here is not to cite Occupy for its tactical amalgamation of heterogeneous—and in part contradictory—tenets, and certainly not to insinuate that the movement is somehow "really" itself "neoliberal." But we do well to remember that opposition necessarily belongs to the same historical moment and the same conditions of possibility as the power it opposes. And in its central emphasis on autonomy—that is, on autonomous action by self-organizing communities that do not depend on external recognition or sanction—Occupy duplicates, as much as it refuses, the tactics of elite power (and powerbrokers). The institutions of the state systemtically repudiate and dissolve any obligation to the general welfare of a national people (the 99 percent, in OWS parlance) and "the people," in turn, give up on the state. But the specular relation of the state and its opposition cuts deeper still. Even as the state has come to abdicate the task of hegemony, of producing and reproducing citizens who identify with its aims and projects, so too has the opposition to the state in the form of Occupy.[6] As Occupy's founding documents make plain, it is not conceived or designed to give birth to or to launch a political party or bloc that might rise to dominance by absorbing a broad cross-section of society, and indeed, its rigorously antiauthoritarian and participatory ethos precludes the possibility of *speaking for* anyone besides the active occupiers themselves. Arguably, a central aspiration of Occupy is to reimagine the form of the body politic as no longer abstract and anonymous, but participatory and communal. From this vantage, Occupy cannot be understood as counter-hegemonic, both because the power it opposes no longer operates hegemonically, and because it is not, itself, an incorporative political project, even as it is radically open to all participants. Direct democracy as Occupy envisions it can accrete adherents and *proliferate* in the form of leaderless, self-organizing communities both geographically and network-based, but it cannot *assimilate* multiple political constituencies to a normative set of aims and beliefs, since what it refuses is precisely the prerogative of dominant institutions to elaborate those norms for a mass public.

LEFT ALONE: NARRATIVES OF SELF-FASHIONING

The creation of what one OWS participant-observer calls "democratic spaces" is thus detached from actions leveled at the state. Describing the conversation in an OWS working group, Marina Sitrin explains:

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> We discussed and debated the question of demands and what would define the movement, but we agreed not to use the frameworks of demands at all. So what are we about? Most of us believe that what is most important is to open space for conversations—for democracy—real, direct, and participatory democracy. Our only demand then would be to be left alone in our plazas, parks, schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods so as to meet one another, reflect together, and in assembly forms decide what our alternatives are. And from there, once we have opened up these democratic spaces, we can discuss what sorts of demands we might have and who we believe might be able to meet these demands. Or, perhaps, once we have assemblies throughout the country, the issue of demands upon others will become mute. If there are enough of us, we may one day only make demands on ourselves. (8)

Other participant commentators, such as Eli Schmidt, Astra Taylor, and Mark Greif, frame the absence of demands not simply in terms of prioritizing communal self-development, but also in relation to the difficulty of apprehending a complex system and discerning the root causes of one's real conditions. Yet in these documents as well, the postponement of demands is not presented as a failure or an impasse, but rather as a situation generative of alternate ways of imagining political activity:

> We still don't know exactly what are the demands. One of the members of our group, in discussing the criteria for a good demand, noted that Americans like to "get something" out of a political action. Repeal, enact, ban. We want visible, measured outcomes. But we have no Mubarak, no Qaddafi. We are the country that reelected Bush, that bailed out the banks, that has stalemates in Congress about paltry tax increases. Our partial joblessness and our alienating democratic system may be very real, our reasons for congregating concrete, but the precise causes of our distress are still far off, the specific solutions perhaps further. (6)

Interestingly, in this account, demands are associated with a nationalist ideology of accumulation ("get[ing] something")—the very thing, in other words, that OWS repudiates, even as the value of demands is less thoroughly dismantled than in Sitrin's account.

However the deferral of an outward-directed program is championed or explained, Occupy's effort to reclaim an idea of citizenship and self-governance from the ruined institutions of modern democratic politics in the US entails a kind of inward orientation—a focus on self-transformation of individuals and delimited collectives—that has been routinely dismissed on the Marxist-oriented political Left, as a merely aestheticized politics, a politics of being (or self-fashioning) rather than becoming (or mass social mobilization).[7] Of course, as others on the Left have pointed out, it is not at all clear that the aesthetic and the transformative are simply alternatives rather than complexly interrelated elements of all modern social movements.

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But what Occupy Wall Street shows us, I think, is how the terrain of self-fashioning becomes *immediately* political as the institutions of hegemonic political power collapse.

So it follows that among the primary genres within the movement's published archive, alongside editorials and short analytical essays (often produced by academic sympathizers), are manifestos (or "principles of solidarity" or "communiqués") and reports from the scenes of occupation by participant observers. In the vein of the NYCGA's "Principles," the manifestos focus on defining the social protocols *of the occupying community*: the conditions, in Sitrin's phrase, "to meet one another, reflect together," and deliberate in assembly form. They establish a communal ethos, rather than a political aim—or perhaps more exactly, they posit the elaboration of an ethos and of the collective political subject it sustains as the condition of any (outward-oriented) political aim. In this sense, I suggest, the manifestos are movement autobiographies, narratives that represent (the process of) the formation of the (collective) authorial subject in its interior dimensions. Whether implicitly (by the omission of demands) or sometimes explicitly (by affirming the impossibility of knowing one's demands prior to the sustained democratic encounter of participants), the manifestos frame the subject of occupation—*the political sensibilities and sentiments of the occupiers*—as the movement's defining, and indeed its *only, specifiable* feature.

This focus on the political character of the occupying subject helps explain why the accounts of participant observers tend to dwell on the observer's inner transformation via contact with the occupying collective. Nikil Saval's report on "Occupied Philadelphia" offers an interesting example because, in contrast to someone like Sitrin, he remains considerably more skeptical of the operations of the General Assembly as it aspires to enable open deliberation and consensus-based decision-making. His entry from November 11 [2011] opens with a positively caustic account of a GA meeting convened to discuss moving the encampment, so as not to impede the city's plans to make the subway station in the camp's present location accessible to disabled users. "[A] willingness to move would imply an openness to the movement, a sense of clarity over the real target—inequality, financialization, a broken political system—and proof that it's about the 99 percent, not a piece of pavement," Saval suggests, and then goes on to detail the reception of a proposal by the "radical caucus," consisting, in its entirety, of the sentence: "We propose to resist eviction" (160). The group's main spokesperson, a man whose "Stalin mustache harmonized uneasily with his soul patch," advances "solidarity with Oakland" and "not wanting to be seen as caving to the authorities" as the reasons for refusing to relocate, and what follows, in Saval's account, is a tedious and unproductive debate that he leaves "in frustration" two hours

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in after hearing "someone compare this struggle to King making his stand at Selma" (161). Feeling that he has no particular "right" to vote, and "confident that the vote will go well," he goes off to see a movie, but returns home later that night to

> discover that, after five hours of discussion—by which point many of the people gathered had left—the GA has voted to stay in Dilworth Plaza! . . . I pour myself a beer and pray for the destruction of the planet. I realize I should have stayed and fought, even if my vote or my "clarifying questions" wouldn't have saved the day. *I had a responsibility to do so. I supposed I hadn't realized how much I cared.*
>
> The next morning, I read more emails: social movements suffer setbacks, they make decisions that they can reverse, this isn't the only time a potential move will be debated, etc. It's true, and it makes me think that a disaffection with the importance of holding a single space will move outward—"horizontally," as an occupier would say—to the rest of the 99 percent. Perhaps there will be general assemblies in the future that are less about how to live, more about what to do. The decision may have woken everyone up from the self-love that had come to afflict our bitter celebration; after all, the point was never just to hold a park. (162, my emphasis)

Even as Saval's report appears to end with an indictment of the movement's focus on "how to live" as a form of narcissism that risks obscuring the political "point," at the same time, the account of his disaffection with the GA's decision models precisely the process of political self-fashioning that the GA—as a space of democratic "meeting," to recall Sitrin's phrase—is imagined to promote. Saval comes to realize a "responsibility" to participate *not measured* by the likelihood that his participation will affect the outcome, but by the political value of ethical conduct. The experience of (non)participation in the failed GA meeting brings him into a fuller recognition of his own political feelings (his "caring"), and significantly, too, it is the proliferation of feeling, in the negative form of "disaffection," that is presented in the concluding lines as the motor force of transformation. Like Saval, other disaffected occupiers will emerge into a finer sense of their responsibilities as movement participants. Even as Saval's entry of November 11 explicitly identifies the risk that Occupy will degenerate into vainglorious political posturing, the antidote to narcissism turns out to be *more* self-fashioning: the self-reconstruction of the (spread out) occupying subject to guard against self-absorption.

In a recurrent motif, the self-elaboration of the occupying subject is presented as the necessary counter to practices of hyper-mediation that have vitiated people's ability to move in the world—or to make the world in which they desire to move. Writing in the journal *Tidal,* which describes itself as a venue for the movement's self-theorization, one anonymous commentator frames the incitement to occupy this way:

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> We were born into this world of ghosts and illusions that have haunted our minds our entire lives. These shades seem more alive to us than reality, and perhaps by some definition are more actual, hyper-real. We grew in this world of screens and hyperbole and surreal imagery, and think nothing of a long-dead actor appearing on a wall in our homes to urge us to buy or live a certain way. Some generations ago, we might all have been burned, perhaps rightly, as witches. After all, who knows where these images come from? We have no clear idea how life should really feel.
>
> We have come to Wall Street as refugees from this native dreamland, seeking asylum in the actual. That is what we seek to occupy. We seek to rediscover and reclaim the world. Many believe we have come to Wall Street to transact some kind of business with its denizens, to strike a deal. But we have not come to negotiate. We have come to confront the darkness at its source, here, where the Big Apple sucks in more of the sap from the national tree than it needs or deserves, as if spliced from some Edenic forbearer. Serpent size worms feast within, engorged on swollen fruit. Here, the world is chewed and digested into bits as tiny and fluid as the electrons that traders use to bring nations and homeowners to their knees. ("Communique 1")

Interestingly, this manifesto broaches a desire both for something that now appears as a *critical realism*—a world predicated on precise and value-laden distinctions between the "actual" and its mediations—as well as a desire for a normative orientation ("a clear idea of how life *should* really feel").[8] Yet the manifesto ultimately elides any such encompassing agenda: occupation is curiously figured as "seeking asylum"—as flight, not annexation—in the interest of affective self-reconstitution (learning how "life should really *feel*").

I will come back to the question of "actuality" or authenticity later on in the essay. Here my point is simply to suggest how in the movement archive of OWS, the distinction between political manifesto and life narrative seems to erode: *Tidal* self-defines as a journal of "Occupy Theory, Occupy Strategy" and yet its contents are primarily concerned with narrating the transformed and transformative *disposition* of the occupiers. That this is a telling, indeed central feature of the movement is affirmed in the way that the conflation of manifesto and self-narration is *repeated* even among splinter organizations that have specifically broken with OWS over the very matter of this inward direction, and particularly over the way, as many have contended, that in targeting the rotten system as a whole, even as it declines to identify demands, OWS surreptitiously (re)centers issues of concern to the newly precarious white middle-classes while peripheralizing others vital to the future of black and brown people. It's worth noting that Occupy as it reads through posted documents could hardly be more self-conscious about the history of racial antagonisms within twentieth-century, left social movements, and it attempts—all too earnestly, at least in print—to redress the effects of these historical fractures through the persistent interrogation of privilege (a leitmotif of movement manifestos) and

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an emphasis on direct democracy, rather than consensus-based majority rule. What this has meant at the level of the actions and cultures of specific occupations in specific cities and communities, and the extent to which they do (or don't) appear to foster cross- or multi-racial solidarity, remains, quite legitimately, a matter of debate. Yet significantly, the non-hegemonic character of Occupy means that it is not a matter of interrogating which particular interests have been forwarded under the sign of a general (collective) mobilization. In the context of a more recognizably (counter-)hegemonic movement, this negotiation between the particular and the general is rightly understood as *the* central question, one whose answer is decisive for an evaluation of its actual political alignments and the terms (and limits) of its inclusiveness along racial, ethnic, gendered, sexual, or other lines. But in the context of Occupy and what it would appear to herald about the tactical balkanization of the Left into a series of self-organizing entities, the question seems less whether something called Occupy Wall Street (in the singular) is inclusive, but rather whether the various occupations of which Occupy is comprised will (or will not) divide along racial and ethnic lines: will we have (primarily) black and brown occupations in some places, and (predominantly) white ones elsewhere?

The debates around Occupy Oakland, for example, are instructive on this point, even as they also suggest how the stress on rhetorical self-constitution as political activity (not the pre-condition of political movement, but its *ground*) is replicated across the board, among organizations that secede from OWS in anger, as well as those that retain the affiliation. In 2012 in Oakland, California, dissatisfaction with what was cast as the abiding, "unchecked racial privilege within Occupy Oakland's organizing structures" led to the formation of Decolonize Oakland by angry former and would-be participants in Occupy Oakland. Substituting the metaphor of decolonization for that of occupation, Decolonize Oakland contends that OWS effectively continues the centuries' long European occupation of others' lands, resources, and prospects for futurity, despite its apparent intention to *reclaim* literal and symbolic ground from the forces of capital that drove the processes of colonial annexation through the opening decades of the twentieth century and sustain neocolonial relations in the present. Although foregrounding decolonization rather than anticapitalism as the central imaginative axis, Decolonize Oakland seems otherwise to reproduce the organizing gestures and forms of Occupy, especially in its founding declaration of autonomy. "Decolonize Oakland (formerly the QPOC/POC caucus/committee of Occupy Oakland) would like to reintroduce themselves to you, our communities, as an autonomous collective," the group proclaims in its "Communiqué" of 3/18/12. Interestingly, in an allied publication articulating similar grounds of disaffection with OWS, the authors fault the movement's "leaderless" character as a cover for covert

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(white, male) leadership, and specifically object to the absence of clear demands, complaining that OWS seeks allegiance from people of color without being willing to specify to what it is, precisely, that their support is pledged. "We demand that any movement be clear about its goals, intent, and strategies to ensure that our communities, which are already suffering police violence in the forms of criminalization, incarceration, and surveillance, can make informed decisions about our participation," write the collective authors of "For People Who Have Considered Occupation But Found It Is Not Enuf."[9] Yet they *also* suggest that a movement practice geared to decolonization cannot be corralled into any specific set of already-articulated demands:

> When calling for decolonization, when demanding that we be heard, when calling for justice after incidents of abuse, you have asked us, What do you want us to do? Do you want us to leave, this space, these lands, this continent? We do not have the answers for you because we haven't yet found the answers for ourselves. We want you to strive to find your way. We want you to recognize that the ways that you seek liberation often comes at the expense of ours. We expect you to act from that knowledge with integrity.

In other words, the same writers also embrace a process-oriented, open-ended politics that has proved one of the most distinctive and arresting attributes of OWS. Likewise, Decolonize Oakland, while seeming to echo the perception that OWS has cast under the sign of open-endedness an agenda that fundamentally elides the concerns of participants of color, insists that the value of the organization lies precisely in the elaboration of "answers" that cannot be stipulated at the outset: "As a new collective, we do not pretend that we have answers to all the problems and injustices that face our communities, nor do we presume to speak for all people of color in Oakland. Instead, we invite people of color and allies to work with us to build relationships, share information and wisdom, and take action that align with our Points of Unity."[10] The language of not presuming to speak for others interestingly suggests the writers' awareness that the charge they have leveled against Occupy Oakland (the accusation that the failure to specify an agenda is a failure to represent, in other words) might be leveled against Decolonize Oakland, as well.

Another organization, the Oakland Commune, which shares some of the sensibilities of Decolonize Oakland but sees itself as having evolved from Occupy Oakland, rather than broken with other occupiers, identifies not so much as a singular autonomous group, but rather as the name for a "network" of articulated actors: "This is what we began to call The Oakland Commune; that dense network of new found affinity and rebelliousness that sliced through seemingly impenetrable social barriers like never before."[11] For the advocates of the Oakland Commune, the value of the Occupy movement—

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and its enduring legacy—appears to be precisely this networked structure and the emergent character of the "affinities" and "rebelliousness" for which it allows. In the end, I am suggesting, *both* Decolonize Oakland, which overtly severs its ties to Occupy in order to foreground matters of concern to poor communities of color, and the Oakland Commune, which shares an orientation to the conditions of working class black and brown people, but does not disaffiliate from Occupy Oakland, are invested, *like* Occupy Wall Street, in a model of political opposition based in networked, process-oriented, autonomous collectives—*collectives whose declaration of autonomy,* of their singular existence (or existence as a singularity within a network of political actors), is *their political program.*

The political ethos of Occupy Wall Street with respect to differences of race and ethnicity, as well as of gender, sexuality, class, or ability—an ethos that it arguably *shares* with defectors such as Decolonize Oakland—is nicely rendered in a position paper that emerged from the matrix of Occupy Oakland. Placing equal emphasis on the importance of "widespread" and "autonomous" political organizing, the paper specifically validates *both* identitarian and cross-identitarian autonomies, and prioritizes neither:

> As a group of people of color, women, queers, and poor people coming together to attack a complex matrix of oppression and exploitation, we believe in the absolute necessity of autonomous organizing. By "autonomous" we mean the formation of independent groups of people who face specific forms of exploitation and oppression—including but not limited to people of color, women, queers, trans* people, gender nonconforming people, QPOC. We also believe in the political value of organizing in ways which try to cross racial, gender, and sexual divisions. We are neither spokespersons for Occupy Oakland nor do we think a single group can possibly speak to the variety of challenges facing different constituencies. *We hope for the diffuse emergence of widespread autonomous organizing.*[12]

In this framework, the question is less whether OWS has marginalized communities of color, but rather whether and to what extent the autonomies it proliferates will divide along identitarian lines. Crucially, the centrality of collective self-elaboration and self-narration to political practice abides whether or not the autonomy self-defines as identity-based or coalitional.

AFTER MASS POLITICS

If the emphasis on political self-fashioning is the most fundamental of proto-political impulses, it is not *yet* intelligible as a political project when evaluated by the criteria of modern emancipatory movements, which would require the occupiers' arrival (so to speak) into a mass political agency that can produce and represent its interests, through the relay of its designated representatives.

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This perspective is the basis of much of the critical rejoinder to Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Multitude*, as the authors themselves acknowledge in their sequel publication, *Commonwealth*. For Hardt and Negri, "multitude" is the name they give to those who live by their labor and who are now increasingly—as they contend—in a position to claim autonomy from capital and stage their "exodus" from its regimes. "Cognitive labor and affective labor generally produce cooperation autonomously from capitalist command," they assert, "even in some of the most constrained and exploited circumstances, such as call centers or food services. Intellectual, communicative, and affective means of cooperation are generally created in the productive encounters themselves and *cannot be directed from the outside*" (*Commonwealth* 140, my emphasis). Indeed, Hardt and Negri propose, rather than orchestrate cooperation, capital now "*expropriates*" it, harnessing productive energies wrought "on the level of information flows, communication networks, social codes, linguistic innovations, and practices of affect and passions" (140).[13] Setting aside the dubious logic on which this claim to the self-directed character of labor pivots, I note simply that the multitude as they conceive it is not a politically unified entity but a "multiplicity of irreducible singularities," and the burden of the critique, especially by Pierre Macheray and Ernesto Laclau, has been to ask how a collection of singularities (or small, functionally disaggregated groups) might work together politically.[14] "How then can the multitude organize itself," writes Macheray, "without sacrificing the autonomy of the singularities that compose it?" (qtd. in Hardt and Negri, *Commonwealth* 166). Laclau poses the problem specifically in terms of hegemony, arguing that to articulate singular social agents, forces must be in play to direct the process of articulation and provide common points of identification. "The political operation *par excellence*," he writes, "is always going to be the construction of a people" (qtd. in Hardt and Negri, *Commonwealth* 167). From this perspective, the multitude—like Occupy Wall Street, which so palpably instantiates the multitude's political characteristics—is a subject on the road to politics, rather than a properly political subject.[15]

My own inclination is to split the difference, refusing on the one hand Laclau's essentialist construction of politics (as being *always* about the construction of a people), and on the other, Hardt and Negri's seeming dismissal of the problem of the political altogether: in their utopian scenario, the need for *any* "political operation" to articulate the singularity to the collective simply evaporates. Rather, I am suggesting, in a historical context where Laclau's apprehension of politics dissolves, the self-cultivation of disaggregated ("pre-political") agents emerges as the primary terrain for "civil revival," and for the elaboration of a new political operation, or operations. At the same time, against Hardt and Negri, I would insist that a new operation is both necessary and as yet fundamentally *unknowable*. What else can it mean to think the

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end of an order, but that one lacks the analytic resources to apprehend what is emerging? Nor will the slow and difficult work of constructing this new operation be preempted by our felicitous attainment of cooperative sociality through the radical *autonomy* of the multitude's singularities.

Indeed, in Hardt and Negri's account of the multitude's political prospects, the operative force is denominated "love." "As the motor of association, love is the power of the common in a double sense," they write,

> both the power that the common exerts and the power to constitute the common. It is thus also the movement toward freedom in which the composition of singularities leads towards not unity or identity but the increasing autonomy of each participating equally in the web of communication and cooperation. (*Commonwealth* 189)

This seems more an oracular pronouncement than an arguable proposition. Even so, it is hardly apparent why of all things "love"—an emotion so deeply bound up in institutional and psychic structures of property—would be the name to give to this principle of a collective movement towards autonomy. Speaking more generally to the affective dimensions of contemporary political life, Lauren Berlant reminds us that affect has always stood as "the register of belonging to inhabit when there are few adequate normative institutions to fall back on" (226). But Berlant is more cautious about the character of affect unbound from institutionalized social and political life, where it operates to "dramatize experiences of freedom to come that have no social world for them yet," noting how such emancipatory affect sustains alternate solidarities without, however, intervening in the operation of prevailing, "neoliberal" interests (222). In this regard, Berlant hews to the suspicion of a too thoroughly aestheticized politics, though it is noteworthy that she, too, is drawn to the possibilities of what she terms an "ambient citizenship," where "the drama of the distribution of affect/noise meets up with scenarios of *movement*" (230). I am suggesting that what is at stake in this attention to the "motor" force of love/affect is precisely the recuperation of a terrain of political engagement in the face of the "break-up," as Berlant puts it, "of modernity's secure institutions of intimacy and reciprocity" (222). In Berlant's account, however, affect is both more heterogeneous than "love," and not itself a sufficient "political operation" for the emergence of new social worlds.

At the same time, I take it that the critical tendency to enlist love in the place of such a "political operation" indexes (no doubt against the grain of the critics' own aspirations) something of the diminished scale of the political today. Even as a movement like OWS aspires to think and engage at the level of the systemic, it appears consigned to inhabit the level of the micropolitical and the activities of autonomous self-elaboration. This is not to indict Wall Street's occupiers for their failure to accede to the terms of mass

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political mobilization—the (re)construction of a people—oriented towards the reform or reclamation of state offices and institutions. Quite the contrary, their insistence on the need to reimagine oppositional politics in the context of what Slavoj Žižek, speaking at Occupy Wall Street, aptly called the divorce of capitalism and democracy seems to me to comprise their most compelling and significant insight (qtd. in Shin). But in considering what has and might still emerge on the terrain of small-scale, loosely networked, fundamentally autonomous self-elaboration, we find ourselves, as I have sought to show, weighing the discursive politics of life narrative, whether in the form of the participant testimonial, the collectively authored self-inauguration of the group, or the manifesto as it (too) functions to array a political subject, define its character, and represent its singularity and the broader import of its unfolding.

In this context, I want to return to the anonymous author in *Tidal* and her call for a return to "actuality" and right feeling as a response to our immersion in the hyperreal of commodity culture. I would suggest that the work of derealization she laments cuts more deeply to the root of contemporary political life than her (fairly rote) complaint about the depthlessness of the digital image. If, as I argue, the US state has abandoned the hegemonic project of constructing a people, the population remains firmly at the center of the managerial intentions of the state. From the hyper production of polls to the exacerbated surveillance of the population and elimination of legal protections and the rights of due process, the masses are being minutely and obsessively monitored. But the form of the state's interest has shifted. The struggle is not for hearts and minds, but data sets: polling numbers, surveillance footage, browser histories, and the further reams of information that can be mined and assembled into so many profiles of public proclivities and public menace. The public called forth from the data streams—including the "electorate" emerged from the endless political polls—is, of course, perfectly unreal, a model of no actual or original thing.

Likewise, the *Citizens United* decision transpires on the plane of political hyperreality. Unlike individual personhood, corporate personhood is not the re-presentation in the law of a historically dense, institutionally materialized construction—not, that is, the legal *analog* of a personhood (re)produced across a range of other institutions and sites (civic; educational; professional; domestic). Rather, the corporate person, like contemporary iterations of an American public, is a simulacrum. I have sought to show how OWS is in many respects an attempt to counter such forms of derealization by reworking the scale of contemporary political life, reimagining mass publics as networked singularities and the always non-empirical "people" as live assemblies. From this perspective, the form of collective (or corporate) personhood produced in the archives and practices of OWS should be understood as an effort

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to proliferate a fundamentally different kind of political actor from the one called forth in the *Citizens United* ruling. Yet at the same time, as this essay also argues, the form of the opposition remains bound up in the power it opposes and in abandoning the project of a normative politics, OWS also plainly commits itself to the production of alternative realities—beta-testing other ways of living, "releasing" other possible worlds "early and often," to recall Rushkoff's astute formulation. It is the implication of OWS in a derealized politics that the anonymous author in *Tidal* misrecognizes when she urges the pursuit of "asylum in the actual," an escape from the stream of de-contextualized images that takes the form of a return to "reality." Indeed, by the logic of her curiously chosen trope, she finds herself aligned with the guardians of the right and natural order, against the world-making of the "witches"—identifies, in other words, with the historical position of the propertied classes. Confronted with the allure of such authenticating gestures, we do well to remember that reality is not so much real as given, a reality-effect, anchored by discourses and institutions that police the limit between the mutable and the fixed, the field of human activity and the solid-seeming contours of the world in which we are "free" to act. We do well to remember, in other words, that the "actual" and the real world are names for the very constructions it was, not so long ago, the business of oppositional intellectuals to *un-think*.

I have argued that OWS is *for better and for worse* caught up in a politics of self-fashioning. From this vantage, the question of the possibilities and limits of movements like OWS opens on questions of genre: what practices of life narration might be deployed, adapted, or reconceived by movement autobiographers less willing simply to indict the sorcery? By a self-elaborating political subject who rejects the very opposition between authentic existence and virtual play? I have also sought to show that the autobiographies of OWS tend, *in general and at their best*, to break with a practice of representation, in both meanings of the term. They seek neither to array an iconic subject who stands in for the anonymous mass of movement participants, nor to re-present (to put into discourse) an already-constituted political actor. For the most part, the OWS autobiographer is either anonymous (a nameless committee or assembly), or a self-consciously peripheral figure—a sympathetic observer, moving nimbly but relatively aimlessly through the scenes of occupation. And the movement subject imagined in the manifestos and participant testimonials is more often than not a kind of hologram—a projection (routinely blurry at the edges) of how one might choose to move in the world. At their best, these movement autobiographies show that there is no actually existing subject of occupation, but that the aim of occupation is to *stimulate* both an alternate plane of political life, outside the ruined institutions of modern democratic politics, and the kinds of political subjects who live there.

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NOTES

1. My understanding of the centrality of the non-profit form to contemporary activism is indebted to the work of Kathleen Boyd. Her excellent dissertation, "'Thoughts that Burn but Cannot be Spoken': Re-Imagining the Political within Literatures of Feminist Activism," explores both the history of the non-profit as a subject-making institution, and reads selected works of black feminist literature for what they suggest about alternate ways of being political.

2. The term appears throughout Hardt and Negri's trilogy: *Empire, Multitude,* and *Commonwealth.*

3. Modern social movements routinely generate autobiography, among other kinds of textual production, usually in the form of movement leaders or exceptionally committed members who narrate the collective work of political organizing through the optic of their personal struggle. Some salient examples from the era of the Civil Rights Movement include James Farmer's *Lay the Heart Bare: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement* and Reies Lopez Tijerina's *Mi Lucha Por La Tierra.* Barbara Harlow's important study *Barred: Women, Writing, and Political Detention* explores some of the different discursive strategies that animate movement autobiography, with particular reference to the writing of women political prisoners in Ireland, Palestine, South Africa, and elsewhere. What distinguishes OWS, as I will argue in this essay, is both the centrality of autobiography to the corpus of its published documents and the prevailing characters of these narratives, which depart in certain crucial ways from the conventions of the genre.

4. Some examples of academic supporters' pedagogy for the occupiers include Gayatri Spivak's survey of the history and theory of the general strike in the inaugural issue of the Occupy-linked journal *Tidal,* which appears to urge Occupy's practice in this direction. Jodi Dean and Marcos Deseriis's "A Movement Without Demands?" takes the more familiar form of a complaint about the absence of demands—"the lack of demands reflects the weak ideological core of the movement," they aver—and an ensuing argument for the compatibility of a "strategic view" with a "politics of the commons."

5. The language of the final bullet was amended from its original form: "Endeavoring to practice and support wide application of open source." For the full text, see "Principles of Solidarity."

6. For a fuller discussion on the retreat of the US state from the practice of hegemonic power, see Cherniavsky.

7. See, for example, David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity,* especially chapter 17.

8. Another interesting critique of hyper-mediation can be found in "That Which is Most Needed," a comic written by J. M. DeMatteis and drawn by Mike Cavallero. In this piece, however, the alternative to the "CNN reality" that is only "the skin of the world" is not so much the "actual" world as a kind of spiritual actuality that may or may or not gain traction in the organization of the material world.

9. The full text appears without a byline on a site entitled "DisOccupy," but includes a long list of signatories, some individual and some collective. The title of the piece, of course, tropes on Ntozake Shange's *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf.*

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10. The history and mission statement of Decolonize Oakland can be found on their website (see also "Comminqué").
11. This anonymous account of the Oakland Commune was published under the title "Occupy Oakland Is Dead. Long Live the Oakland Commune" on the website "Bay of Rage."
12. This paper, titled "Who Is Oakland," is published on a site entitled "Escalating Identity," under the byline "CROATOAN."
13. This point is central to Hardt and Negri's vision of labor's autonomy: "The ability of producers autonomously to organize cooperation and produce collectively in a planned way has immediate implications for the political realm, providing the tools and habits for collective decision making" (*Commonwealth* 174). For a contravening argument, see Newfield, who reads in the dismantling of higher education an *assault* on the relatively autonomous conditions of cognitive labor in the professional managerial class. Newfield's is the dystopian inversion of Hardt and Negri's utopian optic.
14. Don't the "communications networks" through which information flows and sociality is (re)coded and language innovated *belong* to the infrastructure of capital, just as much as the factory floor where cooperation was so palpably enjoined in an earlier era?
15. As Hardt and Negri acknowledge, Alain Badiou and Slavoj Žižek have challenged the argument of *Multitude* from the opposite vantage, focusing not on the multitude's (in)capacity for concerted political action, but its implication in the operations it contests. Žižek and Badiou "take this questioning of the multitude's political orientation one step further," Hardt and Negri write, "posing it as not ambivalent but aligned with the forces of domination. Žižek charges that the multitude, even in the guise of anti-capitalist struggles, really mimics and supports capitalist power" (168–69). However, contra Žižek, it is not clear to me why "alignment" would obviously or necessarily entail "support." Against the tendency to privilege (righteous) critical distance, I'm inclined to understand implication in a structure of power not as a bar to the practice of opposition, but as its vexed and necessary condition.

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AGAINST STENOGRAPHY FOR THE POWERFUL: AN INTERVIEW WITH P. SAINATH

CYNTHIA G. FRANKLIN AND S. SHANKAR

P. Sainath's *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* is a collection of reportage from India's ten poorest rural districts conducted between 1993 and 1995. The notion behind the book is to cover these districts in a sustained way—to cover poverty not as a spectacle or as an event but as a process. Sainath returns to his chosen districts repeatedly to follow up on stories and thus produces a deep and complex view of impoverished rural communities in India. The tone of Sainath's stories is angry, compassionate, outraged, witty, and not without a sense of dark absurdity (as captured in the biting title of the book). Shockingly enough, *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* is a great read, not least because Sainath resists the easy temptation of pity and places next to accounts of broken lives stories of great dignity and perseverance. In Sainath's stories, the rural poor are not an afterthought, or a statistic, or sorry victims. Instead, with imaginative empathy, a poet's eye, and fierce intelligence, he documents the everyday and extraordinary lives of the millions of farmers and impoverished laborers fighting for survival in the face of corporate greed, governmental collusion, and societal indifference. His compassion for the people who share their stories with him is matched by his deep and precisely directed rage at the sources of injustice that make their and millions of others' lives literally unlivable. Moreover, Sainath insists that his readers, to maintain our own humanity, partake in his fury and refuse complicity with the nameable and knowable wrongs that he documents.

And it is because of all these qualities that *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* has meant what it has in India and indeed the world at large. The book elicited an enormous response across India when it first appeared—spending years on the bestseller list. It has recently been reissued as a Penguin classic. Indeed, the book's success is really global—it has won thirteen awards, including the European Commission's Journalism Award.

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If Sainath had done no more that write *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* that would have been enough to warrant bringing him to Hawai'i for the week of events that precipitated the interview that follows. *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* is just one part of a distinguished career of activism and cru-sading journalism. Sainath has been until recently Rural Affairs Editor at *The Hindu*, one of India's main national newspapers. His reporting has done much to shape not only the national conversation, but even state and central government policies on poverty alleviation measures in the countryside. Sainath has been involved in two award-winning documentaries on rural poverty and committed journalism—*A Tribe of His Own* and *Nero's Guests*, a wrenching film about farmer suicides, state and corporate culpability, and the world's indifference. In addition, he is the prime mover behind the ambitious People's Archive of Rural India, a ground-up documentation project aimed at creating a searchable and usable online record of rural life on topics ranging from languages to farming techniques.

For this lifetime of work (and we have only mentioned the highlights), Sainath has received the Ramon Magsaysay Award, Amnesty International's Global Journalism Award, and the European Commission's Natali Prize. He has taught at the University of Iowa, Princeton, Trinity College, and the University of California at Berkeley. And he came to Hawai'i in Fall 2013 for a visit we arranged in collaboration with different academic units at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and a number of community organizers—most notably Walter Ritte—and organizations including Hawai'i SEED, Food Sovereignty Hawai'i, and the UH GMO Education Project. The visit combined lectures and free-ranging discussions in academic and community forums. A keystone event was Sainath's lecture entitled "When Farmers Die: India, the Agrarian Crisis and the Age of Inequality." Sainath also spent a day at Waianu Farm in Waiāhole, where Charlie and Paul Reppun shared with a group of us their off-the-grid farming practices, and discussed their community's legal struggle to reclaim as a public good water that had been diverted for corporate interests. As well, Sainath's visit included the screening of a performance DVD of S. Shankar's English translation of Komal Swaminathan's Tamil play *Water!* (to which Sainath makes a reference in this interview); a roundtable at the UH Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies, entitled "Environment and Community: Institutional Obligations"; and a lecture, "The Media in Contemporary India." On the island of Moloka'i, Sainath toured Walter Ritte's Keawanui Fishpond and participated in a community roundtable on "Land and Water," where participants and audience members addressed the disastrous impact of biotech corporations and GMO crops, and discussed ways to develop locally-based economies that counter corporate and colonial control over land and people.

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Indeed, the global fight against GMOs, and the possibilities for articulating the struggles taking place on these islands and in India, was one inspiration for Sainath's visit; another was the general crisis in agriculture around the world. Both were important aspects of his visit, which drew together, in often impassioned and always productive dialogue, South Asianists, postcolonial critics, fishpond farmers, taro specialists, environmentalists, university administrators, policymakers, legal scholars, journalists, Hawaiian sovereignty activists, scientists, and many who wear two or more of these hats at once. That Sainath sparked such discussions speaks to the depth and range of his work, and to his ability to address, in a multifaceted way, a crisis that is as global as it is local, as multidisciplinary and theoretical as it is material and elemental. And the interview that follows, conducted in a somewhat impromptu manner towards the end of Sainath's visit, draws on these exchanges. It is fitting that it should be a part of a special issue on corporations, personhood, and life writing; the interview touches extensively on all these topics and more.

Cynthia: *In this special* Biography *issue, several contributors discuss attempts by corporations to humanize what they do, or their efforts to claim "corporations as persons." I realize that does not translate exactly into the context of India, but do you see attempts in India to humanize the corporation? Can you talk about that and how, through your focus on human lives, you work to expose the violence of the corporation?*

Sainath: I love the quote, which I believe came from Jim Hightower, maybe someone else, but I think it was Hightower: "I'll believe a corporation is a person when they execute one in Texas." I do not believe in corporate social responsibility, which by the way is the whitewash that is sought to be given to corporate personhood. I strongly believe in corporate legal liability. If you go back to the original debates at the time of James Madison, you will find *scathing*, scathing critiques of what a corporation is. It's interesting that the founders did have something of a debate in this country also.

Shankar: *I think quite deep into the nineteenth century, there were debates about what a corporation is and what its relationship to the community is.*

Sainath: Corporations today represent the highest concentrations of wealth. And one of the more beautiful quotes from American jurisprudence is from a case that came before Justice Louis Brandeis—"you can have great concentration of wealth or you can have democracy. You cannot have both." I believe that to be *absolutely* true. Corporations are the antithesis of a democratic society. They are based on *highly* centralized, authoritarian structures to the point of fascist power. Peter Drucker, the management expert, once suggested that

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we stop calling CEOs "CEOs" and call them "CDOs," Chief Demolition Officers, because they smash the company and they become richer. And, that is Peter Drucker, a management guy speaking. I think that authoritarian ruthlessness is embedded in the nature of corporate structures. And they become more and more faceless and more and more abstract entities. In fact, James K. Galbraith called globalization, for this reason, "the perfect crime." Because you can't pinpoint anyone and say "these guys did it," and therefore five years after Wall Street tanks, you have not sent one guy to prison.

There is also a history of corporate profit seeking. If you read Edwin Black's devastating book, *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance Between Nazi Germany and America's Most Powerful Corporation*, Black says that while the Holocaust would have happened anyway, the scale and efficiency of the murder of European Jewry, especially German Jewry, would not have been possible without IBM, which made the punching card system and the reference system for Hitler, knowing *exactly* who they were doing it for and why they were doing it. IBM's reference and punching card system made it possible to trace so-and-so with this quarter percentage of Jewish blood. OK? That was a corporation. Thomas Frank, the head of IBM at that time, sent a $40,000 gift for Hitler's birthday, as did so many other leading American corporate figures, like the DuPonts and others, all of which you can find in one of the greatest books ever written, in my opinion, and one of the least reviewed books in the United States, Charles Higham's *Trading with the Enemy*, which shows you that the United States president signed—look at the power of corporations!—an act called "The Trading with the Enemy Act." As Higham asks, how would Americans feel if their kids were being bombed in Normandy by planes that got their ball bearings from Ford in Dearborn, Michigan? How would have the Americans being slaughtered in North Africa, the British and American troops being slaughtered by Rommel felt . . . how would they have felt had they known that the oil of the Panzer tanks came from Standard Oil, under this agreement, the "Trading with the Enemy Act"? Here is something spectacular: when was the act signed? December 13, 1941. One week after Pearl Harbor. It shows corporate power has no sentiment, no morality. And that such a fine person as Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed it shows you the power and importance of corporations.

Shankar: *Also, I am thinking of the stories that corporations tell through the biographies of CEOs and advertising campaigns. So, not so much the stories you're telling. What about these corporate stories?*

Sainath: I look at the stories that corporations plant. Monsanto and *Times of India* jointly planted a story last year, which was actually an advertisement,

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which they had run four years earlier as a story. I had fun with that. I had fun because I had their tails in a cage, and had the cage lid down and just watched them squirm. They couldn't do anything about it. The construction of fraud is very easy. The destruction of a fraud takes a lot of work, takes a lot of time.

Shankar: *So, what about advertisements as stories that corporations construct about themselves, that are also in the media?*

Sainath: That is the far more dominant stream. The valorization of the corporation is how the media do the stenography to the powerful! Leave aside print media, take television channels. *Every* month you will find some television channel giving out business leadership awards to the scum of the corporate world. I think that a very good indicator of where the next scam will come from is to see who the *Economic Times* now has given a business leadership award to—to see to whom CNBC-18 has given a business leadership award. Why should media be giving awards to businessmen? They don't give awards to the best nurse or the best bus driver, or best school teacher. They give awards for business leaders because that's where their money is coming from. In print we've done it differently by valorizing and creating as role models the scum of the earth. Why the Donald Trumps and Alan Millikens and all these guys?

Cynthia: *I think that corporate liability is important because it counters this idea that some corporations are ethical or some corporations are interested in social good, which switches the terms in that you don't invest your faith in corporations, but instead you hold them liable as a way of intervening in their regular practices.*

Sainath: I undermine many of these terms in my writing. I point out, for instance, that a hundred years ago, you know, you used the term human, then you used the term subject, then you used the term citizen, then from citizen it came down to taxpayer, and now it's investor. Who's important?

Shankar: *Sometimes it's "consumer," which is a really terrible way to describe a human being, you know? It reduces you to somebody who consumes.*

Sainath: But, this business of creating role models in the media, that is very important. And, you will find it's always the *worst* elements that get glamorized. In fact, I made a small contribution to political science in analyzing this. It's called "Sainath's law of infallibility," media infallibility. And my law goes as follows: if the media tell you "x" is the new messiah, if the media tell you "x" will lead us to the promised land, if the media tell you that "x" is the hottest property in town, and we ought to listen to him, then "x" is a criminal. It never fails.

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Shankar: *I want to talk about the Steve Jobs phenomenon. Maybe it's a fairly recent phenomenon—I mean, in the last twenty years. I don't think you quite had it in the same way previous to that where certain kinds of corporations which are in the business of selling lifestyle goods of various kinds have this very calibrated, deliberate, and very conscious construction of a life, like Steve Jobs, that is associated with their product.*

Sainath: It's marketing. Apple's marketing has been much superior. See, by the way, you have the lionization of Bill Gates. There was a period when Bill Gates was everything. Apple's marketing was more sophisticated and more clever. Bill Gates didn't have to do anything; we did it for him. The media sold it for him. Apple makes you curious and makes you want to know what's coming out in iPhone 6. They have played on that very well. They've played on that brilliantly.

Shankar: *But also the face of Jobs, you know, the trotting out of Jobs at the tech conferences and those kinds of things.*

Sainath: Yeah, that's essentially a sales pitch. You are selling a person; you're selling a lifestyle; you're selling an idea. And, it needs a face that people can respect and trust.

Shankar: *By contrast to the sales pitch, your writing, both in* Everybody Loves a Good Drought *as well as with your journalism in general and also in the video documentaries, is very much based on narrating lives, right?*

Cynthia: Biography *is not just interested in narrating lives, but in what it means to tell these stories, what kind of work does it do, what are the problems and challenges of representing lives. A lot of the essays in this special issue are looking at how corporations are claiming personhood in order to further their agendas. We thought that the kind of work you are doing is a counter to corporations and it counters corporations by telling stories of human beings.*

Shankar: *How important to your work do you think it is to tell lives?*

Sainath: It is very important in many ways. See, it is also happening in a context of what has happened to journalism, when you are talking about the challenges of telling lives. The first challenge is that the bulk of media are not interested in publishing your telling of lives. Today we have multiple schools of thought in journalism. You have broadly two kinds of journalism: journalism and stenography. Much of what is called journalism, or what passes for journalism today, is essentially stenography to power, to the powerful, increasingly to corporate power. So, in fact, if you look at the UK edition of *Everyone Loves a Good Drought*, in my introduction to it, I have written the piece "Not What the Readers Want" because when I tried doing that project, I was turned down by many editors who had known me for years, and I was

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so confident that they would be interested in my project. But, they told me, "that's not what our readers want." So, what that means is it is not what the media establishment wants, it is not what the advertisers want. My experience has been that other people, human beings, the middle classes who read newspapers, are *very* interested in such stories. Otherwise I would not be sitting here having this discussion.

Shankar: *And by such stories, you mean stories of the rural poor, of any kind of poor?*

Sainath: Of any kind, but also those stories and lives become telling and important only under particular issues, particular contexts. The challenge is maintaining the uniqueness of that individual, but also that the individual's story is a window to a larger community, to a larger process, to a juxtaposition of many things that are happening. If you look at the stories on the farmer suicides, it may start with a guy's story and the story can be entirely about debt. It may start with that farmer individually and 80 percent of the story may be about the difficulties of obtaining agricultural credit from banks. It may start with the life of that individual which keeps coming back, threading the story right through, but it could be entirely about inability to access inputs for the farm. So these lives are entry points. Telling it through the lives of people to me means authenticity. I also do it because I feel something about that individual.

Shankar: *Actually, I really like that phrase stenography to power, which seems to me the opposite of another phrase, which is sometimes ascribed to Edward Said and others . . .*

Sainath: Talking the truth to power? I dislike the phrase: talking the truth to power. Okay, fine. It has its role. It has its place. I won't deny that. But here is my problem with it. When you say "let's talk the truth to power," there is an innocent assumption that power doesn't know the truth. "All that you have to do is tell the truth to power and power will set things right." The power that I know knows exactly what is happening and gets concerned about how to suppress your truth.

Cynthia: *That's interesting in relation to the stories you tell, because you often do tell stories that people know. You tell stories about things people, at least in a general sense, know are happening. So it is not just speaking truth to power, but it is also addressing people who do not necessarily have all the power, but who are complicit in this power structure. How do you get people to care about what they already know—so that you are not just speaking truth to power, but you are getting people to care about the power that is ruining people's lives?*

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Sainath: Two things: One is, I wanted to add a corollary to the "truth to power." I say that it is extremely important to speak the truth *about* power. I am saying that these are starting points. You know how people say journalism is about accuracy. I think journalism is about a hell of a lot more. I think accuracy is a beginning point; it is a given. And by the way, that "stenography to power" came about when I started equating "journalism and stenography." Then one day an old guy in Chennai got up and ticked me off. He said "Sir, I have been stenographer in court for thirty-eight years, and you are demeaning me because we are better than you." I said, "Yes?" He said, "You see, as a stenographer in the court, I reported everybody, I recorded everybody faithfully. Prosecution, witness, defense, judge. You fellows only report what the minister and chief minister and prime minster tell you." So, that is when it struck me he is right: we are not even stenographers. We are stenographers to the powerful.

I do not ever assume that everybody knows everything. That is why you find good news agency style always repeats two paragraphs. Like for instance, why do we say at least once in every article that we write which mentions the US President, "US President Barack Obama." Now, everybody knows he is president, so should we just say "Barack" or should we just say "Obama"? No, you say "US President Barack Obama," because there are lots of people who do not know. That is one.

Second, there are things that people might know, without knowing the depth and detail and intensity of it. Today, and I will say that this is one of the few successes we can claim, whatever the nonsense that Jagdish Bhagwati talks, there is no Indian I will vouch for today who does not know that farmers are having a bad time and committing suicide. That has got done. It required bashing away at that same subject endlessly. It's destroyed my health. Because I have gone to too many households, I have been to 850 households where there have been suicides, in some there have been two suicides, in a few three suicides. But, I know that to back off means that the story will sink again. I also believe, apart from speaking the truth to power, that you speak the truth to your reader, to your fellow citizens, and keep shoving it in their face. What is it that we are going to do about this? Do you think it is important that we worry about this? My experience is that readers and our public are far more idealistic than we give them credit for. The average reader is far more sensitive and idealistic than the average editor of a newspaper. In that I have great faith. Second, there are a number of stories which we think everybody knows. Everybody knows there are poor people. Does everybody know what it is to be poor?

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Cynthia: *That is where I think you are providing thick detail.*

Sainath: And, then, there is one more challenge. And that is, I think that this is the horrible problem of journalism, that we have lost the ability to tell stories. People listen to stories. And I find that I lose that sometimes, you know? When we get too much into the numbers and stuff. And I use numbers massively. I am a big user and consumer of stats, but those stats have to be put in a way, work in a way, that tells something. And that remains. Now you get into issues of technique. But, I find that the average human being or reader *is* concerned and interested about the lives of human beings. So, on the one hand, we sneer at readers' interest, correctly, as in the play *Water!*—you know, at their interest in the red colored saris worn by actress Sunanda, or whoever it was. But, you could also tell other stories about actress Sunanda which are of a useful and enlightening nature, and people will read them. There is a curiosity in human beings. I think that the first quality of being a reporter is being curious. I think some of us become reporters to indulge our curiosity. No individual is in the position to control and determine what story will have much impact. Sometimes a good story sinks because something else spectacular is happening.

Shankar: *So, what are to you the signs of a good story?*

Sainath: One of the most important stories on American agriculture and global agriculture sank like a stone, one of the deadliest stories, a great story done by the Associated Press. It was on how seven out of every ten dollars in agricultural subsidies in the US were going to the top twenty-six companies that figured in the Fortune 500. It showed that agricultural subsidies were going to Ted Turner, to David Rockefeller, for rare horticulture, which meant that Mr. Rockefeller could indulge his garden in Connecticut. It was a devastating story. It showed the extent of misuse, divergence of resources from the American homestead farmer to the corporate agriculture business. It sank like a stone, because it came out on 9/11. So, these are not things you can control. If an issue is important, *stay* with that issue, *stay* with that subject. Sometimes, you are like Scheherazade, telling a story every night to keep your neck from the guillotine. Sometimes you are like Scheherazade having to tell the *same* story differently in order to bring back the importance of it to your reader. I do not believe I have ever done a story exclusively on the suicides except data stories. All the stories that involve human beings, they start with a farmer suicide but will go into some other issues affecting the *life* of that guy who committed suicide.

Shankar: *So, that is a kind of a way of trying to honor something about the lives themselves?*

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Sainath: See, the life is very important. It is also the difference between event reporting and process reporting. The event reporting is "he died"; the process reporting is "what brought him to that stage."

Shankar: *And that is where the narration of lives comes in?*

Sainath: I think so, yes. That is one of the reasons why narration of life comes in. I think it is infinitely more challenging to a writer to capture the process than to capture the event. It is very simple and easy . . . anyone with a pen and a paper or an iPad or whatever they use can cover an event.

Cynthia: *You are also getting to that issue of how balance is a complete illusion, right? Because you have all the power on one side, and it's as if "those in power say this, these other people say this, I've covered both sides," when the two sides are not in any way equivalent, but it is that appearance of balance that supports the status quo.*

Sainath: This doctrine of balance, fake balance, is a classic illustration of the American press. They teach journalists all these rules. Suddenly, it all goes down the toilet if you are writing about Osama Bin Laden or Assad or Saddam Hussein. Do you get their reply? Do you get their interview? Do you get their balancing quote? Forget them! When it comes to the fundamental interests of the corporate classes, all these routes are suspended.

Cynthia: *Absolutely.*

Sainath: So, that is a fake. I teach my students that there are three kinds of objectivity: one of which is genuine and I recommend it. Again, it has to do with lives. The first kind of objectivity is the objectivity of the pure sciences. Something can be controlled, tested, under laboratory circumstances. Now, this is admirable but not transferrable into the social sciences. You should respect this kind of objectivity, but human beings are not blue and red litmus paper. There are much more complex systems and organisms there. So, the objectivity of the pure sciences is desirable, admirable, not doable. It is worthy of trying to take principles from it.

The second kind is what I call "the doctrine of objectivity," which is a fraud. And it is a contribution of the US media to the world. The doctrine of objectivity comes up in the late nineteenth century, with a fake doctor called Dr. Brandreth, and this is beautifully described in Ben Bagdikian's *Media Monopoly* in a chapter actually titled "Dr. Brandreth Has Gone to Harvard." Dr. Brandreth was a quack who made these placebo pills that cured everything from acne to cancer. Reporters started writing about him and exposing him. Dr. Brandreth went to those newspapers whose reporters were carrying those stories and started taking out large ads. Now the newspaper had

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a problem. Its reporters were doing stories; Dr. Brandreth was giving them money. This is what happened for the next hundred years with big tobacco. Charles Everett Koop, Surgeon General, would say "so many tens of thousands of American lives were lost due to cigarette smoking," but that story would carry *equally* weighted quotes from the big tobacco saying "there's no scientifically proven link between tobacco and this." Just as now your GMO industry produces the same kind of propaganda, right? So, this doctrine of objectivity came to give succor and comfort to the powerful. That is the doctrine of objectivity. It was the need of the advertiser, the paper's need of revenue, which shaped it.

The third kind of objectivity is your *personal* objectivity. Recognize that I, and my exact counterpart in the United States, write about something, we can both, with great honesty, write two entirely different articles. You have to recognize that journalism is a *social* construct. It *is* a social construct. Our journalism in India was born of the freedom struggle. Very different from that of Europe, where it was born around the stock exchange, as a purveyor of commercial intelligence, which is why Reuters was born in the first place, as a purveyor of commercial intelligence, not as a news agency. It brought information on the markets in the US and the shipments from the US at a time when there were no telegraph wires, and all that. That is when they used courier pigeons: writers used pigeons. But the third kind of objectivity, which is your personal objectivity, is to *know* your concerns, *know* yourself, and be honest to that subject. The lives of people are very honest in that sense, when you understand them, record them, document them, and place them in a context.

And so, I believe, the third kind of objectivity, *that* is objectivity: personal objectivity. Being honest to the subject and being honest to the fact that journalism is a social construct and *will* reflect the societal values and worries in either application or rejection.

Shankar: *You are laying out very broad principles about the way in which you approach your work. But are there any specific things that you actually do—and I am thinking really at the level of even craft and technique—which you do to get to your objective?*

Sainath: Technique. OK. First thing, very few people have noticed it, a couple have latched on to it and it is correct and it is true: if you read *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* again, you will find I will give virtually no physical description of any of the hundreds of people I write about. Because I also believe, there is a space for the reader to imagine. You know, you have pictures in your head when you read those stories. So the physical aspect of that person, sometimes if the story requires it, I state it. But, I am not going to say "Sadasivam, 45, be-spectacled," that kind of *Time* magazine approach. So,

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one is that I try keeping away from the physical description. Second, I try for what I tell my students also to try for, which is 'word pictures.' The words should make pictures in the mind.

Shankar: *And these are pictures of material environment, or . . .*

Sainath: I do this in various ways. Let me give you an example. For instance, how you weave in data and numbers is very important. If you just put a wall of numbers there, you lose your audience. There are some stories for which you have no choice but to use a lot of numbers. If I am doing an update on the farmer suicides, that becomes a numbers story. It becomes a figures story. But if I am trying to convey the importance of something, I use a "word picture."

I will give you a practical example, which I use every year with my students. I want to put something in your head that will *stick* in your mind about unemployment in India. Now, I can reel off the employment exchange numbers, which does not cover much. It only covers a small part of the country. I can talk to you about, you know, man-in-the-street interviews with a couple of employed people. But the new data is there, how do you use it? I will take that data, and the technique you are asking about, or 'word pictures,' would be like this. I am always calculating in those ways. Like yesterday, when I said eighteen million liters for an acre of sugarcane, I immediately said that is seven-and-a-half Olympic size swimming pools. That audience may not remember eighteen million liters, but they are going to remember seven Olympic size swimming pools. *That* they will remember. That is a 'word picture.' Now, unemployment: there was a point at which India's Labour Bureau said forty million job seekers are registered at the exchanges. By the way, the Indian government will not accept that a job seeker is unemployed. He may be holding another job and looking. But anyway, forty million job seekers. For me, the challenge is how do I convert this into a word picture? I do it as follows: I say that if you put these forty million job seekers in a single file, in a single line, it is three and half times the Indian coastline. Work it out. The maximum you can fit into one meter is two people. If you and I stand within one meter, my nose is in your spinal column. Two to a meter is two thousand to a kilometer. Forty million is twenty thousand kilometers. Your coastline is six thousand eight hundred, three and half times. . . . Now, you are not going to forget that.

Converting things into 'word pictures.' When I got the suicide data, Nagraj processed it for us, which only Nagraj can do. He is the greatest statistician I know. When Nagraj did the data, he showed me the percentages, then I got Nagraj and another friend to help me. How much more effective is it to say "this is the percentage here," "this is the percentage there," or to say that

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a farmer in Andhra Pradesh is three times more likely to kill himself than any other Indian, other than farmers? The second will do it.

Cynthia: *So it is about conversion into lives?*

Sainath: Into lives.

Cynthia: *Into lives and bodies.*

Sainath: And human beings. And people like reading about other human beings.

Cynthia: *This actually made me think of when you said you hold off on giving a physical description in* Everybody Loves a Good Drought.

Sainath: Sometimes I do, but in *Good Drought*, it was conscious.

Cynthia: *Whereas you also, at other times, insist that we look at photographs. And, so I was wondering if you could talk about the interplay between the photograph and the "word picture."*

Sainath: I take all my own photographs for my own stories. You know, I think that some of the most powerful stories have to be told unsentimentally. I keep on that pitch a lot of the time. Let the reader have the space for emotion; don't emote for the reader. I think that is more effective, because it starts a process of thinking and reflection in the reader. If I express all the drawing room outrage in the article, there is not much space left for the reader. Now, the photograph. . . . I am not a *photographer* photographer, who goes for the image. I am a *reporter* photographer. I take that photograph to *better tell* the story. In fact, the photographer Dayanita Singh gave me that advice, and it really worked. For the portraits of the families of the farmers' suicides, I asked them to arrange themselves, if they in the first place agreed to be photographed, which almost always they agreed. Because, by the way, one of the tragic things about it is they're agreeing because they want a family portrait. Suddenly they have lost someone and they find that the last photograph of him was twenty-five years old. I will give them their copy of the portrait. I do. In every case I give them the photograph. I send it to them. But I ask them to arrange themselves as *they* see themselves as a family. I do not say "hey you sit here," "you're taller, you go to the back" . . . I let them arrange. They will arrange themselves in the way they see themselves as a family. *That* is the portrait I give you as a reader. That family has a right to be projected in the way they view themselves. So yes, I am saying the unsentimentality of some of the story and the photograph actually make a very interesting juxtaposition. *Again*, you are increasing the space for the reader to feel. Therefore,

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I find that the comments that come after the story are far more emotional than anything I wrote. If you overdo the drawing room outrage in the story, the reader has little space.

Cynthia: *You feel manipulated, or compelled to feel . . .*

Sainath: Or you feel exhausted by the emotional writing.

Shankar: *Those people who might be unsympathetic to Sainath's agenda will say, well you know, this kind of criticism has been made, not of you necessarily, but your kind of journalism, which is that this is poverty pornography, this is sentimentalization. How does one respond to that and how is what you're doing different from what corporations . . .*

Sainath: *The Business Standard* actually used this without naming me, in a defense of Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of India, Montek Singh Ahluwalia, whose expenditures are exposed. OK? Now, where was the word "poverty" mentioned in that article? So *show* me the pornography. You know? Saying you're a poverty porn peddler should then be followed up by the examples of it. Show me the sentimental lines. Show me where the author is weeping. Show me those lines. I'm saying I do not have to respond to abuse. Show me an analysis.

Shankar: *That's the importance of that third kind of objectivity, the personal objectivity. It's precisely the sort of bulwark against that.*

Sainath: Incidentally, you will find very few articles of mine that use the word poverty. You will find more of my articles using the words impoverishment or deprivation or, even more, exploitation. We keep using this word poverty like it's a disease or a natural state.

Shankar: *It becomes a condition, not a problem.*

Sainath: That's why at the Asian College of Journalism we call the course I teach "Covering Deprivation," not "Covering Poverty."

Cynthia: *Also, that keeps the focus on the people who are doing the exploiting.*

Sainath: For instance, why do I support the word Dalit, over Harijan. When you say Dalit, you are saying oppressed or ground down. That already indicates the existence of an oppressor. It isn't a disease, untouchability. When you say Dalit, somebody ground him down. Somebody exists. There is an oppressor. It establishes the existence of the oppressor. The one word the media have stopped using in the last twenty years, you will not find that word in any newspaper in the United States on any given day, is exploitation,

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which is the basis of so much human misery. But you will not read the word because that leads you back to the corporate world—it leads you back to the super rich.

Cynthia: *I'm going to change questions a bit, and ask you about the kind of work that can happen in stories, and of the dailyness of stories that you can write fairly quickly. Even if you're spending a lot of time on larger or longer projects, you can also write short articles that someone who's riding the train can read fairly quickly, versus a book, versus your archive project.*

Sainath: OK, there are many different kinds of stories. You know, when you've done 200 reports on the agrarian crisis, the next one, within that area, I might write in six hours, but there are 600 hours behind it. And so, that saves the time. There are very interesting and complex stories which call for exploration. People laugh if I'm telling them right now that the next story I write will be on wrestling. Yeah! And I'm writing entirely on wrestling as deeply embedded in the rural economy of Maharashtra. You won't believe what a complex story it is. I went out to write a fun story on wrestling, and I was completely awed by the connections. The wrestlers came from the poorest farm families and farm labor. In the village the *Pehlwan* has a prestige, and parents are trying to get their family out of poverty by having one individual who will have that prestige. And after a while, that person starts earning more than they are earning from farming because each wrestling tournament he enters, he gets an entry fee. And, as he goes up the ladder, the entry fee goes from 5,000 to 10,000 to 20,000, which is more than the family is earning back home. I saw parents bringing five-year-old kids and seven-year old kids and begging the wrestling legends of Maharashtra to take their kid into their tutelage. . . . You know, to train that wrestling kid, the diet costs 500 rupees *per day.* That's a hell of a lot of money.

Shankar: *Well, there are similar stories of basketball, you know . . .*

Sainath: Yeah, very good parallel! In fact, in my story, I'm bringing in that parallel, the way some black communities try to fight their way out of poverty through athletics. And the more I got into it, the more astonishing it got. I realized the biggest spectator sport in Maharashtra was wrestling. And the audiences are three to four lakhs. Three to four lakh people gather. You know what happened? The drought destroyed everything. You couldn't have tournaments because where would you get water for three to four lakh people in a village? The locals will die. Then, the tournaments stopped because the rural rich who funded the tournaments—they were, you know, bankrupt. Then, the remittances back home stopped. So, natural calamity, drought, the process, and then I realized how deeply embedded in the rural economy

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wrestling is, an art with which I have nothing to do. See, such a beautiful story. And again, it's through the lives of people. Here, as the drought bit, the parents weren't able to send that 400–500 rupees for the diet of the children. After awhile, the kids dropped out of the wrestling because their parents needed them on the farm. It was very moving, going and seeing how these boys lived, cooking for themselves. You know, the group cooking and feeding and everything they do. It was very moving to watch. I mean there are stories in everything. There are stories in all kinds of stuff. I found that the most popular wrestlers in these large tournaments are from Pakistan and Iran because they have huge wrestling traditions. The old Punjab. Iran. So there, in an area of high caste Marathas, the heroes amongst the wrestlers are the Muslims from Pakistan. What a beautiful story!

Cynthia: *So how are you going to tell that story?*

Sainath: As I told it to you. There are various ways, various things that you explore and look at. And again, you come back to the human condition, you come back to that. This isn't a story about poverty. It's a story about wrestling, which is an incredibly powerfully attractive sport in Maharashtra, Punjab, and Haryana, these three states. . . . Did I move away from the particular question that you asked on that?

Cynthia: *No, I was just interested in the different kinds of work different kinds of stories you write do, and how the more everyday or contained ones relate to your more serious or sustained projects.*

Sainath: Then, there are stories by just sitting on a bus. I've done stories called "Bus to Mumbai." I took a bus in Mahbubnagar in Telengana and went to Mumbai. Then, I repeated the journey ten years later; it made a great story—much of it on the conversations I had on the bus and the lecture I got from the bus driver sitting next to him on the gear box. So, that's another kind of story. That's in some senses easier because it's all dependent on the direct quotes or the conversations that are happening. That's easier to write. The wrestling story is *hard* to write. We went to one school after another school after another school. Spoke to people, trying to understand the basics of the art so you can do it. The bus journey story was *extremely* important sociologically and politically. But in some respects it was easier to write because the bus driver was holding forth and I was taking notes. Then I was going around talking to people. In that, when you have a large number of people together, you will come up with very poignant situations. Because of the crisis in India, because of the agrarian crisis, thousands of people were leaving Andhra Pradesh every day, going toward Mumbai. And in one seat, one row, one guy who I saw going off to Mumbai was a landed

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farmer with twelve acres, which is not bad. And sitting next to him was his former bonded laborer on the same farm. You know? That's when I rang up and told my wife Sonia, we're all on the same bus. Yeah? But yet, that story, in some respects, was easier to write. Now the one like wrestling requires a lot of thinking. You want it to be informative, you have to say something about what's happening.

I do a lot of fun writing. I don't make categories of depressing stories and positive stories. I never do that. There's humor in the most depressing stories sometimes. Maybe gallows humor, but it's there. But, there are stories I've had great fun writing. In the book, there's a chapter called "characters of the countryside," crooks, lenders. I had great fun writing those stories. I've got tons of such stories which maybe I will put together. Those are very easy to write if you're observant of people. The story just flows out, because the character makes the story. I have an uncle and an aunt, both of them died in the space of twelve months. The uncle died at age 100, my aunt at 92. She went out in style making chutneys the previous evening in the kitchen by herself. Now they were the most eccentric couple. Writing a story on them was the easiest thing in the world. My uncle was one of those guys who on principle would fight over every single paisa. Very generous with food and visitors, but he had a fight with the milkman. So, he felt that the guy was charging him—this was in 1973 in Madurai—he felt that the milkman was charging him fifty paisa more per liter than was warranted. So as a result of his fight, he went and bought himself a buffalo. Then he discovered to his dismay that buffalos eat. And that it's very hard to stop them from eating, you know? I was there at the time and told him that these things have four stomachs. They eat! Then he discovered that buffalos need shelter. So that peeved him, but he had to get carpenters to build a shelter for him. The carpenters took him to the cleaners in cost, charging him some four times what it was. All this was over a fifty paisa fight with the milkman. Then he realized that, he read in the papers, that buffalos are being stolen. So, he hired a watchman to look after the buffalo. Finally, he was paying six times what he would have paid if he had just taken the milk from the damn milkman and just paid him that fifty paisa. Right? Now, these are very easy stories to write because the character makes the story. The fun comes out of the situations that these characters get you into, get themselves into. The archive is something else all together, though there will be fun.

Shankar: *The People's Archive of Rural India, yes?*

Sainath: The People's Archive of Rural India. It is gigantic! It's huge. And it will not be completed in my lifetime. It will not be maybe ten percent

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completed in my lifetime, but then others will keep adding to it. There's a moment in history where there's a gigantic transformation taking place in the countryside. Millions are going to the town, cities, to other villages, to other rural areas, to other urban areas. There's a churning in the bowels of rural India; you can't miss it. And maybe at least someone in the future will learn from what happened, if we can't do it ourselves. But there are things of great beauty that are being destroyed, and there are things that are extremely ugly in rural India which are being strengthened. So, some of the worst in rural India is being strengthened. On the one hand, you have in one of the most advanced states in agriculture, and in land and everything else, the most primitive throwbacks like the Khap panchayats in Haryana. Income-wise: highest income states in the country, if you count small states, highest income per capita in the country, for a state. So it's got some industry. It's got Gurgaon, the Silicon Valley of the north. It's got people who beat their daughters to death for having eloped with a person from another caste because the caste panchayat of the village has directed the parents to put their own daughter to death. These tendencies are actually being strengthened by the churning process that's going on, and all that is the best and brightest is being threatened, eroded, like the weaving, the craftsmanship. I think we're at the incredible period of time where it is *extremely* irresponsible *not* to try and capture what is happening.

Shankar: *That's what the People's Archive tries to do.*

Cynthia: *So that kind of archiving of the past, do you see that as . . .*

Sainath: It's an archive of the *present.*

Cynthia: *I was thinking of the archive—insofar as it provides ways to access practices that are threatening to disappear into the past—as a project that provides a way forward, one that responds to and counters corporatization and the exploitation of lives; that in that sense the archive provides a way of looking forward.*

Sainath: When you say response to corporatization, I think that one of the things about good journalism has always been that it is judged by how relevant it is, or how it engages with the great processes of its time. When you recall the names of great journalists, how many can you recall who were establishment journalists? Zero. Now even Walter Lippmann, the arch-conservative priest of journalism—he didn't make his name by being a conservative. He made his name when he was a radical. I'm saying the only journalism of value, really, is the journalism of dissent, whether it was a Marx or an Ambedkar or a Gandhi, any one of these people. The great journalists were dissenters. They were people who rebelled against stenography. The

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most prolific of all Indian journalists was actually Gandhi: hundred volumes of collected works. But Ambedkar was a fabulous journalist. The brilliance, scathing critique . . . very sharp polemic . . . you know, "caste is not a division of labor, but of laborers." Beautiful lines, beautiful lines! These are seriously crafted lines, you know? Gandhi, "live simply so that others might simply live." What a comment on inequality and greed! It must have taken hours to craft these lines. I think that seriously you need the journalism of dissent to challenge the stenography of corporate-led journalism, and you need to do everything you can to undermine corporate-led journalism. That's why the archive stays clear of corporations. I have friends who are CEOs of corporations who would give me money from the corporation, and they would be sincere about it. They are not trying to buy me out. But it would, for me, defeat the purpose. Keeping that independence is very important. And I believe that corporations destroy the *soul* of journalism. I believe that. I keep telling my colleagues and reporters when they ask "what do we do when asked to do this?", "look we sell our labor, not our soul." And really, the struggle is how to keep your soul in a corporate dominated media. So you end up practicing something, which I call "guerrilla journalism." When they burn one forest, you run to the next. If you stay true to that ideal, you will lose your job, occasionally, and you will find yourself a freelancer, which is a kindly term for disguised unemployment. I was one for thirteen years, and I liked it. So the dominant confrontation of our time is with corporations and corporate media. See, it creates McJournalism—tastes the same everywhere. It standardizes and cans things. Let me put it this way: if you took newspapers out of the 30s and 40s and 50s, you know; if you looked at who were the writers, A. J. Liebling; if I blacked out the bylines and gave you the newspapers, you would *still* identify the writing. But if I take the *Time* magazine or *Newsweek* or *New York Times* and blackout the byline, you will not identify the writer because it is standardized, scanned, sausage factory journalism. It kills individuality. It kills it, because corporations homogenize. And this is the reason why capitalism fails, why corporations do not require geniuses. They don't want you to be clever. They want you to be reliable and do what has been standardized. That is what they want from you, from the average employee. But they don't want you to be clever and innovative and instinctive and act on those instincts. They need you to do what they expect you to do. So it kills individuality, creativity. Corporate power is the antithesis of individuality, writing, creativity in media.

Cynthia: *Thank you.*

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REVIEWED ELSEWHERE

Contributing editors Nell Altizer, Patricia Angley, Alana Bell, Judith Lütge Coullie, Lars Fischer, Noel Kent, and Barbara Bennett Peterson provided the excerpts for this issue.

Publications reviewed include *American Journal of Philology, Anthropological Quarterly, Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, BDLive, Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Catholic Historical Review, Dissent, Early American Literature, Early Medieval Europe, English Historical Review, European History Quarterly, European Legacy, European Review of History. French Studies,* (Toronto) *Globe and Mail, H-AfrArts, Historische Zeitschrift, H-LatAm, Hopkins Review, H-SozKult, HugoCanham.com, Israel Affairs, Journal of American Folklore, Journal of Cold War Studies, Journal of Modern Jewish Studies, Journal of Sport History, Journal of World History, Literaturakritik, Mail and Guardian, Modern & Contemporary France, Modernism/Modernity, Music & Letters, The New Yorker, New York Review of Books (NYRB), New York Times Book Review (NYTBR), NINE: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture, Nineteenth-Century Contexts, Ohio History, Pacific Historical Review, Pennsylvania History, Race & Class, Renaissance Studies, Reviews in American History, Revolutionary Russia, Russian Review, Science & Education, Society, Times Literary Supplement (TLS), War in History, The Witness, Women's History Review,* and the *Women's Review of Books.*

Aaron, Henry

The Last Hero: A Life of Henry Aaron. Howard Bryant. New York: Pantheon Books, 2013. xvi + 600 pp. $29.95.

"Bryant's thought-provoking biography of Henry Aaron portrays an athlete whose influence extended beyond statistics and highlighted his complex relationship with celebrity and his historic rivalry with Willie Mays. . . . Bryant's biography of Aaron would have been stronger if he had illustrated the ways in which the integration of players of color in Major League Baseball embodied the desegregation process that occurred in the U.S. in the 1950s. . . . Despite this minor drawback, Howard Bryant's work on Henry Aaron will probably become the definitive Aaron biography. I am sure scholars will benefit from this balanced and nuanced account."

Michael E. Lomax. *Journal of Sport History* 40.3 (2013): 491–92.

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Adams, John Quincy

John Quincy Adams: American Visionary. Fred Kaplan. New York: Harper, 2014. 652 pp. $29.99.

"Kaplan . . . argues that Adams doesn't fully deserve his reputation for coldness, but, for all its diligence, 'John Quincy Adams: American Visionary' never really succeeds in raising the sixth President's temperature. . . . A reader of Kaplan's book does see John Quincy Adams evolve from a sort of disagreeable probity into a more appealing fierceness, but the biographer's approach remains gravely respectful throughout. A dry piety closes off any real spelunking of the subject's darker recesses."

Thomas Mallon. *New Yorker,* May 5, 2014: 71–75.

"Kaplan has produced a full-length narrative of this remarkable life, rendered in lucid and loving prose. Adams emerges from these pages as a man driven to prove his worth to the world and history, never quite sure he could measure up to his own standards but utterly confident of his values and principles. . . . Kaplan rightly portrays him as a man ahead of his time, a statesman whose views and perceptions eventually would seep into the national consciousness and guide the nation in important ways. . . . Kaplan's often one-sided political interpretations deprive his narrative of the richness of that era's history. Nevertheless, this is a valuable book about an important American figure whose persistent high dudgeon may have lessened his capacity to play the conventional political game of his time but ultimately rendered him a formidable personage of American political philosophy."

Robert W. Merry. *NYTBR,* May 4, 2014: 1, 16.

Adams, Louisa Catherine

Louisa Catherine: The Other Mrs. Adams. Margery M. Heffron. New Haven: Yale UP, 2014. 416 pp. $40.00.

"Heffron's agreeably written biography—cut short by the death of the author, in December, 2011—leaves Louisa on the threshold of the Adamses' unhappy years in the White House."

Thomas Mallon. *New Yorker,* May 5, 2014: 71–75.

This "sparkling biography" "concludes abruptly with Adams's 1825 inauguration, 27 years before Louisa's death. It thus ends prematurely, but so too did the life of its author. Heffron, an independent scholar, succumbed to cancer before finishing a project that engaged her imagination for more than 30 years. Readers will nonetheless be grateful for this fascinating, if partial, portrait of an exceptional woman, and regret that its talented author fell silent too soon."

Virgina DeJohn Anderson. *NYTBR,* May 4, 2014: 1, 17.

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Æthelstan

Æthelstan: The First King of England. Sarah Foot. New Haven: Yale UP, 2011. xiv + 283 pp. $30.00.

"Sarah Foot has produced a scholarly and lucid portrait of Aethelstan. . . . This biography illustrates historical sleuthing at its best. . . . Foot manipulates the material very nicely to provide an understanding of the king's character and to help the reader discern the motivations behind his behavior. A straightforward chronological narrative of Aethelstan's life . . . cannot accurately be written. Foot overcomes this obstacle by focusing on Aethelstan in his performative roles. . . . Foot's biography is a creative display of how early medieval sources can be used to provide a more extensive knowledge of life at the royal and societal levels."

Donald J. Dietrich. *The European Legacy* 18.7 (2013): 937–38.

Ahlefeldt, Elisa von

Gräfin Elisa. Eine Lebens- und Liebesgeschichte. Günter de Bruyn. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 2012. 191 pp. €17.99.

Some will take issue with de Bruyn. who generally respects the boundaries of privacy drawn by his object, while occasionally resorting to speculation and simplification all the same. . . . Given the dearth of sources, this procedure seems forgivable though. . . . Ultimately the charm of this biography, as with all his biographies, springs from the author's discrete empathy. With undisguised sympathy, inquisitiveness and knowledge, he lets his historical protagonists come to life. Despite or precisely because of his advanced age, one hopes for many more such books by Günter de Bruyn."

Marie Isabel Matthews-Schlinzig. *Literaturkritik,* Nov. 14, 2013.

Ailes, Roger

The Loudest Voice in the Room: How the Brilliant, Bombastic Roger Ailes Built Fox News—and Divided a Country. Gabriel Sherman. Toronto: Random House, 2014. 538 pp. $34.00.

"It's not the nastiest book about Ailes—that'd be 2012's T*he Fox Effect,* by David Brock and Ari Rabin-Havt. . . . But Sherman's book distinguishes itself in its diligent characterization of Ailes as something more than just some political P.T. Barnum. . . . Despite the book's backhandedly praiseful subtitle and constant references to its subject's 'bluster,' Sherman develops an image of Ailes as something more than a showman. Scarier, and more importantly, *The Loudest Voice in the Room* posits Ailes as a real-deal ideologue: someone who actually believes all the stuff Bill O'Reilly, Sean Hannity and Glenn Beck . . . spout on his network."

John Semley. *Globe and Mail,* Jan. 25, 2014: R15.

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His Life and Legacy. Douglas Dales. Cambridge: James Clarke, 2012. 223 pp. £20.50.

's letters provide the majority of the surviving information for the e and events explored in the book, and they are described in considerdetail throughout the book, often providing the framework for the narra- . . . There is much in this book to be commended: it is a good synthesis ny of Alcuin's works . . . and of some recent scholarship. General read- nd undergraduate students will find this an accessible (and very readable) oduction. . . . [I]t would have been useful to see more criticism of the ving sources and . . . more direct engagement with the evidence beyond ription of its contents."

Helen Foxhall Forbes. *Catholic Historical Review* 100.1 (2014): 115–16.

Anatsui: Art and Life. Susan Mullin Vogel. Munich: Prestel, 2013. 175 pp. $60.00.

his volume] provides a compelling and comprehensive scholarly survey of well-known artist's career. Vogel was ideally positioned to write this biophy, as she has extensively interviewed the artist, as well as his colleagues, rs, and students, over the course of producing two documentary films. With 134 illustrations, all in color, this tome is a fittingly sumptuous terpart to Anatsui's art. Whatever its appearance, however, this is not a ee table book but a scholarly monograph, and the closing section contains exhaustive chronology, exhibition history, and bibliography, is but one mple of its value as a reference."

Pamela Allara. *H-AfrArts* Feb. 2014.

Armstrong, Lance

Lies: The Fall of Lance Armstrong. Juliet Macur. New York: Harper, 2014. 461 pp. $27.99.

Wheelmen: Lance Armstrong, the Tour de France, and the Greatest Sports Conspiracy Ever. Reed Albergotti and Vanessa O'Connell. New York: Gotham Books, 2014. 364 pp. $27.50.

Code of Lies' and 'Wheelmen' tell the story in different ways. Macur's focus personal and brutally unsparing. Albergotti and O'Connell deal with the der business conspiracy. Together, the two accounts teach a sobering

William Saletan. *NYTBR,* Apr. 20, 2014: 18.

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Bach, Johann Sebastian

Bach: Music in the Castle of Heaven. John Eliot Gardiner. New York: Knopf, 2013. 672 pp. $35.00.

"This book attempts to humanize the composer, too often seen as austere and a little dull. . . . The biographical discussion is fascinating, if at times speculative. More persuasive is Gardiner's attempt to know the man through his music."

New Yorker, Feb. 3, 2014: 79.

"Just how Bach managed to express the inexpressible, especially with regard to death, and what life experiences stood behind his compositional decisions are at the center of a lively new book by the distinguished British conductor John Eliot Gardiner. . . . Gardiner has devoted his life to the performance of Bach's vocal works (he has conducted them all), and the biographical gaps he seeks to close in his lengthy study have perplexed Bach scholars for more than two hundred years. . . . Gardiner draws on the most recent findings of the Bach Archive research team, especially Michael Maul's important study of the St. Thomas Choir. This material was not available to previous biographers. But he believes the key to unlocking Bach's concealed character lies in the music itself. . . . In this sense his approach resembles that used for Shakespeare in *Will in the World* by Stephen Greenblatt, who called on passages from the Bard's works to flesh out an otherwise skeletal biography. The chief difference is that Greenblatt considered all the plays and sonnets, whereas Gardiner limits himself to Bach's vocal works—a restriction that raises problems."

George P. Stauffer. *NYRB,* Feb. 20, 2014: 23.

Bailey, Blake

The Splendid Things We Planned: A Family Portrait. Blake Bailey. New York: Norton, 2014. 254 pp. $25.95.

This is a "captivating memoir about his troubled family in Oklahoma. . . . Bailey maintains a lacerating tone, and examines with the coolness of a detective the staggering things that we can do to the people we love."

New Yorker, Apr. 28, 2014: 77.

"Think of the opening sections of . . . Blake Bailey's achingly honest memoir, as a kind of personality test or perhaps an obstacle course. Not every reader is going to pass, but then again, not every reader is entitled to such a fearless, deeply felt and often frightening book. . . . Bailey says in his acknowledgments that it took him about 11 years to complete the writing of 'The Splendid Things We Planned,' and it is a testament to his courage that he decided to share this tale at all. It doesn't strive for any false or overreaching profundity, and yet it arrives at a certain undeniable truth about how we are capable of feeling love for people we would never choose to be around."

Dave Itzkoff. *NYTBR,* Mar. 9, 2014: 17.

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, Julene

Ogallala Road: A Memoir of Love and Reckoning. Julene Bair. New York: Viking, 2014. 278 pp. $26.95.

ory of land, water, relationships and love, 'The Ogallala Road' is the ear history of a farming family in Kansas as well as the second of Julene s memoirs. The first, 'One Degree West: Recollections of a Plainsdaugh- was well received, but this new one is more polished, touching and en- g. . . . Much of 'The Ogallala Road' focuses on Bair's struggle to make Westerners see the danger of the 'planned depletion' of the aquifer. nd, perhaps with that in mind, 'The Ogallala Road' moves into a final that's more journalism than memoir. . . . Here, Bair becomes a little hy, and although her message is fully in tune with my own beliefs, I do this disturbs the rhythm of her prose. Still, this is a book by a tough, ss, energetic, admirable, principled Kansan who also happens to be a writer. Her voice is a welcome one."

Mark Bittman. *NYTBR,* Apr. 27, 2014: 10.

nin, Mikhail

l Bakunin, Życie i myúl: Od religii miłoúci do filozofii czynu (1814–1848). ntoni A. Kamiński. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomiczgo we Wrocławiu, 2012. 736 pp. zł85.00.

l Bakunin, Życie i myúl: Podpalacz Europy (1848–1864). Antoni A. amiński. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we rocławiu, 2013. 542 pp. zł65.00.

miński's] coverage of the historiography . . . is impressive, nearly sixty long. . . . The main weakness of the two volumes is its methodology. e is developed except for a vague appeal to scholarly objectivity—not to ides, as Marx famously did against the anarchist who was his great anti- rival. Bakunin's steadfastly 'democratic' Russian and Polish nationalism really conceptualized. The plainly political narrative surely would ben- om . . . gender-spatial analysis. . . . Kamiński offers less of a polemic in H. Carr style, or virtuosic lecture à la Isaiah Berlin, than an academic nd times' Bakuninology which orbits around the Polish Question."

Steven Seegel. *Russian Review* 73.2 (2014): 318–19.

om Family

Sugar Season: A Year in the Life of Maple Syrup—and One Family's Quest r the Sweetest Harvest. Douglas Whynott. New York: DaCapo, 2014. 4 pp. $27.50.

ynott builds his study around the Bascoms, a family of producers from ont who have been in the syrup industry for generations. They clearly d Whynott plenty of access to the inner workings of their practice,

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and he describes it with intricate detail. . . . [T]he book provides keen insights into this particular branch of modern agriculture, and makes a strong case for maple syrup as a bellwether for the continent's environmental health. . . . The author's American focus relegates the most interesting characters (Canadian syrup 'trader' Real Bureau) and stories (the maple syrup heist of 2012) to the sidelines."

Chris Berube. *Globe and Mail,* Mar. 22, 2014: R15.

The Beatles

The Beatles. Mick Manning and Brita Granstrom. London: Frances Lincoln Children's Books, 2014. 52 pp. $18.99.

"To make the Beatles as approachable as possible, Manning and Granstrom . . . start by presenting John, Paul, George and Ringo as ordinary kids. . . . 'The Beatles' connects most viscerally when it makes the band's accomplishments relatable to any preteen reading it. . . . But 'The Beatles' makes its larger point: that friends who met when they were young joined together to discover the joys of making music, worked tirelessly to realize that dream . . . then drifted apart into lives of their own."

David Browne. *NYTBR,* Mar. 16, 2014: 21.

Bonaparte, Elizabeth Patterson

Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte: An American Aristocrat in the Early Republic. Charlene M. Boyer Lewis. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2012. 280 pp. $34.95.

"Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte . . . is the kind of juicy historical character biographers long to discover and readers delight to encounter. . . . The problem with such an irresistible character is that her chronicler runs the risk of rendering her as just that—a character. . . . Boyer Lewis not only avoids the narrative trap but uses Elizabeth's . . . life to forward our knowledge of women's history and the culture of the early nineteenth-century United States. . . . [The] second chapter . . . makes this book indispensible to anyone interested in the early United States. There [Boyer Lewis] uses Elizabeth's singular life as a way to uncover and discuss the role of aristocracy in America."

Catherine Allgor. *Early American Literature* 49.1 (2014): 225–29.

Bonpland, Aimé

A Life in Shadow: Aimé Bonpland in Southern South America, 1817–1858. Stephen Bell. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2010. 336 pp. $65.00.

"Drawing on Bonpland's work in South America, Bell is able to connect science, politics, culture, and socioeconomic transformation in a holistic way. The result is so compelling that the reader is left to wonder about Bonpland's personal life. But that is beyond the scope of the book. . . . This is not a traditional biography, but a biographical account of scientific production in the

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nineteenth century. . . . This book will be a mandatory reference for all e publications on the subject, as it will be for anybody interested in the ce of this period, whether from a Latin American or European perspective."

Adriana Novoa. *H-LatAm* Feb. 2014.

er, Krista

Accidental Jihad: A Love Story. Krista Bremer. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2014. 287 pp. $24.95.

'Accidental Jihad: A Love Story' tells how Bremer—an exercise-obsessed, ff Californian—adapts to being the wife of a Libyan émigré, and flirts Islam. . . . And it's in Libya that Bremer has a key insight about bicul- marriages: Not all differences are cultural; Ismail m ay be 'maddening oth sides of the world.'"

Pamela Druckerman. *NYTBR,* May 25, 2014: 23.

dsky, Joseph

Brodsky: A Literary Life. Lev Loseff. New Haven: Yale UP, 2011. xiv + 333 pp. $22.00.

accomplished scholar and a long-term friend of Brodsky, Loseff arguably s an ideal Brodsky biographer, as his personal proximity to his subject s to augment, rather than obscure, his academic impartiality. . . . [T]he sion of Jewish content in Brodsky's art merits further investigation. . . . kes are rare in this meticulously researched book. . . . [M]any quotes Brodsky and other Russian poets are given in the book in a word-for- non-poetic form. . . . Those with a firm grasp of the language would be dvised to consult the Russian originals first."

ei Rogatchevski. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12.3 (2013): 582–84.

is a delightful text due largely to the fact that Lev Loseff (1937–2009) dsky's friend and a poet himself can give an insider's view of Brodsky's c development out of pre-glasnost Leningrad. He notes that it is less a phy than 'an attempt at recreating the noise of the time, as Mandelstam it, that is the heterogeneous cultural background of the poet's life and (p. xi). One is even prepared to forgive the unashamedly hagiographic al of Brodsky . . . because of the astute critical eye he casts over the n poetry scene and Brodsky's evolving poetics."

Belinda Cooke. *Russian Review* 73.1 (2014): 125–26.

ne, Sir Thomas

Thomas Browne, A Life. Reid Barbour. New York: Oxford UP, 2013. 534 p. $125.00.

Barbour, "interest in childhood is of a piece with his painstaking la- as a naturalist in that both exemplify the largesse that he finds in . . .

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miniaturized worlds. . . . Barbour's determination to echo Browne's openness to the full spectrum of natural phenomena provides Barbour's biography with many of its strengths."

Joe Moshenska. *TLS*, Feb. 21, 2014.

Bruckberger, Raymond-Léopold

Bruckberger: L'enfant terrible. Bernard and Bernadette Chovelon. Paris: Cerf, 2011. 286 pp. €20.

"The Chovelons have fashioned an engaging and informative narrative that gives evidence of both strong personal admiration and an eye for biographical detail. Based on a thorough reading of Bruckberger's published works . . . as well as the abundant media coverage of his career, the reader is introduced to a remarkable and almost forgotten French Catholic priest, intellectual, artist, and controversialist. The authors' evident devotion to the person and to the memory of 'Bruck' is such that they would likely agree with this reviewer's assessment that at some point in the future, an even more detailed, scholarly biography of Père Bruckberger would be most welcome."

Richard Francis Crane. *Catholic Historical Review* 100.1 (2014): 165–66.

Bunting, Basil

A Strong Song Tows Us: The Life of Basil Bunting. Richard Burton. Westport: Prospecta, 2013. 618 pp. $49.95.

"Burton, in his monumental new biography, asserts that Bunting might well be 'Britain's greatest modernist poet'. . . . Burton mostly avoids getting overly personal in telling the poet's story, and especially its bleakest moments. In his late years, Bunting descended into poverty. . . . Burton's book is no cold rendering of facts: it is a creative, generative project. It is a deeply scholarly narrative, but the story and its storyteller are still entertaining enough to appeal to a non-academic readership. . . . [I]f Burton's work is a valuable contribution to modernist studies, it is an invaluable one to Bunting studies.

Annabel Haynes. *Modernism/modernity* 21.1 (2014): 379–81.

Burroughs, William

Call Me Burroughs. Barry Miles. New York: Twelve, 2013. 718 pp. $32.00.

"The biography, after its eventful start, becomes rather like an odyssey by subway in the confines of Burroughs's self-absorption. . . . Miles's always efficient, often elegant prose eases the ride, but a reader's attention may grow wan for want of sun. . . . Some critics, including Miles, have tried to gussy up Burroughs's antinomian morality as Swiftian satire. Burroughs, however, wages literary war not on perceptible real-world targets but against suggestions that anyone is responsible for anything."

Peter Schjeldahl. *New Yorker,* Feb. 3, 2014: 70–74.

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. . . his authoritative new biography, Barry Miles avoids unduly roman-
g Burrough's outlaw status. . . . Nor, wisely, does Miles minimize the
h and tenacity of Burroughs's addictions. . . . Miles's book is emphatically
however, the familiar story of a gifted writer's substance-soaked decline,
ably for the simple reason that Burroughs's genius for surreal black com-
empered with hard, practical thought never deserted him. . . . Miles also
s in detail how dependent this singular iconoclast was on the inspiration
editorial skills of friends. . . . [Miles's] access and wealth of detail will
e this the go-to biography for many years to come."

Ann Douglas. *NYTBR,* Feb. 23, 2014: 17.

e, John

Cage. Rob Haskins. London: Reaktion, 2012. 180 pp. £10.95.

ystematically trying to free sounds from his own intentions and subjectiv-
Cage scorns the theory of self-expression, one of the pillars of biographical
g. . . . Recent developments in musicology stressing the importance of
ntextualization for the act of interpretation vindicate [Haskins's] project.
This biography . . . offers an informative and entertaining read for both
der audience and the musicological specialist. By virtue of its critical and
estifying stance, this new John Cage biography is likely to convince even
ers who are sceptical of the genre of biographical writing."

Mark Delaere. *Music & Letters* 94.4 (2013): 715–17.

michael, Stokely/Kwame Ture

y: A Life. Peniel E. Joseph. New York: Basic, 2014. 399 pp. $29.99.

difficult to grasp the route black America took to its present understand-
f itself and its complex relationship to this country. In . . . an insightful,
engaging and fluently written biography, the historian Peniel E. Joseph
ed light on one crucial if largely overlooked part of the journey. . . .
ph's perspective on this is scarcely cloaked. Choosing to title the biog-
'Stokely' is an implicit rejection of the phase of Carmichael's life that
n when he left the United States and became Kwame Ture. . . . Indeed
st 30 years of his life—the years largely spent abroad before his death in
—are dealt with in a single chapter and an epilogue."

William Jelani Cobb. *NYTBR,* Mar. 23, 2014: 14.

dwick, George Whitefield

e Whitefield Chadwick: The Life and Music of the Pride of New England.
ill F. Faucett. Boston: Northeastern UP, 2012. xii + 416 pp. $39.95.

cett is the first scholar able to make thorough use of the composer's
correspondence, diaries, and memoirs. . . . Hence . . . the reader gains
sense of Chadwick's personality and opinions through many of his
words. Faucett's text reveals Chadwick as the ambitious, hardworking,

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inquisitive, talented, opinionated, assertive, sociable, loyal, and good-humored man that he undoubtedly was. . . . This . . . is the culmination of Faucett's many years of study and two previous books on Chadwick. . . . This admirable biography successfully argues that Chadwick's significance reaches beyond merely parochial interest."

Aaron Ziegel. *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 36.1 (2014): 87–89.

Chase, Clifford

The Tooth Fairy: Parents, Lovers, and Other Wayward Deities (A Memoir). Clifford Chase. New York: Overlook, 2014. 246 pp. $24.95.

"Chase builds his searching memoir out of torn-up letters, snippets of conversations, accounts of dreams, quotes from journals and observations from his daily life. The effects are candid, confessional, and while sometimes tiresome, always original."

Alysia Abbott. *NYTBR*, Mar. 9, 2014: 16.

Chavez, Cesar

The Crusades of Cesar Chavez: A Biography. Miriam Pawel. New York: Bloomsbury, 2014. 548 pp. $35.00.

In an "engrossing biography," Pawel "is out to show both the good and bad. . . . There is so much brilliant political theater in this book that it's easy to see why Chavez is still the most celebrated Latino leader in American history. . . . Yet as Pawel tells it, Chavez's crusades ended in defeat, if not total rout."

Thomas Geoghegan. *NYTBR*, Apr. 27, 2014: 26.

Chow, Olivia

My Journey. Olivia Chow. Toronto: HarperCollins, 2014. 340 pp. $29.99.

A "highly uneven memoir" by the Toronto mayoral candidate, former NDP MP, and widow of NDP leader Jack Layton. "[S]he's calm, rational, politically shrewd, unrivalled in her work ethic, eager to find common ground with her opponents . . . and perpetually on the side of the angels. Children, old people, aspirational immigrants, people who've been wronged by the system—she's proved as a school trustee, a city councillor and an NDP MP that she'll do everything she can to make their lives better. . . . The most engaging parts of her memoir are those where she ditches the numbing generalizations of progressive politics and simply remembers the fine details of life."

John Allemang. *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 25, 2014: R15.

Cixi

Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China. Jung Chang. New York: Knopf, 2013. 464 pp. $30.00.

"The author of 'Wild Swans' sets out to rehabilitate the reputation of a woman who, she argues, helped modernize China. . . . While Chang acknowledges

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missteps . . . she sees her as a woman whose energy, farsightedness, and ss pragmatism transformed a country."

New Yorker, Jan. 13, 2014: 75.

, George Rogers. See **Lewis, Meriwether.**

, Heinrich

rich Claß 1868–1953. Die politische Biographie eines Alldeutschen. Jo-annes Leicht. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2012. 463 pp. €58.

sed on painstaking archival research that has sought out even the most te sources, Leicht presents a complex picture of Claß as a torn personal-who tirelessly propagated his authoritarian and antisemitic mission but cognized the limitations of antisemitism as a political propaganda tool. k has also thrown into relief Claß's cowardice in lacking the courage ly to stand by his coup and subversion plans. . . . The only point of sism regarding this superb, very well written . . . biography is that Claß's Mathilde Claß, hardly features at all and this although she clearly con-ed to her husband's worldview and political activism."

Ulrich Wyrwa. *Historische Zeitschrift* 297.3 (2013): 836–38.

mings, E. E.

Cummings: A Life. Susan Cheever. New York: Pantheon, 2014. 240 pp. $26.95.

a delight that in her brief biography Cheever embraces Cummings's dictions rather than tut-tutting over them. . . . The book is like an ded *New Yorker* profile. . . . Cheever seems charmed by her subject is a good prose stylist, though she saves her best energy for landscape iption."

Daisy Fried. *NYTBR,* Apr. 20, 2014: 30.

a, Simphiwe

egade Called Simphiwe. Pumla Dineo Gqola. Johannesburg: Jacana, 013. 176 pp. R162.

vocalist Simphiwe Dana sings mostly in her native tongue, but you need a grasp of Xhosa to appreciate the beauty of her singing. In cap-g the contextual relevance of Dana, Gqola has gone to great lengths rutinise the importance of her subject. An exhaustive study but mildly uting since Dana herself probably wouldn't appreciate being placed on estal, considering that her music is about humility. Moreover, this ac-uses sexual politics as grist for its mill; this is not only sterile but often s the point: Dana is not some crusader. The generalisations often get a too sweeping.

Eugene Goddard. *Bdlive,* Sept. 13, 2013.

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The author cautions: this is not a biography, so readers who want an exposé of Simphiwe Dana may be disappointed. However, this book will go down as a cornerstone in South African feminist works on a public figure, as Gqola pushes readers to consider our own complicity in misogynous, patriarchal, anti-creative, and anti-intellectual discourses. . . . The greatest strength of this book is its relentless attention to an African feminist aesthetic. A blend of biography, academic reflection, musicology—feminist and Africanist—this book deserves to be read.

Hugo Canham. *Hugocanham.com.* July 23, 2013.

Darger, Henry

Henry Darger, Throwaway Boy: The Tragic Life of an Outsider Artist. Jim Elledge. New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2013. 384 pp. $29.95.

"Elledge's biography presents him [Darger] as a fragile gay man in a secret long-term relationship and argues that his work was a response to an abusive childhood spent in asylums, shelters, and the slums of early-twentieth-century Chicago. But this analysis relies on a lot of extrapolation (for instance, from gnomic diary entries), and doesn't really illuminate his prolific output."

New Yorker, Jan. 6, 2013: 67.

Dayan, Moshe

Moshe Dayan: Israel's Controversial Hero. Mordechai Bar-On. New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. xii + 247 pp. $25.00.

"In this concise and well-written biography, which concentrates mainly on Dayan's career in public service, the author assesses his subject's strengths and weaknesses, as well as successes and failures, as he surveys the major events in the Arab-Israeli conflict from pre-state days to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Bar-On, who served as Dayan's bureau chief in the Sinai Campaign, paints a broadly sympathetic portrait of his former boss, though he is quite candid in his criticism at points. Bar-On does not devote much attention to Dayan's private life, but what he has to say in this regard is not always flattering."

David Rodman. *Israel Affairs* 19.4 (2014): 738–39.

De Man, Paul

The Double Life of Paul de Man. Evelyn Barish. New York: Liveright, 2014. 534 pp. $35.00.

Barish's "book is a brief for the prosecution. But it is not a hatchet job, and she has an amazing tale to tell. . . . Barish has put together a story that reads like an academic version of 'House of Cards.' But, even if everything she says is true, what does it tell us about de Man's criticism? She offers only the vaguest speculation. . . . Barish's own attempt to describe de Manian theory is unhelpful."

Louis Menand. *New Yorker,* Mar. 24, 2014: 87–93.

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Double Life of Paul de Man' revives the man and his fall. This time, we story of the professor not just as a young collaborator, but as a scheming ist, an embezzler and forger who fled Belgium in order to avoid prison, amist who abandoned his first three children, a deadbeat who left many and hotel bills unpaid, a liar who wormed his way into Harvard by ing records, a cynic who used people shamelessly. Some of these accu- have been made before (and documented), but Barish develops them dds new ones. . . . Admirably, she has consulted far-flung archives, over unpublished documents, conducted interviews with dozens of de relatives, friends and acquaintances. . . . The reader is asked to take a faith, starting with faith in the author's judgment and in her knowl- of language and history. . . . [T]here are too many [small errors], and end to distort an already complicated story. That's not to mention the sted explanations when Barish ventures into philosophy, or intellec- and literary history. . . . Does this mean de Man was innocent? Hardly. s story deserves a less biased and more knowledgeable telling."

Susan Rubin Suleiman. *NYTBR,* Mar. 9, 2014: 14.

rot, Denis

rot. Le combattant de la liberté. Gerhardt Stenger. Paris: Librairie Aca- émique Perrin, 2013. 800 pp. €29.

ger is . . . predestined for this . . . mammoth project of presenting a rehensive intellectual biography of Diderot on the occasion of the ter- ary of his birth. He has been studying Diderot for decades and has ished himself . . . as an expert. On some 700 pages he has now created a esis that points not only to Diderot's achievements but also to the biog- r's own long-standing dealings with the French Enlightenment. . . . The of the intellectual biography is both attractive and demanding, given requires the author's life to emerge no less vividly than his intellectual n. Stenger succeeds in meeting both of these demands.

Konstanze Baron. *Literaturakritik,* Dec. 18, 2013.

aeli, Benjamin

eli. Eine politische Biographie. Edgar Feuchtwanger. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2012. 235 pp. €28.

Edgar Feuchtwanger demonstrates in his successful biography there always two Disraelies: the author Disraeli remained second-class while olitician Disraeli gave new impulses to the Conservative party. . . . chtwanger's Disraeli is a post-modern politician who understood early hat in politics the image replaces the issue and is the message'. . . . Stone considered everything about Disraeli to be histrionic. This judge- is still discussed, not least in the Conservative party. Feuchtwanger's

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judicious biography shows us both sides of the argument. Even if much in Disraeli's life was just theatre, his performances were brilliant."

Karina Urbach. *Historische Zeitschrift* 298.1 (2014): 240–41.

Duplessis, Marie

The Girl Who Loved Camellias: The Life and Legend of Marie Duplessis. Julie Kavanagh. New York: Knopf, 2013. 304 pp. $27.95.

DeSanti calls Kavanagh's biography of Parisian courtesan Marie Duplessis a "complex portrait" of the young woman whose life Dumas *fils* fictionalized in *La Dame aux Camellias.* This biography "with admirable research and restraint, pulls a real and full-blooded Marie Duplessis" from the legend created in multiple genres and suggests "that Duplessis had much terrible insight into her situation." Duplessis "made a beautiful picture of herself and sold it to the highest bidder" and hoped to "outwit her destiny and pull off a grand *coup* in the roulette she had made of her life" according to DeSanti.

Carole DeSanti. *Women's Review of Books* 31.1 (2014): 24–25.

Durkheim, Émile

Émile Durkheim: A Biography. Marcel Fournier. Cambridge: Polity, 2012. 700 pp. £45.

"Fournier's monumental biography of Émile Durkheim is now available in English. It provides an exhaustive and thoroughly useful year-by-year account of his professional life. . . . Fournier barely refers to present-day scholarship. One might have expected him to discuss ongoing efforts to reconfigure Durkheim as a theorist of the body, sexuality, or multiculturalism. Fournier plays it very straight with book-by-book, essay-by-essay summaries of the writings as they punctuate the life narrative. . . . Fournier's book shows us an overburdened, somewhat compulsive and prickly Durkheim at the center of a circle of scholars who had varying levels of talent, drive, and commitment."

Philip Smith. *Anthropological Quarterly* 87.1 (2014): 245–54.

Edward VII

The Heir Apparent: A Life of Edward VII, the Playboy Prince. Jane Ridley. New York: Random House, 2013. 752 pp. $35.00.

"[T]his biography argues that he had a surprising affinity for kingship, being diligent about handing out medals, initialing papers, and keeping up dynastic connections. Still, the author's assertion that he was 'a model king' seems dubious."

New Yorker, Jan. 20, 2014: 75.

Ehrenreich, Barbara

Living with a Wild God: A Nonbeliever's Search for the Truth about Everything. Barbara Ehrenreich. New York: Twelve, 2014. 237 pp. $26.00.

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...g with a Wild God' makes for pleasantly prickly reading. Ehrenreich ...gued by her questions, but also exasperated and more than a little ...assed. After all, she's Barbara Ehrenreich, she'll have you know, an ...st and a journalist, the author of polemics against self-soothing delu... ...like positive thinking. . . . Not the sort of woman who would embark ...ything so self-indulgent as a memoir, let alone babble on about mysti... ...periences. . . . "I will never write an autobiography, nor am I sure, after ...ese years, that there is even one coherent 'self' or 'voice' to serve as nar... ...she writes in the foreword. And then, of course, she proceeds to do ...y that over the course of the next 200 pages. . . . [T]he book is lively ...inconsistencies, pledges broken, courses changed. The tangle of contra... ...ns give it a humming, querulous energy. And Ehenreich becomes an ...able narrator par excellence."

Parul Sehgal. *NYTBR,* Apr. 27, 2014: 11.

...George

...Life of George Eliot: A Critical Biography. Carolyn Betensky. Chichester: ...iley-Blackwell, 2012. xii + 299 pp. £62.00.

...ry's biography of George Eliot will engage and even surprise readers who ...ev are familiar with the life of this famous Victorian novelist. Newcom... ...Eliot studies will also find that this comprehensive version illuminates ...ases of Eliot's life and career. Henry synthesizes the latest revisionary ...contextual interpretations as well as the earliest accounts—nearly forty ...aphies and countless articles probing this monumental career. In a lucid, ...ble manner, Henry interweaves the life story and the story of the works ...d she fleshes out relationships, circumstances, social themes, and literary ...s that have been scanted or ignored in other biographies."

Alison Booth. *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 36.1 (2014): 75–78.

...Life in Middlemarch. Rebecca Mead. New York: Crown, 2013. 293 pp. ...25.00.

...d "documents her obsession with Eliot, trying to absorb the author's ...ess like Brooke does Casaubon's. . . . Mead insists that you don't have ...ve read *Middlemarch* to enjoy her book. She's wrong. Reading her book ...ut having finished Eliot's is as meaningless and hollow as reading a ...ption of a painting you haven't seen. But after you've finished *Middle...* ...Mead's book should be required reading—after all, experiencing a ...through another's eyes is the quintessential act of literary empathy."

Emily Landau. *Globe and Mail,* Feb. 8, 2014: R15.

...*New Yorker* writer Rebecca Mead is surely right to contend that 'even ...ost sophisticated readers read novels in the light of their own experi... ...and that 'in such recognition, sympathy may begin'. What is none... ...s a bit disheartening about *My Life in Middlemarch* is the apparent

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assumption that literary criticism and even biography will be most appealing to contemporary readers when packaged as memoir. In George Eliot's novel, few words carry a more consistently ironic charge than 'Providence' or 'providential.' Characters who believe that events have been providentially arranged for their benefit always discover their mistake—not just because the novelist, rather than Providence, has charge of their destinies, but because the belief in such an arrangement necessarily presumes that the final cause of the universe is the individual ego of the believer."

Ruth Bernard Yeazell. *NYRB*, Apr. 24, 2014: 59.

Engler, Hagen

Marrying Black Girls for Guys who Aren't Black. Hagen Engler. Johannesburg: Jacana, 2013. 200 pp. R166.

Former *FHM* editor Hagen Engler fuses spicy humour, double-edged, thought-provoking insight and a profoundly witty and direct narrative of his experience to tell the story of his relationship with his wife, Nomfundo, from their first meeting through courtship, lobola [bride price] and marriage, and the resultant experiences. He offers a wry glance at many cultural habits and clichés. He makes a plea that white South Africans need to go beyond their cultural confines and truly experience the freedom of being in a free country. He tells of an intimate reality in an open manner that encourages thought and debate.

Kyle Allan. *The Witness*, Jan. 8, 2014.

Esterházy, Nikolaus II

Nikolaus II. Esterházy (1765–1833) und die Kunst. Biografie eines manischen Sammlers. Stefan Körner. Vienna: Böhlau, 2013. 398 pp. €69.

"[Körner] offers an opulent biography of Prince Nikolaus II. Esterházy, one of the richest patrons of the so-called saddle period between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. German research of the last fifteen years has focused one-sidedly on bourgeois patronage and even interpreted the patronage of the nobility as bourgeois. By contrast, this impressive study demonstrates the enormous role the nobility still played as patrons after 1800. . . . Körner's core thesis is entirely convincing. In his passionate collecting, his consumption, and his opulent patronage of the arts Esterházy was consistently concerned with his profile and power. . . . [This is] an important contribution to research on the European nobility."

Gabriele B. Clemens. *H-SozKult*, Feb. 12, 2014.

Fest, Johannnes and Joachim

Not I: Memoirs of a German Childhood. Joachim Fest. Trans. Martin Chalmers. New York: Other, 2013. 427 pp. $16.95.

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…s fascinating memoir about what it was like to come of age during the …of the Third Reich is unusual because its central character is not the au… but the author's remarkable father. . . . 'Not I' . . . is a memorable tale of …courage, stoic endurance, self-imposed hardship and a life lived amid …ious, all-encompassing danger. . . . It reminds us that simple human …y is possible even in the most trying of circumstances."

Barry Gewen. *NYTBR,* Mar. 2, 2014: 17.

…ych, Mark

…Bird: The Life and Legacy of Mark Fidrych. Doug Wilson. New York: Thomas Dunne, 2013. 306 pp. $29.99.

…on doesn't just tell the story that everyone saw. He also tells the inside …ball story of this once marvelous pitcher's rise and fall. Unlike many …ball writers, Wilson has a working knowledge of how the game is played. …searches like a scholar and writes like a journalist. He charts, with com…on and acuity, the sad path from Fidrych's wonder year to his profes… demise at age twenty-eight. . . . This book gets behind 'The Bird' and …readers the real Mark Fidrych. Readers will be happy to discover he was …d guy all his life."

Darrell Berger. *NINE* 22.1 (2013): 167–69.

…, Ruth, and Joe Slovo

…First and Joe Slovo in the War Against Apartheid. Alan Wieder. Johan…esburg: Jacana, 2013. 464 pp. R275.

…er traces in rigorous detail the parallel lives of First and Slovo, blending …arrative with extracts from 78 interviews. Slovo was a Jewish immigrant …Lithuania who rose from working-class origins to become a lawyer, …munist and founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He emerges in …book as warm, witty and charming. First, who came from a well-to-do …nesburg Jewish communist family, is portrayed as more complex. The …love of First's youth was Ismail Meer, but the affair was doomed by …politics. The subsequent relationship with Slovo was combative. Both …affairs, although Wieder treads lightly in this area.

Gavin Evans. *Mail & Guardian Online,* Feb. 28, 2014.

…klin, Jane

…of Ages: The Life and Opinions of Jane Franklin. Jill Lepore. New York: …nopf, 2013. 480 pp. $27.95.

…n explains that Lepore's biography of Benjamin Franklin's sister Jane …klin Mecom is "original, affectionate, and smart" and that the title …s from "Jane's record of her children's births and deaths, the precious …f a poor woman's life work." According to Saxton, "Lepore asks what it

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would mean to write a history 'not only from what had been saved but also from what had been lost? . . . Maybe if a reader could sit in a chair and hold in her hands a book of Ages, she might . . . find, in sympathy, justice.'" This biography is "an unforgettable journey."

Martha Saxton. *Women's Review of Books* 31.1 (2014): 5–6.

Friedell, Egon

Egon Friedell. Der geniale Dilettant. Bernhard Viel. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012. 352 pp. €24.95.

"Unfortunately, [this biography] is rather too concerned with superficial psychological interpretations. Especially in the beginning it annoys with rather verbose and stylistically not always convincing descriptions of 'Young Vienna' authors such Hermann Bahr, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Peter Altenberg, and Felix Salten. . . . In many respects Viel creates a vivid image of Friedell. . . . Viel also touches on Friedell's conservatism, his problematic relationship with Judaism which, himself a convert to Christianity, he criticized, his predilection for Christian mysticism and a romanticized Middle Ages that Friedell considered, due to its proximity to God, a wonderful time."

Georg Patzer. *Literaturkritik,* Nov. 14, 2013.

Fromm, Erich

The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet. Lawrence J. Friedman. New York: Columbia UP, 2013. xxxv + 410 pp. $29.95.

"Friedman argues for the importance of Fromm to the early intellectual history of the Frankfurt School. . . . [B]iographical details are too few . . . due in part to the dearth of archival sources on Fromm outside of his voluminous published and unpublished works; consequently Friedman's book reads more like an intellectual biography than he had intended. Recognizing this, Friedman makes the mistake of trying to analyze Fromm's personal life too much. . . . [R]eaders will wish that Friedman had offered a more spirited defense of Fromm's intellectual legacy and his importance today."

Robert Genter. *Reviews in American History* 42.1 (2014): 140–45.

Furet, Francois

Francois Furet: Les Chemins de la Melancholie. Christophe Prochasson. Paris: Stock, 2013. 558 pp. £24.

Furet is a French twentieth century historian. Prochasson "concentrates on ideas. He is discreet about his subject's private life. . . . The greater strength of Prochasson's book lies in its title and in its exploration of the fact that, for all his success, Furet's tone was so often melancholy."

Richard Vonen. *TLS,* Feb. 28, 2014.

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...dhi, Mohandas

...r Before India. Ramachandra Guha. New York: Knopf, 2014. 688 pp. $35.00.

...markable new biography." "Early on, Guha spells out how his tech- ... differs from those of previous biographers: He uses the records of ...temporaries to complement and sometimes challenge Gandhi's own ac- .... This approach helps illuminate Gandhi's time in South Africa. . . . ...a makes a persuasive case that this period is just as significant poliically ...e years in India. . . . Most of the revelations in this book are political, ...ersonal. . . . Guha's moving portrait of Gandhi as immigrant is new."

Jyoti Thottam. *NYTBR,* May 11, 2014: 14.

...dner, Ava

...Gardner: The Secret Conversations. Peter Evans and Ava Gardner. New ...ork: Simon and Schuster, 2013. 293 pp. $26.00.

...s claims to be giving us the 'real' Ava Gardner because of his 'secret' ...ersations. As proof he wasn't bought, he includes negative comments ...people who knew Gardner. . . . However, the Evans portrait is still the ...er image we know, a cross between her roles. . . . In Evans's book she's ...wn version of Norma Desmond, more wacky than demented, but not ...confused about what Evans wants from her and why."

Jeanine Basinger, *NYRB,* Mar. 6, 2014: 9.

...r, Amanda and Wayne

...ssing on Einstein's Lawn: A Father, a Daughter, the Meaning of Noth- ...g, and the Beginning of Everything. Amanda Gefter. New York: Bantam ...ooks, 2014. 418 pp. $28.00.

...er-daughter memoirs have an inherent appeal, especially when the father ...daughter are on an almost preposterous quest. There's such a quest in ...passing on Einstein's Lawn': to uncover the nature of reality. It all began ...Wayne Gefter, a radiologist 'prone to posing Zen-koan-like questions,' ...his 15-year-old daughter, Amanda . . . 'How would you define noth- .... Tracking down the meaning of nothing—and, by extension, secrets ...the origin of the universe and whether observer-dependent reality ex- ...became the defining project of their lives. . . . I wanted so much to like ...book. A great premise, right? . . . But it turned out to be a hard book for ...to like—maybe because it's not actually a father-daughter memoir at all. ...one thing, Wayne Gefter disappears from the main action all too quickly. ...And there's not really enough about Amanda Gefter, either, beyond her ...size brain. . . . What we're left with, finally, is being inside Gefter's head ...e falls deeper into the thickets of cosmology and quantum theory."

Robin Marantz Henig. *NYTBR,* Mar. 2, 2014: 20.

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Genovese, Kitty, and A. M. Rosenthal

Kitty Genovese: The Murder, the Bystanders, the Crime That Changed America. Kevin Cook. New York: Norton, 2014. $25.95.

"In his dismantling of this much-mythologized newspaper account, Cook confirms, not for the first time, that The Times's 1964 version was inaccurate. . . . Still, this book has a suspenseful edge. Through interviews with her lesbian partner and others, Cook humanizes the victim. Equally gripping is his follow-up on Winston Moseley, the killer who was convicted, escaped from prison and raped again."

Amy Finnerty. *NYTBR,* Mar. 16, 2014: 30.

Gerhartsreiter, Christian. See **Kirn, Walter.**

Gevisser, Mark

Lost and Found in Johannesburg: A Memoir. Mark Gevisser. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2014. 354 pp. R207.

This book defies easy classification. Part memoir—it is the story of a clever, nerdy boy—it also explores the blank spaces (such as those between areas designated for specific races) on the maps he loved as a child, and the ways these can become fixed in the psyche of a city or a country. He deals with his family's identity as Eastern European Jews, his own identity as a gay man and —the frame for the narrative—his experience as a victim of crime. Engagingly written, it tells more about the world in which Gevisser grew up than about its author.

Margaret von Klemperer. *The Witness,* Mar. 18 2014.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von

Goethe—Kunstwerk des Lebens. Biografie. Rüdiger Safranski. Munich: Carl Hanser, 2013. 748 pp. €27,90.

"Safranski approaches Goethe through the primary sources. He wants to present his Goethe to us as though it were for the first time, based on his literary works, his letters, diaries and conversations and the accounts of his contemporaries. Thus we become the observers of a human being whose life ran from the Rococo to the machine age of the nineteenth century. Safranski's principal interest is the individual shaping of this life in contrast to the modern universal digital integration that he interprets as the 'hour of conformism'. His intense connectedness with his time notwithstanding, Goethe had managed 'to stay an individual'."

Dieter Kaltwasser. *Literaturkritik,* Nov. 10, 2013.

Hackett, William

The Riddle of Father Hackett: A Life in Ireland and Australia. Brenda Niall. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2009. 320 pp. Aus. $39.95.

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ll has written a splendid account in clear and fluid prose of the life of am Hackett. He regularly visited her parents' home in Kew, Melbourne, g his years in Australia. . . . Many will profit from her deft and delicate ative, including those who know little of Irish and Australian history e twentieth century. . . . This is a fine book because the author never pts the impossible. Hackett in his early days was an enigma. Later, as st and Jesuit, he was unfathomable. Niall has left him an enigma; a char- ization she develops with great skill."

John Molony. *Catholic Historical Review* 100.1 (2014): 185–86.

Radclyffe

liffe Hall: A Life in the Writing. Richard Dellamora. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2011. vii + 319 pp. $34.95.

llamora's thoroughly researched study reminds us that Hall's most fa- s novel is only part of her contribution to British literary and cultural in the early twentieth century. . . . Dellamora substantially expands un- rstanding of the links between Hall's own life and her literary production rning attention to her interests in spiritualism, psychic research and holicism. . . . [I]nterwoven into the literary analyses, Dellamora discusses s major relationships, public reception and her involvement in the sci- c, sexual and spiritual subcultures that flourished in the wake of World I. . . . At times, I would have liked to see a more head-on engagement the existing scholarship."

Heike Bauer. *Women's History Review* 23.1 (2014): 143–44.

ris, Zellig

g Harris: From American Linguistics to Socialist Zionism. Robert Barsky. Cambridge, MA: MIT P, 2011. 353 pp. $29.95.

n where [Barsky] professes to be most competent, in his treatment of the ous' in which Harris lived and worked, he confesses that he is out of his h. . . . This puts an unusual burden on the judgment and discernment of eader. . . . The value of this book lies in the quotation of sources, and we ld be grateful to Barsky for assembling them. We may hope that he will e all of his material available online. If Barsky's attempt at biography, ver flawed, should lead us to look more deeply into what Harris actually e, that will be a very good thing."

Bruce Nevin. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12.3 (2013): 591–93.

rison, William Henry

ild of the Revolution: William Henry Harrison and His World, 1773–1798. Hendrik Booraem V. Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 2012. 263 pp. $50.00.

oraem has skillfully assembled a portrait of Harrison's early life that ides a detailed window into the complex world that structured his

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opportunities and shaped his personality. . . . By reconstructing the post-Revolutionary world in which Harrison lived . . . Booraem is able to compose a convincing narrative of Harrison's early life, and through an astute psychological analysis of his childhood experiences and familial relationships, he effectively situates Harrison's life choices . . . in their sociohistorical contexts. . . . In his rendering, however, Booraem reproduces many of the Euro-centric perspectives held by Harrison and his contemporaries."

Joshua J. Jeffers. *Ohio History* 121 (2014): 130–31.

Hawking, Stephen

Stephen Hawking: A Biography. Kristine Larsen. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2007. 215 pp. $16.95.

"Larsen's thorough if conventional biography . . . seeks to answer one of the most compelling questions about his career: how did a specialist in one of the most esoteric branches of physics become an international icon. . . . In this Larson is only partially successful. . . . [T]he book's most useful moments are when Larson untangles the conceptual threads of Hawking's scientific career. . . . [M]uch of the broader narrative and the early story of his life derive from published sources. . . . Larson recognizes that Hawking is best understood in this uneasy blending of public persona and private life."

Peter J. Susalla. *The European Legacy* 18.7 (2013): 966–67.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel

Hawthorne's Habitations: A Literary Life. Robert Milder. New York: Oxford UP, 2013. xiv + 295 pp. $39.95.

"[This] is the first comprehensive life-and-works study of Hawthorne in many years. Well-written, judicious, and wide-ranging, it should appeal to Hawthorne readers generally, not just to scholars. . . . Throughout, Milder's writing reflects his learning, his careful judgment, and his generosity of spirit. He treats Hawthorne himself and the persons closest to him with judicious sympathy. I was especially impressed by the way he brings Hawthorne's wife Sophia and their evolving relationship to life. . . . Milder has connected Hawthorne's life and personality to his works so persuasively as to influence readers, teachers, and scholars of Hawthorne in the next generation and beyond."

James McIntosh. *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 36.1 (2014): 80–82.

Helding, Michael

Michael Helding (1506–1561): Ein Bischof im Dienst von Kirche und Reich. Peter M. Seidel. Münster: Aschendorff, 2012. xviii + 429 pp. €59.

"Seidel's thorough and substantial monograph, based on archival sources in Vienna, Würzburg, and Merseburg as well as the printed record, contextualizes and clarifies the work of an important member of the hierarchy. . . . By pursuing systematic points in Helding's pastoral and exegetical works, Seidel

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…ers a theological creativity that has escaped earlier investigators. . . . …a cipher even to specialists, Helding now emerges as a many-sided fig…ot easily categorized but now more clearly understood."

Ralph Keen. *Catholic Historical Review* 100.1 (2014): 146–48.

…man, Lillian

…n Hellman: An Imperious Life. Dorothy Gallagher. New Haven: Yale …P, 2014. 184 pp. $25.00.

…biography will be appreciated mainly by readers who already dislike its …ct and are eager to have their opinion confirmed. Gallagher makes scant …pt in her brief study (part of Yale's Jewish Lives series) to critique Lil… Hellman's plays or to evaluate their influence during her time or ours. …ad, she has assembled what she calls 'a persuasive prosecutor's case': an …se of the self-glorifying myths the playwright constructed during the …battles she waged with various people. . . . Some biographers of authors …erate the mark their subjects left on their craft and their times. Gal… reduces Hellman's to little more than a splotch of muck."

Michael Kazin. *NYTBR,* Mar. 2, 2014: 30.

…ert, George

…at Midnight: The Life and Poetry of George Herbert. John Drury. Lon…on: Allen Lane, 2013. 396 pp. £25.

"…informed grasp of the social-political context is one of the great strengths …rury's biography. . . . The driving authorial passion is to make Herbert's …better known. . . . Each stage of his life is illustrated by one or more of …oems, often accompanied by an extensive analysis."

Stephen Prickett. *TLS,* Feb. 28, 2014.

…king, Justin

…Great Floodgates of the Wonderworld: A Memoir. Justin Hocking. Min…neapolis: Graywolf, 2014. 266 pp. $15.00.

"…his appealing memoir, the young author finds salvation from a dead… Manhattan office job in an activity not often associated with New York: …g. . . . It's hard not to cheer for him when he abandons New York for …on, where he falls in love with a fellow-surfer and organizes a marathon …ng of 'Moby-Dick.'"

New Yorker, Apr. 14, 2014: 83.

"…title of his memoir . . . suggests something grand and magic realist (or …ps mock-grand and magic realist), but mainly what we get are straight… …d accounts of his experience. Hocking is earnest and candid, and he …s well about nature."

Thad Ziolkowski. *NYTBR,* Mar. 9, 2014: 16.

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Huffington, Arianna

Thrive: The Third Metric to Redefining Success and Creating a Life of Well-Being, Wisdom, and Wonder. Arianna Huffington. New York: Harmony, 2014. 352 pp. $31.00.

The book "contains some sterling advice. Whether or not you grind your teeth to tiny stumps while reading this advice depends on your tolerance for New Age homilies and the word 'mindfulness.' . . . Huffington's painful epiphany came when she woke in a pool of blood after collapsing in exhaustion at the end of an 18-hour work day. . . . If only she'd stopped at the useful advice: breathe more, don't be a jerk, think like a Stoic. These are valuable reminders. Unfortunately, *Thrive* travels from rational to woo-woo within a page, and sometimes threatens to run off the rails."

Elizabeth Renzetti. *Globe and Mail,* Mar. 29, 2014: R20.

Hustad, Megan

More Than Conquerors: A Memoir of Lost Arguments. Megan Hustad. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014. 227 pp. $25.00.

"Hustad's second book . . . is the story of her childhood as the daughter of itinerant evangelists. Hustad reconstructs the past through a bricolage of interviews, letters, newspaper articles, Bible verses, prayers and anecdotes; the sum effect is a humane portrait of her family and a nuanced exploration into the life of faith. . . . At times, the book digresses and loses momentum. . . . But those are flaws of ambition, and 'More Than Conquerors' achieves far more than it fails to. Hustad has written a generous and arresting account of an upbringing that might have turned a lesser writer bitter."

Justin St. Germain. *NYTBR,* Mar. 23, 2014: 15.

Johnson, Diane

Flyover Lives: A Memoir. Diane Johnson. New York: Viking, 2013. 263 pp. $26.95.

"What gives her memoir its charm and makes it consistently beguiling is not so much the events it describes—the hardships braved by previous generations, a tranquil midwestern childhood, a career as a novelist and screenwriter, a troubled first marriage and a happy second one, a sojourn in London, a move to France—as the tone in which Johnson relates her recollections, reflections, and discoveries. Fans of her novels will recognize the cheerful, wry bemusement, the rare combination of optimism and clear-sightedness, the humor and the intelligence we have come to expect from her fictional first-person narrators, and from the knowing voice that moves seamlessly from the consciousness of one character to another."

Francine Prose. *NYRB,* Mar. 6, 2014: 25.

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...yama, Brad

...Boys: A Wall Street Revolt. Michael Lewis. New York: Norton, 2014. ...38 pp. $32.95.

...sing on former RBC employee Brad Katsuyama, the book tells the story ...group of Wall Street traders who discover the market is rigged to ben... ...siders and set out to change that. "Lewis's primary achievement is in ...ing the opaque world of high-frequency trading (HFT) . . . accessible ...sometimes even thrilling to the lay reader. . . . In Katsuyama and his col... ...es, Lewis has found a rich collection of white-hatted geeks and familiar ...s. . . . He sees them as the true spirit of America, even if they are Rus... ...Canadian, Irish, Croatian, and from the unloved New York City bureau ...aten Island."

Simon Houpt. *Globe and Mail,* Apr. 5, 2014: R19.

...an, George F.

...F. Kennan: An American Life. John Lewis Gaddis. New York: Penguin, ...011. 800 pp. $39.95.

...ow the long-delayed biography has appeared, to almost but not quite uni... ...acclaim, including a Pulitzer Prize. . . . What did Gaddis gain by waiting ...than a quarter of a century to tackle the job? Perspective, obviously, not ...on Kennan's full life but on the entire Cold War. . . . To Gaddis's credit, ...e evident admiration and affection for his protagonist, he does not un... ...sugarcoat the more unsavory aspects of Kennan's life. . . . Gaddis has ...us the most important study yet of this iconic, fascinating, and enig... ...figure, but—and Gaddis would surely agree—it is hardly the last word."

James G. Hershberg. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.4 (2013): 155–60.

...ddis has made fine use of materials available in archival collections, in ...cholarly literature, in memoirs, and in published government docu... ...s. He has also conducted extensive interviews with Kennan (from the ...1980s onward) and with people near to him. . . . Moreover, Gaddis has ...ed privileged access to Kennan's private papers and voluminous diary ...and, unexpectedly, to Kennan's dream journal. The result is a masterly ...comprehensive biography. . . . [It] can also provide a useful orientation ...Americans as they pick their way through the early 21st century—littered ...ethnic strife, religious fanaticism, failed states, audacious terrorists."

David Mayers. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.4 (2013): 161–69.

...al is not a volume that usually engages openly with other interpreters, ...n generally notes rival views, and thus Gaddis has woven a tapestry of ...ative and analysis that often sidesteps direct confrontation with alternative ...pretations and possibly distressing evidence. . . . The result of Gaddis's ...ges of presentation and avoidance is a book that omits much, soft-pedals

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some themes and issues, and frequently ignores substantial evidence and important questions. Thus, in effect, Gaddis, perhaps unintentionally, has left a great deal of room for future interpreters. His volume, though it is the authorized biography, is really far less than authoritative."

Barton J. Bernstein. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.4 (2013): 170–82.

"Gaddis has written a great book about a great man. That may sound like a cliché, but in this case it is really true. Gaddis's achievement is all the more remarkable because he has done it in a genre that is new to him. . . . Gaddis has produced a definitive, highly convincing portrait of the man in the context of his times, but his subject was so multifaceted and complicated that many historians have their own images of Kennan that may be somewhat different from Gaddis's. My own chief complaint about the book is that it does not have enough Russia in it."

Vladimir O. Pechatnov. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.4 (2013): 183–88.

"Gaddis's book . . . reveals contradictions, not consistency, in Kennan's attitude toward Russia. Kennan saw it as the same country under Ivan the Terrible, Nicholas I, and Stalin, but as differing from any other country because it had adopted Communism. . . . Marxism-Leninism became just a variant of Russia's unchangeable social and political landscape. . . . Gaddis seems lenient toward his hero, offering little that was scandalous about Kennan. The main exception comes when Gaddis accurately describes Kennan's views on race and Jews, noting that Kennan saw white Protestant Europeans as 'almost the only modern, reasonable—if you will, tired—peoples with whom we can live.'"

Ivan Kurilla. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.4 (2013): 189–95.

"Religion was not simply a private intellectual exercise for Kennan; it was a part of his life . . . from childhood to his dying days. . . . [I]t is puzzling and disappointing that this particular dimension of Kennan's life remains largely hidden in . . . Gaddis's masterful authorized biography. . . . One can only speculate about why an eminent historian such as Gaddis would fail to examine this highly significant dimension of Kennan's life. . . . The story of Kennan's religious life and beliefs is essential to perfecting our understanding of this American icon, as well as the Cold War foreign policy he helped to shape."

James C. Wallace. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.4 (2013): 196–215.

"Gaddis . . . is not given to intricacy. His strength (and weakness) has always been his capacity to simplify, to impose some (his) kind of sense and order on the vast and multifarious, transparency on the opaque, ideology on the diffuse. . . . Gaddis . . . is an unreconstructed Cold Warrior, a position whose most eloquent critic within the establishment was none other than Kennan himself. . . . Gaddis . . . has eschewed any extensive attempt to come to terms with his unwieldy subject. Gaddis sticks mostly to 'what happened' and avoids strong, analytical takes, as well as any ambition to psychological insight."

Anders Stephanson. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.4 (2013): 233–40.

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..., Walter, and Christian Gerhartsreiter

...d Will Out: The True Story of a Murder, a Mystery, and a Masquerade. ... Walter Kern. New York: Liveright, 2014. 255 pp. $25.95.

"...this smart, real-life psychological thriller, the fake [Clark] Rockefeller ...ristian Gerhartsreiter] is a zombie Gatsby and Kirn the post-apocalyptic ...erald, chronicling upper-crust America in free fall. . . . Kirn the writer ...w from his first interactions with Rockefeller that this strange man could ...fascinating subject. He didn't pursue that notion when he thought they ...pals, but returned to it when Rockefeller became a national news story. ...t Malcolm has dissected the moral perils facing writers who get too close ... anyone they write about. . . . Kirn wrestles with a different aspect of the ...er-killer relationship: self-doubt. He is tormented by his own failure, over ...e than a decade, to accurately read this man."

Nina Burleigh. *NYTBR,* Mar. 9, 2014: 11.

...nausgaard, Karl Ove

...Struggle. Book 3: Boyhood. Karl Ove Knausgaard. Trans. Don Bartlett. ... Brooklyn: Archipelago Books, 2014. 427 pp. $27.00.

"...international best seller, 'My Struggle' has been acclaimed, declaimed ...compared to Proust. . . . [E]ven a skeptical reader, after a few hundred of ...of the volumes' pages, will concede it is highly likely that 'My Struggle' is ...ly original and enduring and great work of literature. Yet it is an original ...enduring and great work of literature that produces the sensation of read... ...something like an unedited transcript of one man's somewhat but not all ...remarkable life, written in language that is fairly often banal."

Rivka Galchen. *NYTBR,* May 25, 2014: 13.

...ch Brothers

...of Wichita: How the Koch Brothers Became America's Most powerful and ... Private Dynasty. Daniel Schulman. New York: Grand Central, 2014. 424 ... pp. $30.00.

"...lman has produced "a book that is closer to a family saga than a politi... ...exposé. There are four Koch brothers, not two, and they have been feud... ...intermittently but operatically, for many decades. . . . Schulman has ably ...mbled everything known about the Kochs into a single, straightforward, ...derstandable account, marred by occasional lapses into cheesy wording . . . ...ixed metaphors."

Nicholas Lemann. *NYTBR,* May 25, 2014: 12.

...eliansky, Samuel

...ussian Jew of Bloomsbury: The Life and Times of Samuel Koteliansky. Galya ... Diment. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2011. 456 pp. $34.95.

"...ment has written a well-researched, perspicuous biography of a man whose ...uence on the high modernists was almost as great as his name is long. In

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fact, this study could be twice the size and not exhaust the important connections that we only glimpse within the scope of this work. It is clear that Diment's purpose is to establish a legacy for a little-known (Jewish) figure, and she has succeeded admirably. . . . But if Diment has succeeded in establishing Koteliansky as a noteworthy figure in the modernist circles, the breadth of this legacy remains ours to delineate."

Nanette Norris. *Modernism/modernity* 20.4 (2013): 787–88.

Leader, George M.

The Life of Pennsylvania Governor George M. Leader: Challenging Complacency. Kenneth Wolensky with George M. Leader. Bethlehem: Lehigh UP, 2011. 189 pp. $60.00.

"[T]his is hardly an orthodox political biography. Instead it is a hybrid, part biography, part autobiography. Moreover, despite the subtitle, the book lacks any overarching, unifying theme other than underscoring Leader's Christian empathy, humaneness, and sense of mission. In truth, the book is an annotated transcript (replete with the interviewer's questions) of many separate interviews that Wolensky did over time with Leader, his wife, and other members of his family. If there is a thesis, it is that the words of the principal actor speak for themselves."

John Bauman. *Pennsylvania History* 81.1 (2014): 127–29.

Leigh Fermor, Patrick

The Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athens. Patrick Leigh Fermor. Ed. Colin Thubron and Artemis Cooper. New York: New York Review Books, 2014. 362 pp. $30.00.

"Few books have been as keenly or lengthily anticipated as the third and final volume of Leigh Fermor's youthful travels. . . . It never appeared; burdened by writer's block and frailty, Leigh Fermor was still working on it when he died in 2011 at age 96. But he did leave a manuscript. His biographer, Artemis Cooper, and the British travel writer Colin Thubron chose to tidy it up and publish it. . . . 'The Broken Road' narrates Leigh Fermor's travels in Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. . . . It does not always have the gemlike polish of the first two volumes. But it is an unforgettable book, full of strange encounters with a prewar Balkan cast of counts, prostitutes, peasants, priests and castrati. The greatest pleasure of all, as usual is Leigh Fermor's own infectious, Rabelasian hunger for knowledge of almost every kind. . . . For anyone who has tried to document a journey, reading him is a humbling and thoroughly inspiring experience."

Robert F. Worth. *NYTBR,* Mar. 9, 2014: 12.

Patrick Leigh Fermor: An Adventure. Artemis Cooper. New York: New York Review Books, 2013. 480 pp. $30.00.

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...per's biography is affectionate but not uncritical, and she ably meets the ...llenge of adding further intrigue to journeys and adventures. . . . Elusive, ...often coy, the Fermor who emerges from these pages seems so authentic ...when he dies, at ninety-six, the reader feels the loss keenly."

New Yorker, Jan. 27, 2014: 69.

...s, Meriwether, and George Rogers Clark

...*Indianization of Lewis and Clark.* William R. Swagerty. Norman, OK: ...Arthur H. Clark, 2012. 2 vols. 778 pp. $90.00.

...gerty establishes the Corps of Discovery's successful material adapta- ...and cultural borrowing as they became more Indianized the longer they ...ed on the trail. This two-volume work is a soundly researched, interpre- ...study of the impact Native American interactions had on the Lewis and ...k Expedition. . . . He plainly shows Indianization as an integral, if not ...ding, factor in the expedition's ultimate survival."

Jim Hardee. *Pacific Historical Review* 83.1 (Feb. 2014): 131–33.

...ly, Penelope

...*ing Fish and Ammonites: A Memoir.* Penelope Lively. New York: Viking, ...2014. 234 pp. $26.95.

...book "is about growing old, about memory and history, about reading ...writing and the way experiences become associated with certain objects. ...Lively has explored these themes before. . . . This time, though, she says ...wants to address them more abstractly. . . . To Lively's credit, she makes ...point that the view from old age is always changing. But I found myself ...ing for an account that was more particular, less about context than ...this one extraordinary woman. . . . I wanted to leap into her place and ...but this book wouldn't quite let me."

Louisa Thomas. *NYTBR,* Feb. 2, 2014: 18.

...ax, Alan

...*Lomax: The Man Who Recorded the World.* John Szwed. New York: Vi- ...king Penguin, 2011. 438 pp. $20.00.

...ed takes the reader along on a dizzying series of field expeditions in- ...ersed with bursts of social and political activism and hobnobbing with ...-profile academics, political and historical figures, and cultural celebrities. ...Szwed does an excellent job illuminating the many facets of Alan Lomax's ...arkable life and spins them into an engaging adventure story. The material ...times dense and complex, but the author salts the book with brief and ...taining anecdotes to keep the reader interested. . . . Szwed's biography is ...jor contribution for understanding one of the most important figures in ...fields of folklore and ethnomusicology."

Jens Lund. *Journal of American Folklore* 127.503 (2014): 105–107.

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Machiavelli, Niccolò

Machiavelli oder Die Kunst der Macht. Eine Biographie. Volker Reinhardt. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2012. 400 pp. €24.95.

"This book is clearly meant as a general work of non-fiction and directed at a larger readership. It can therefore hardly be reviewed by scholarly standards. As in all his books, Reinhardt writes with admirable simplicity, succinctly and with a quick and striking brushstroke. The result is a vivid picture in which Machiavelli is characterized conventionally as partially cynical provocateur and breaker of taboos. . . . Reinhardt . . . has opted for a spartan and conventionally works- and person-centred biography that . . . could have been written very similarly in 1970."

Cornel Zwierlein. *Historische Zeitschrift* 297.3 (2013): 801–802.

Madison, James

James Madison: A Life Reconsidered. Lynne Cheney. New York: Viking, 2014. 564 pp. $36.00.

"Cheney mingles these political events of Madison's career with the circumstances of his 'harum-scarum' personal life. She includes a multitude of details . . . all of which, however trivial, contribute to the richness of her biography. . . . So easily does Cheney move from the personal to the political and back again that she tends to flatten out her narrative line. . . . Still, Cheney's biography is lucidly written . . . and she clearly brings to life the character and personality of Madison. Apart from Ralph Louis Ketcham's 1971 life, this is probably the best single-volume biography of Madison that we now have."

Gordon S. Wood. *NYTBR,* May 4, 2014: 1, 15.

Marx, Karl

Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life. Jonathan Sperber. New York: Liveright, 2013, 672 pp. $35.00.

"Until a recent burst of interest among young radicals in the wake of the Great Recession, Marx had become an irrelevant curiosity. Jonathan Sperber's new biography reinforces this dim view of Marx. . . . Sperber is at his best when narrating what was so nineteenth-century about Marx's life. He is particularly good in describing Marx's religious background. . . . Sperber is less adept when it comes to explaining Marx's ideas or those of the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel, who was his greatest influence. . . . Marx's ideas need to be given their due. And that's the one thing that Sperber's book fails to do."

John B. Judis. *Dissent* 61.1 (2014): 76–80.

"Sperber's achievement . . . is also the book's weakness. He succeeds, for the most part, in rescuing Marx from posterity by contextualizing him as a nineteenth-century German radical Hegelian. But his overly historicist vision of Marx leads him to overlook some important aspects of his thought, deny

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sights into modern capitalism, and misjudge his legacy. . . . Sperber has en an accessible and thought-provoking work that should now be con- ed the Marx biography of record despite its imperfections."

Steven G. Marks. *Society* 51.2 (2014): 195–98.

d, Rebecca. See **Eliot, George.**

delssohn, Moses

Mendelssohn: Sage of Modernity. Shmuel Feiner. New Haven: Yale UP, 2010. 221 pp. $27.50.

delssohn's achievements, his personal resolve, the religious and ethi- alues guiding him, and his diverse social roles are elaborated in Shmuel er's biography. Accessible and sympathetic, analytical and well informed, fills the aim of the series, *Jewish Lives.* . . . Biography provides a structure ense and meaning in which the individual's commitments affirmed by his ons matter as much as those proposed in his writings. As Feiner shows, is the case with Mendelssohn, who lived against the grain of Orthodoxy tradition. . . . Feiner reconstructs Mendelssohn's Jewish life by means of erman Classical form, the *Bildungsroman.*"

Martin L. Davies. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12.3 (2013): 522–23.

chell, S. Weir

Weir Mitchell, 1829–1914: Philadelphia's Literary Physician. Nancy Cer- etti. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2012. xii + 295 pp. $79.95.

ull biography . . . has long been needed. . . . Cervetti has done a great ce by presenting and evaluating the whole man. . . . [S]he searched out ary sources to present a rich portrait of his work and personal life. . . . A gth of this biography is its informed discussion of Mitchell's writing ca- . . . Less satisfying for scholars of the history of medicine is her treatment e content and context of Mitchell's understandings of medical knowl- . . . Cervetti has given readers a freshly researched, beautifully written rait of a vital figure who, for better and worse, towered over his age."

len L. Horowitz. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 87.4 (2013): 690–91.

ore, Marianne

ing on Upside Down: The Life and Work of Marianne Moore. Linda Leavell. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014. 480 pp. $30.00.

ifting through voluminous family correspondence, quoting liberally and sometimes interpreting, Leavell gives us Moore as fascinating woman poet, avant-gardist and prude, small-town girl, big-city dweller, submis- daughter and art world player. . . . This smart, provocative book lets us the woman and her work without resorting to simplification."

Daisy Fried. *NYTBR,* Apr. 20, 2014: 30.

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Morrissey

Autobiography. Morrissey. New York: Putnam, 2013. 454 pp. $34.95.

"Conspicuously lacking chapter breaks, prefaced by a photo of a naked toddler in sunglasses (the author, presumably), formatted willy-nilly (italics, bolding, and capitalization deployed with orthographic abandon), boasting an opening paragraph running four and one-half pages, by turns intoxicating, indulgent, hilarious . . . and straight-up dull, Morrissey's memoir earns its pithy title. For better, for worse, for nothing at all, *Autobiography* is a catalogue of everything 'Morrissey,' the garrulous genome map of one of pop culture's most vexing constructions."

John Semley. *Globe and Mail,* Jan. 11, 2014: R14.

Muret, Marc-Antoine

Marc-Antoine Muret. Des Isles fortunées au rivage romain. Jean-Eudes Girot. Geneva: Droz, 2012. xii + 860 pp. €73.93

"This comprehensive and scholarly study demonstrates Muret's continuing status in French literature even after his move to Italy, portraying him as a prolific scholar with a practical understanding of printing, a genuine commitment to teaching, and a strong sense of privacy. . . . Overall, this is a meticulously detailed volume that will help restore Muret to something approaching the reputation he had during his lifetime. It is a valuable scholarly tool that portrays Muret as a thoughtful, engaging, and committed humanist with a real dedication to his professional duties, to scholarship, and to his friends."

Emma Herdman. *French Studies* 68.1 (2014): 97.

Mutch, Maria

Know the Night: A Memoir of Survival in the Small Hours. Maria Mutch. Toronto: Knopf, 2014. 224 pp. $29.95.

This is a "lyrical nocturne about the years [Mutch] sat vigil with her non-verbal son when, starting at age nine, he gave up sleeping for nightly marathons of shrieking, humming and clapping. . . . *Know the Night* hews far closer to poetry or philosophy than self-help. There's a particular poignancy in the way Gabriel's lack of words has clearly fostered Mutch's embrace of them (ironically, Mutch's pregnancy brought on a case of writer's block and she had to abandon the novel she was working on). It is a beautiful, singular book."

Emily Donaldson. *Globe and Mail,* Mar. 1, 2014: R20.

Natonek, Hans

Für immer fremd. Das Leben des jüdischen Schriftstellers Hans Natonek. Steffi Böttger. Leipzig: Lehmstedt, 2013. 248 pp. €19.90.

"It is the merit of the Lehmstedt publishing house and its author, Steffi Böttger, that the impressive writings of the Jewish author, Hans Natonek

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2–1963), have come to the attention of a German readership again. . . . ed on years of research, [Böttger] has made these texts . . . available again wo volumes. . . . Apart from the truly impressive new insights Böttger s her ability to concentrate the material on some two hundred pages is ssive. Even more remarkable, though, is how much can be found out r a person who for decades was considered a forgotten author."

Manfred Orlick. *Literaturkritik.* Dec. 2, 2013.

ell, George

e Orwell: English Rebel. Robert Colls. New York: Oxford UP, 2014. 56 pp. $34.95.

ir decades of Orwell as a saint, Colls' intervention—where Orwell's Eng- ss is an activity, a process—is welcome. . . . Colls wants to understand ell through Englishness . . . and rebelliousness. . . . Colls is spot on." But of his "conclusions are suspect."

Calum Mechie. *TLS,* Mar. 14, 2014.

o I (the Great)

r der Große, Kaiser und Reich: Eine Biographie. Matthias Becher. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2012. 332 pp. €24.95.

her's biography provides a desirable companion to Johannes Laudage's phy of Otto I (WBG 2001), not a replacement of it, as they both have different perspectives and each has its own strengths and weaknesses. her has written a traditional diachronic treatment of the German realm f Otto I. . . . While Becher, who also wrote a biography of Charlemagne, and stresses comparisons between the two rulers as a narrative device, in a places he pushes the comparison a bit too far. I doubt if Otto consciously ght that he was 'taking actions' beyond those that Charlemagne did."

John W. Bernhardt. *Early Medieval Europe* 22.1 (2014): 92–94.

s new biography . . . should be viewed as a welcome addition to the exist- terature. One should say, at the outset, that the book appears to have been d at a general audience. Its tone might best be described as popular and edantic, but the scholarship reflects the current mainstream of German eval research and is fundamentally sound. . . . One would feel confident mmending this book to an advanced undergraduate or even to a general r with an interest in the topic, assuming that they read German."

David A. Warner. *English Historical Review* 129.536 (2014): 164–66.

ge, Satchel

You Were Only White": The Life of Leroy "Satchel" Paige. Donald Spivey. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 2012. xxv + 347 pp. $29.95.

saga of Leroy 'Satchel' Paige has been told numerous times. . . . However, ald Spivey, professor of history at the University of Miami, has produced

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what will likely remain the definitive biography. . . . Spivey spent twelve years researching Paige in numerous archival sources and interviewing many of Paige's Negro League comrades, most notably Theodore Roosevelt 'Double Duty' Radcliffe and John 'Buck' O'Neil. . . . Spivey was granted exclusive insight into Paige's private life through the cooperation of the pitcher's children. . . . Written with a passionate voice rather than scholarly detachment, Spivey places Paige's life within twentieth-century African-American history and culture."

Ron Briley. *Journal of Sport History* 40.3 (2013): 509–510.

Parks, Rosa

The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks. Jeanne Theoharis. Boston: Beacon, 2013. 320 pp. $27.95.

"The official Mrs Parks . . . appropriated in death by the powerful . . . is not the Rosa Parks revealed in Jeanne Theoharis's book of meticulous historical research. . . . Here is class as well as race, bruising gender relations, and a brave political journey of six decades. . . . Dozens of interviews with frontline participants in Rosa Parks' life, scores of oral histories, and thousands of archive documents are the solid bedrock of this historical work, which is also beautifully written. . . . [It] will inspire a new generation to look beyond the symbolic to see what hard work for change really means."

Victoria Brittain. *Race & Class* 55.3 (2014): 93–98.

Philby, Kim

The Young Kim Philby. Edward Harrison. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2012. 232 pp. £60.

"Harrison's account of the life and career of Britain's most infamous traitor, Kim Philby, is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the secret world of Anglo-Soviet intelligence history. The study focuses on Philby's story to 1945 and offers a brief epilogue that reflects on Philby's career through to the time of his defection in 1963. Harrison ably integrates the increasingly rich array of popular, scholarly and memoir accounts of Philby's career and offers original research based on his scrutiny of important private papers, discussions with former intelligence officers, and his own analysis of the growing number of declassified government documents."

Gordon Morrell. *European History Quarterly* 44.1 (2014): 150–51.

Pla, Josep

The Gray Notebook. Josep Pla. Trans. Peter Bush. New York: New York Review Books, 2014. 638 pp. $19.95.

This book "is a journal begun on his 21st birthday on March 8, 1918, and kept until he became the Paris correspondent of a Barcelona newspaper 20 months

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. . . Before its publication in Catalan in 1966 and in Spanish in 1975, he ked it, blending the reflections of a young writer learning his trade with of a mature wordsmith elaborating on his memories. . . . Unchanging, is Pla as the central character in what reads like an extended literary iography. . . . [T]he Catalonia portrayed in 'The Gray Notebook' might like a far-off land. Yet what survives in its pages is a vibrant testimony to ower of words to transcend time."

Alan Riding. *NYTBR,* Apr. 20, 2014: 23.

, Jürgen

Ponto. Bankier und Bürger. Eine Biografie. Ralf Ahrens and Johannes ähr. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013. 348 pp. €24.90.

biography by the well established business historians Ralf Ahrens . . . Johannes Bähr . . . approaches the life of the former CEO of the Dres- Bank in the form of a conventional entrepreneur's biography. . . . This phy is highly successful, not least in stylistic terms. It is recommended not only for those interested in business history. It conveys profound ts into the mentality of a banker who was ahead of his time in terms of rofessional self-understanding and communication skills. Anyone inter- in . . . the (limited) power of the banks at the height of Rhenish capital- ust read this book."

Christopher Kopper. *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte,* Feb. 2, 2014.

kofiev, Lina

and Serge: The Love and Wars of Lina Prokofiev. Simon Morrison. New ork: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013. 328 pp. $26.00.

ong the wives of famous men who have languished in the Gulag, few had e tragic tale to tell than Lina Prokofiev, the wife of the composer, who 48 was sentenced to twenty years in the labor camps of the far north for on to the motherland'. Soviet Russia was not her motherland. Born in id, she had grown up mainly in New York, where she met Prokofiev, had fled there to escape the Bolshevik Revolution, in 1919. Lina had only a few childhood summers in her mother's native Russia, when she back there with her homesick husband, first to visit, and finally to live their two sons in 1936. It was a bad time to return. . . . After her release, rarely spoke about the camps, not even after she left the Soviet Union 74. Although she gave interviews to journalists, she 'perfected the art of n' and wrote only a few 'scattered notes' of her autobiography, accord- Simon Morrison, a Princeton music history professor who was given l access to the family's private papers for this revealing book, which Serge Prokofiev in a troubling new light."

Orlando Figes, *NYRB,* Mar. 6, 2014: 27.

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Proust, Marcel

Marcel Proust. Adam Watt. London: Reaktion, 2013. 208 pp. £10.95.

"[In his] enjoyable and well-wrought style . . . Watt devotes much attention to the evolution of Proust's health issues. . . . Friendships and loves, major readings and influences, the turmoil of history, and the development of Proust's thought and writing are nevertheless also elegantly exposed. . . . All this is well illustrated with quotes and iconic photographs and accompanied by helpful explanations of the contemporary French context . . . offering a highly readable and round introduction to the life of this great mind. . . . [A] large audience can benefit from it who may be interested but felt discouraged by the size of the previous biographies in English."

Erika Fülöp. *Modern & Contemporary France* 22.1 (2014): 129–30.

Raphael (Raffaello Santi)

Raphael: A Passionate Life. Antonio Forcellino. Oxford: Polity, 2012. 299 pp. £25.

"Forcellino aims to write the life and art of Raphael as more closely connected to his personal context, to the history of his patrons and to the personalities who surrounded him, in order to describe the artistic and social ascent of a 'prince-artist'. . . . Forcellino's long experience as restorer affords him a deep understanding of the technical and material aspects in painting. Consequently, his descriptions are more than a mere interpretation of the image and reveal fascinating characteristics of Raphael's capacity and aspiration to innovate. . . . Forcellino does not introduce new sources and his book is mainly based on already published sources."

Miguel Palou Espinosa. *European Review of History* 21.1 (2014): 127–28.

Rockefeller, Michael

Savage Harvest: A Tale of Cannibals, Colonialism, and Michael Rockefeller's Tragic Quest for Primitive Art. Carl Hoffman. New York: William Morrow/HarperCollins, 2014. 322 pp. $26.99.

In 1961, "the 23-year-old son of Governor Nelson Rockefeller had been on a mission to collect artwork from the Asmat, a remote, mysterious tribe that hadn't had sustained contact with outsiders until just years earlier," when his catamaran capsized and he set off for shore never to be seen again. . . . *Savage Harvest* follows twin storylines: a reconstruction of the banking heir's journey and the story of Hoffman's own attempts to unravel the puzzle, as he searches through archives, tracks down people who knew Rockefeller, and retraces the young man's steps through the muddy mangrove swamps of New Guinea. . . . As Hoffman slowly unravels the mystery . . . the book becomes a fascinating meditation on the way we look at people on the other side of the globe, at the commonalities but also the enormous differences."

Nicholas Hune-Brown. *Globe and Mail,* Mar. 22, 2014: R13.

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ffman's sensational speculation risks losing his readers' trust right off the
Quickly, however, his book settles down and his reporting takes hold,
ing a vivid portrait of the world of the Asmat people, hunter-gatherers
lived in isolation until the mid-20th century. . . . Hoffman goes further
anyone in describing the charged political backdrop and the dynamics of
society that surrounded Rockefeller's disappearance. He also builds a
case for cannibalism—though the truth will probably never be known
bsolute certainty."

Joshua Hammer. *NYTBR*, Apr. 6, 2014: 14.

eathal, A. M. See **Genovese, Kitty.**

ger, Mike

from the True Vine: Mike Seeger's Life and Musical Journey. Bill C.
Malone. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2011. 256 pp. $30.00.

[a] biography is an important contribution to folklore scholarship. As
thor and musician, Bill C. Malone is an important chronicler of coun-
usic. His breadth of knowledge gives him a unique background for
g Seeger's biography. . . . Malone's treatment of Mike's upbringing is
detail and could be a blueprint for telling the story of an individual's
ce into a musical career. . . . Bill Malone's writing about Mike Seeger
ave been inspired by a search for authenticity."

Philip Nusbaum. *Journal of American Folklore* 127.503 (2014): 108–109.

mann, Fritz

Selbmann als Kommunist und SED-Funktionär. Oliver Kiechle. Düs-
eldorf: Düsseldorf UP, 2013. 511 pp. €24.80.

ast a scholarly biography of this combative Communist has been
ished. . . . [B]ased on a doctoral dissertation, this study is thoroughly
arched and well written. . . . Kiechle manages to maintain the correct
ce between distance and proximity to his protagonist. He describes
mann's path without prejudice, weighs up Selbmann's judgements and
open questions that cannot be answered unambiguously. . . . Kiechle
nstrates superbly the substantive contribution a biographical approach
ake to the writing of contemporary history. His book deserves a con-
ble readership."

Rainer Karlsch. *sehepunkte* 13.12 (2013).

on, Ariel

The Life of Ariel Sharon. David Landau. New York: Knopf, 2014. 635
p. $35.00.

Sharon's wholly surprising journey from ruthless military commander to
Landau calls 'national father figure,' from territory-expanding champion

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to Palestinian state advocate, that most interests Landau in . . . his fine, comprehensive and readable biography. Five years in the making and published just after Sharon's death last month, the book closely chronicles Sharon's epic military and political battles, serving as a kind of national history. . . . Nonetheless, capturing and explaining a paradoxical and larger-than-life figure like Sharon . . . is no simple task. And while Landau is fair and clear, he does not really unlock the mystery to Sharon's shifts or give a fully coherent picture of his inner self. He also makes no effort to describe how Palestinians or other Arabs experienced Sharon."

Ethan Bronner. *NYTBR*, Feb. 16, 2014: 20.

Shteyngart, Gary

Little Failure: A Memoir. Gary Shteyngart. New York: Random House, 2013. 349 pp. $27.00.

"Reading this memoir, most of whose chapters were first excerpted in magazines such as *The New Yorker*, *The Threepenny Review*, and *GQ*, one discovers that several elements of Shteyngart's fiction come from the author's own life. . . . Indeed, with the publication of *Little Failure*, Shteyngart has reached a critical juncture in his career as a writer. He has penned three novels that draw heavily on his experiences as a Russian-American Jew, and followed them up with a memoir that delves yet deeper into the subject. . . . [H]ere's hoping that his next literary endeavour will strive to disentangle the no less complex web of identity ensnaring a completely different protagonist."

Rayyan Al-Shawaf. *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 18, 2014: R16.

"Shteyngart's mother and father, having Stalin and Hitler as babysitters, may have made all the difference. By the end of the memoir, he comes to realize something like that about them. In reality they never left Russia, so the softness of their new life in America could never soften them. Even their son, who has no God, no family myth to cling to, can't help living in two worlds too, the clash of which inspires in him the feelings of both elation and remorse: the elation of having a special, privileged knowledge reserved for those who know both the one and the other, and the remorse of fitting finally into neither one. This may sound like an awful predicament to be in, but it gave him a kind of consolation prize: not just his own distinct identity, but all the loose ends and unresolved contradictions out of which great literature is made."

Charles Simic. *NYRB*, Feb. 20, 2014: 6.

Slovo, Joe. See **First, Ruth.**

Sommerfeld, Arnold

Arnold Sommerfeld: Science, Life and Turbulent Times 1868–1951. Michael Eckert. Berlin: Springer, 2013. 471 pp. $49.99.

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book presents the first English-language biography of Arnold Sommer-
. . . [Eckert] is an expert in the history of modern physics and directed
dition of Sommerfeld's correspondence with other scientists. . . . This
includes in Sections 6.3 and 8.5 many important details of Sommer-
school, emphasizing the charismatic character of the founder. . . . The
phy also describes in great detail his many trips abroad. . . . This book
remain the definitive biography of Sommerfeld. Beyond presenting
pth his achievements in theoretical physics and its legacy, it includes the
ocial and political environment surrounding his life and work."

Andre K. T. Assis. *Science & Education* 23.3 (2014): 707–710.

nser, Edmund

nd Spenser: A Life. Andrew Hadfield. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. xxi + 624 pp. £25.

dfield's magisterial new biography of Spenser—the first for nearly sev-
years—will . . . be greatly welcomed by scholars of Tudor literature,
l culture, and sixteenth-century court and colonial politics, as well as
yone interested in early modern life-writing and questions of how one
aches the relationship between an author's life and their literary out-
. . . Spenser's life-long, serious commitment to being a poet, and his in-
in advancing himself through writing, play a major part in determining
iography's structure. This book is revelatory . . . and provides us with a
e nuanced, complex individual than was previously assumed."

Matthew Woodcock. *Renaissance Studies* 28.1 (2014): 160–62.

nwyck, Barbara

e of Barbara Stanwyck: Steel-True, 1907–1940. Victoria Wilson. New
ork: Simon and Schuster. 2014. 1,044 pp. $40.00.

toria Wilson (vice-president and senior editor at Knopf) tries to find
eal person. In 1,044 pages, the first of two volumes, she takes Barbara
nwyck's life and career only as far as 1940. Wilson spent fifteen years
g in-depth research, interviewing people who knew and worked with
nwyck, and watching every film she made. She wants to tell the complete
of Stanwyck in the historical setting of her times."

Jeanine Basinger, *NYRB,* Mar. 6, 2014: 9.

n, Heinrich F. K., Freiherr vom

herr vom Stein—Reformer und Moralist. Hans Fenske. Darmstadt: Wis-
enschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2012. 128 pp. €19.90.

at's next after Heinz Durchardt's big Stein biography? Hans Fenske's
er to this question is: a small account of Stein's life. Fenske is one of the
knowledgeable scholars of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Prussian

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and German sources. . . . Fenske's slim volume is committed to conventional political biography. He just touches on the nexus between society and the individual but does not raise questions about the connection between the public and the private, experience and activity, discourses and ideas. Hans Fenske has written a readable book, beautifully produced by the publisher. It almost seems to have fallen out of time."

Ewald Frie. *Historische Zeitschrift* 298.1 (2014): 123–24.

Šusteršič, Ivan

Ivan Šusteršič, der ungekrönte Herzog von Krain. Andrej Rahten. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012. 438 pp. €69.

"Andrej Rahten's biography of the 'uncrowned Duke of Carniola' forms a perfect companion volume to Pavlina Bobic's recent study on Slovene Catholics during the First World War. . . . Rahten deserves thanks for skilfully investigating the different shades of grey in a political landscape that has too often been painted in the stark contrasts of simply black and white. The disintegration of the Habsburg monarchy proved to be a complex game where almost everyone kept hedging their bets until almost the very end."

Lothar Höbelt. *War in History* 21.1 (2014): 124–25.

Suzman, Helen

Helen Suzman: Bright Star in a Dark Chamber. Robin Renwick. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2014. 160 pp. R220.

In this tribute to a person he understandably holds in high esteem, Robin Renwick, British Ambassador to Pretoria in the dying days of apartheid, provides little new information about parliamentarian Suzman. But his book is valuable at a time when South African history is under threat from politically correct revisionism. Renwick writes fluently, relating Suzman's grim struggle as a "hard liberal who refused to compromise on matters of principle." Breytenbach described her as "our lady of the prisoners," and Mandela said of her: "you acquitted yourself beyond words". Luthuli's description of her features as the book's subtitle.

Christopher Merrett. *The Witness,* Feb. 18, 2014.

Swift, Johathan.

Jonathan Swift: His Life and His World. Leo Damrosch. New Haven: Yale UP, 2013. 592 pp. $35.00.

This biography of Swift "aims at sweeping away misconceptions, many of which were encouraged by the man himself. The result might have made for tedious reading, but Damrosch writes with wit and constructs a compelling portrait of the Irish clergyman, whose satires delighted and scandalized eighteenth-century Britain."

New Yorker, Feb. 3, 2014: 79.

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nyson, Alfred

nyson: To Strive, to Seek, to Find. John Batchelor. New York: Pegasus, 2013. 448 pp. $35.00.

w many biographies of Tennyson are there? This is a fine one: sturdy, ghtful, responsible. . . . Luckily, Batchelor is also an excellent reader of ms. . . . It's a pleasure when a biographer is as good a reader of poems as e."

Daisy Fried. *NYTBR,* Apr. 20, 2014: 30.

bincevic, Kenan

Bosnia List: A Memoir of War, Exile, and Return. Kenan Trebincevic and Susan Shapiro. New York: Penguin, 2014. 320 pp. $16.00.

s book is a primer to a war as horrific as any in the 20th century. But it the details that make 'The Bosnia List,' which Trebincevic wrote with journalist Susan Shapiro, acutely painful to read. Through a child's eyes, witnesses his world slipping away, and he is brutally aware of what it is he is losing: normality."

Janine di Giovanni. *NYTBR.* Apr. 6, 2014: 25.

tsky, Leon

Trotsky: A Revolutionary's Life. Joshua Rubenstein. New Haven: Yale UP, 2011. 240 pp. $25.00.

re is little in *Leon Trotsky* that is revelatory. . . . [T]he greatest advantage is particular biography . . . is its fluid, colourful narrative style. . . . [It] s the reader a vivid impression of the Russian Revolution and its protago- as well as the extraordinary qualities, flaws and eccentricities that make sky so appealing to study. Unfortunately, it is paired with a tendency ake sweeping and sometimes arbitrary statements. . . . [T]he portrayal otsky remains firmly in gods-and-monsters territory. . . . [W]hile [this] aphy holds up well (even favourably) to Service's, there is no question challenging Deutscher."

Kirsty McCluskey. *Revolutionary Russia* 26.2 (2013): 172–73.

, Kwame. See **Carmichael, Stokely.**

dike, John

dike. Adam Begley. New York: Harper, 2014. 558 pp. $29.95.

gley's account of Updike's life is often shrewd but it is also severely aged by misinterpretations and partisanship, a byproduct of who Beg- alked to. He interviewed Updike's first wife Mary and their four kids ot the second wife Martha and the three stepsons from that relation- As a result, Mary is presented as nurturing, maternal, shy, serene, and

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artistic as well as tolerant of Updike's creative and personal foibles. By contrast, Martha is depicted as an evil stepmother worthy of a fairytale rather than a biography."

Jeet Heer. *Globe and Mail,* Apr. 5, 2014: R18.

"'Updike' is essentially an extended essay in biographical criticism, an insight into the man through the work and the work through the man. The approach has obvious risks—reading the fiction too literally, stretching for the biographical bases for characters or events—but Begley is an intelligent writer and he avoids most of the traps. . . . Writing was what the man was about, and the writing is what Begley focuses on. 'Updike' is a highly literate illumination of a supremely literate human being."

Louis Menand. *New Yorker,* Apr. 28, 2014: 70–76.

"The joys of Begley's 'Updike' are based on discovering the autobiographical content of the tens of thousands of details that populate Updike's vast fictional universe. . . . The greatest pleasure in reading this biography is in discovering—essay by essay, story by story, novel by novel (and with the help of an index)—the daily vicissitudes that lay behind Updike's ability to inhabit multiple identities, and the sheer range of his versatile pen. How was a person like Updike possible? Every literary biography should ask and attempt to answer the same question for its own subject."

Orhan Pamuk. *NYTBR,* Apr. 20, 2014: 10–11.

Van Vechten, Carl

The Tastemaker: Carl Van Vechten and the Birth of Modern America. Edward White. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014. 377 pp. $30.00.

"White celebrates all the things that might once have seemed shocking about Van Vechten: his conviction that Negro culture was the essence of America; his simultaneous fascination with the avant-garde and the broadly popular; and his string of sexual relationships with men, which were an open secret during his life. . . . White calls him, plausibly enough, the 'prophet of a new cultural sensibility that promoted the primacy of the individual, sexual freedom, and racial tolerance and dared put the blues on a par with Beethoven.' Even so, White can't help placing that polarizing novel, and its title at the center of his tale. Nearly a century after he rose to fame, Van Vechten remains the white man who insisted on publishing a pro-Negro book called 'Nigger Heaven.' And he will be a tempting subject for biographers as long as there are readers who want to know what, exactly, he was thinking."

Kelefa Sanneh. *New Yorker,* Feb. 17–24, 2014: 100–106.

An "ambitious and engaging portrait of a 'polymath' and the world he helped shape." "White shows a commanding grasp of the larger cultural ethos and Van Vechten's place in it, and often his digressions about Hearst's 'Chicago

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erican' (where Van Vechten cut his teeth as a journalist) or the arty sa- in New York or the gay social mores of the era are more entertaining astute than the biography of his subject per se. Indeed, White seems e conflicted about where his proper focus should lie. Given that Van ten is anything but dull, I was puzzled by how relatively seldom White s him to speak, and by the dim view he seems to take of Van Vechten onally."

Blake Bailey. *NYTBR*, Feb. 23, 2014: 16.

erstein, Immanuel

nuel Wallerstein and the Problem of the World: System, Scale, and Cul- re. Ed. David Palumbo-Liu, Bruce Robbins, and Nirvana Tanoukhi. Durham: Duke UP, 2011. 272 pp. $23.95.

oughout Immanuel Wallerstein's lifelong intellectual project, the three s note, the key explanandum has always been the colossal inequality n individual's life chances depending on whether one was born in Da- Doha, Dushanbe, or Des Moines. Wallerstein created and developed a ptual and theoretical tool-kit to deal with this question: world-systems sis. . . . [T]the stark realities of our crisis-ridden age demand a 'perspec- f the world.'"

Kevan Harris. *Journal of World History* 24.3 (Sept. 2013): 661–64.

ren, Elizabeth

hting Chance. Elizabeth Warren. New York: Macmillan, 2014. 384 pp. 28.00.

ren tells the story of her life in order to make an argument about America middle class is trapped in a vise of debt), which is the sort of thing politi- do when they're running for office. . . . *My life explains my fight* has been gument of every American political biography for a long time. . . . And, cularly for women with children, campaign biography can be a snare. This snare exists because political biography as a genre follows conven- whose origins lie with Andrew Jackson, in the early nineteenth century, before women gained the right to vote or to hold office. . . . But there's er snare here: the danger of adopting, in place of the Andrew Jackson's- raps political biography, the newer conventions of diaper-pin Girl Jack- ism. . . . Warren argues that the federal government has allowed an gulated financial industry to prey on the middle class; she also writes no amount about peach cobbler and burned frying pans. . . . Warren is also enough to use the conventions of political biography, old and new, to on the existence of a relationship between caring for other people and about politics."

Jill Lepore. *New Yorker*, Apr. 21, 2014: 96–101.

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"The book is a potent mix of memoir and policy that makes politics seem like a necessary evil, and yet it's impossible to read Warren's story without thinking about her meteroric rise in the Democratic Party. . . . That makes the aw-shucks, I-just-stumbled-into-the-Senate anecdotes that propel her narrative feel inevitably like the savvy (critics would say self-serving) story lines that would play so well at an Elks Club in Iowa. . . . Talking points aside, a politician's personal story is a powerful currency, especially when it starts with a lower middle-class childhood in Oklahoma City and features characters like wise old Aunt Bee and salt-of-the-earth Daddy, who lost his job selling carpeting at Montgomery Ward. . . . Warren spends more time on the intricate ticktock behind the creation of a Consumer Financial Protection Bureau than on her personal life. . . . But it's the intimate moments in 'A Fighting Chance' that make up its less wonky and infinitely more readable parts."

Amy Chozick. *NYTBR*, Apr. 27, 2014: 13.

Wayne, John

John Wayne: The Life and Legend. Scott Eyman. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014. 658 pp. $32.50.

"In his authoritative and enormously engaging new biography . . . Scott Eyman writes in great detail on all three subjects: the politics that led Wayne to be actively involved in the Hollywood Red Scare that blacklisted hundreds in the industry; the cancer that ultimately killed him in 1979 at age 72; and the surprising amount of care and work that went into creating the persona known to the world as John Wayne. . . . The book . . . takes you through Wayne's life, his death and his legend in a detailed, remarkably knowledgeable yet extremely readable way."

Peter Bogdanovich. *NYTBR*, Mar. 30, 2014: 12–13.

Wilder, Thornton

Thornton Wilder: A Life. Penelope Niven. New York: Harper, 2012. xvi + 832 pp. $39.99.

"Wilder retained throughout his long life a hesitancy to share his private thoughts. Niven has approached this difficulty very skillfully by drawing extensively upon the vast trove of Wilder correspondence, journals, and other written materials housed at Yale's Beinecke Library. She also very adroidly includes many excerpts from letters written to and about Wilder. . . . [I]n this biography, Thornton Wilder is considered in the context of his family, and Niven makes a very convincing case that this is the most fruitful way to view him. . . . Niven has . . . meticulously organized all the materials that enable us to prepare our own assessment of this fascinating, multi-talented man."

Jackson R. Bryer. *Hopkins Review* 7.1 (2014): 133–39.

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ff, Theodor

dor Wolff. Ein Leben mit der Zeitung. Bernd Sösemann. Stuttgart: Stein-
, 2012. 304 pp. €24.90.

s biography, presented by the retired Berlin media historian, Bernd
mann, is the revised and extended version of the edition first published
000. It offers a competent introduction to one of the most significant
ieth-century German journalists and publicists. The extension consists
arily of an appendix with samples of Wolff's journalistic work. Unfor-
ely, the revision has not managed to eradicate all minor errors. . . .
mann succeeds in presenting . . . a rounded picture of Theodor Wolff.
cholarly use is limited by the fact that references are kept to a minimum
ot all of them can be identified in the slim bibliography."

Norman Domeier. *Historische Zeitschrift* 297.3 (2013): 848–50.

oden, John

den: A Coach's Life. Seth Davis. New York: Times Books/Henry Holt,
014. 591 pp. $35.00.

is, a senior writer for Sports Illustrated and a college basketball analyst for
, offers a thorough if at times plodding account of Wooden's 99 years. .
e has written neither a hatchet job nor a hagiography but a meticulously
arched and evenhanded assessment. And that, alas, is the book's fatal flaw.
oden just isn't a dynamic enough figure to sustain such a project. . . . What
is reveals in 'Wooden,' albeit unwittingly, is the utter banality of a coach's
even that of the greatest in the history of the game."

Jason Zengerle. *NYTBR,* Mar. 23, 2014: 20.

rdsworth, William and Dorothy

iam and Dorothy Wordsworth: "All in Each Other." Lucy Newlyn. New
York: Oxford UP, 2013. 400 pp. $34.95.

wlyn's graceful examination of the collaborative life of the siblings Doro-
and William Wordsworth has, in Newlyn's own words, 'a therapeutic
ension.' . . . The book plots the Wordsworths' emotional-ethical journey
ugh life. . . . In the course of exploring Dorothy's influence on William,
wlyn has a point to prove: that everything was about recapturing sundered
dy life. Are lives really so neatly plotted? . . . But using the siblings' jour-
, poems and letters, Newlyn provides plenty of fascinating scraps."

Daisy Fried. *NYTBR,* Apr. 20, 2014: 30.

wlyn brings formidable academic resources to her task. . . . *All in Each*
r's decisive move is to place Dorothy Wordsworth's journals, letters, and
ms in the foreground alongside her brother's writings so as to demon-
e the intricately interwoven nature of their creativity."

Nicholas Roe. *TLS,* Mar. 14, 2014.

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Young, Brigham

Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet. John G. Turner. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2012. 499 pp. $35.00.

Turner "bests any author in reconstructing Young's early years . . . and along the way adds Reformed Methodism to a long list of significant religio-cultural streams flowing into early Mormonism. His treatment of Young's polygamy, views on race, contributions to what might be termed an early Mormon culture of violence, and relationships with American political figures at all levels moves our understanding of each topic substantially forward."

J. Spencer Fluhman. *Pacific Historical Review* 83.1 (Feb. 2014): 133–34.

COLLECTIONS, GROUP BIOGRAPHIES, LIFE WRITING THEORY, AND OTHER WORKS OF INTEREST

Amnesiacs

The Answer to the Riddle Is Me: A Memoir of Amnesia. David Stuart MacLean. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014. 292 pp. $25.00.

I Forgot to Remember: A Memoir of Amnesia. Su Meck with Daniel de Visé. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014. 280 pp. $25.00.

"A memoir of amnesia is a paradox. To write an autobiography, one must be able to consult one's past. But what happens when that history is obliterated? The experience of such loss and the hard-won reclamation of identity form the bases of two new books. One is by a young man whose amnesia was a side effect of a prescribed medication [for malaria]. The other is by a young woman who sustained a devastating head wound." MacLean's work "is his vivid reflection on the 10 years following the Lariam-induced break with reality and the memory problems that persisted in its wake. . . . [F]or the most part, though, MacLean reconstituted himself by interviewing family and friends about his former self. . . . The book comprises short chapters of one to several pages, presumably to reflect the staccato-like manner in which memories returned." "Meck, who was 22 when she was hit by a kitchen fan that fell from her ceiling, has spent the last two decades trying to inhabit a completely new person. Her near-fatal head wound led to complete retrograde amnesia—all her memories had been permanently wiped. For some time after the accident, she also suffered from antero-grade amnesia, the inability to form new memories. Her understated book, 'I Forgot to Remember,' is more an account than a memoir. The matter-of-fact delivery makes the harrowing details of her ordeal stand out all the more. . . . Both books are tales of triumph in the search for identity. But there are striking differences as well. . . . One author, a writer by trade, tells his story because it is a good one: dramatic and unique. The other tells a story, no less arresting, because she has a point to make. Both succeed impressively."

Sally Satel. *NYTBR*, Feb. 16, 2024: 14.

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graphy in Antiquity

Art of Biography in Antiquity. Tomas Hägg. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012. xv + 496 pp. £73.

know less about the genre of ancient biography than handbooks and surveys would have us believe. . . . [This book] not only recognizes but embraces ancient lifewriting as a vast, polymorphous, versatile, and lacu- enterprise. For those of us who . . . prefer to read the works of ancient graphers in literary terms, this is the book we have been wanting. . . . Hägg died not long after delivering the final version of his book to the press. [T]he book's depth, breadth, and erudition will hopefully grant it, and its hor, a long and deserved *Nachleben.*"

Dan Curley. *American Journal of Philology* 134.4 (2013): 713–17.

pers

pers: Six Women of a Dangerous Generation. Judith Mackrell. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014. 488 pp. $28.00.

count of Nancy Cunard, Tallulah Bankhead, Diane Cooper, Josephine er, Tamara de Lempicka, and Zelda Fitzgerald. "As Mackrell demon- es so elegantly, their collective defiance redefined the feminine possible. Mackrell, a dance critic, loves a romp, and tales of her high-flying sub- lose none of their adrenaline in the retelling. Her writing is bright and ble, but she's also astute enough to delve beyond the flash and dazzle, the ic illusions cast to hide private insecurity, pain and frustration."

Jessica Kerwin Jenkins. *NYTBR,* Feb. 16, 2014: 11.

waiian Kings

Shark Going Inland Is My Chief: The Island Civilization of Ancient Hawai'i. Patrick Vinton Kirch. Berkeley: U of California P, 2012. 346 pp. $45.00.

trick Kirch chronicles the origins of the Hawaiians and how, upon the covery and settlement of the Hawaiian archipelago about 1,000 years they adapted to local conditions, which ultimately led to the rise of ne kingship on the eve of European contact in 1778. . . . [T]he ruler seen as having the power of 'a shark who traveled on the land' (p. 221). [S]ignificant events and people come to life, Kirch honors the ancient ization of Hawai'i and its living descendants."

Joseph H. Genz. *Pacific Historical Review* 83.1 (Feb. 2014): 130–31.

ights

valry in Medieval England. Nigel Saul. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2011. 440 pp. $35.00.

gel Saul's most recent work seeks to integrate medieval chivalry more into the larger narrative of English history. He not only analyzes the

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development of chivalry as a military code of behavior for the aristocracy, but he also considers the cultural and political aspects of knighthood. . . . [H]e provides an important account of how chivalry extended well beyond the battlefield and helped shape the cosmology of the medieval nobility."

Kate McGrath. *Journal of World History* 24.3 (Sept. 2013): 676–79.

Métis People

Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History. Ed. Nicole St.-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny, and Brenda Macdougall. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2012. 482 pp. $24.95.

"This collection of essays is one result of a Canadian grant project (which also included two conferences) that was a collaborative review of recent research on the métis people, the mixed Native European heritage descendants of the fur trade in the North American Canadian-U.S. borderlands. . . . Currently, Canada recognizes the Métis Nation among the First Nations. . . . [T]he editors identify thee definitive elements of métis culture—geography, mobility, and family."

Rebecca J. Mead. *Pacific Historical Review* 83.1 (Feb. 2014): 157–58.

Miners' Children

Mining Childhood: Growing Up in Butte, Montana, 1900–1960. Janet L. Finn. Helena: Montana Historical Society, 2012. 323 pp. $24.95.

"In recent years, the history of childhood has recaptured the interest of historians and other humanists. . . . Finn begins her chronicle by rehearsing the history of Butte's place in the nation's copper-mining history. . . . Finn takes the reader through children's experiences with school, work, and play. She rounds out her exploration by including chapters on the state's intervention into children's lives and a particularly rich oral history from the 1930s.

Paula Petrik. *Pacific Historical Review* 83.1 (Feb. 2014): 136–37.

Native Americans

The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute. Ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Lorene Sisquoc. Corvallis: Oregon State UP, 2012. 224 pp. $24.95.

"The American Indian boarding school at Riverside, California was opened in 1902 at the height of federal government policies of assimilation that aimed at eradicating Native American cultural identity. . . . This collection contributes to our understanding of the historical agency of Indian students and their wider communities in the boarding school system while showcasing a range of innovative research essays [such as] . . . the Special Navajo Program that ran from the 1940s to the 1960s."

Victoria K. Haskins. *Pacific Historical Review* 83.1 (Feb. 2014): 150–51.

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dinavians

ple Modernities: A Tale of Scandinavian Experiences. Gunnar Skirbekk. Hong Kong: Chinese UP, 2011. 232 pp. $45.00.

penetrating view of how the well-ordered, uncorrupt, rational, relative-alitarian twentieth-century societies on the northern fringes of Europe to be. . . . Skirbekk rightly points out that the reputation of Scandina- countries (or better, Nordic countries, to include Norway's intimately ed neighbors Finland and Iceland, in addition to Sweden and Den- k) as 'model' modern countries typically refers to the twentieth-century ire states."

Magnus Fiskesjö. *Journal of World History* 24:3 (Sept. 2013): 707–710.

lings

ker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780–1920. Leonore Da-vidoff. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. 449 pp. $65.00.

ings: Brothers and Sisters in American History. C. Dallett Hemphill. Ox-ford: Oxford UP, 2011. 316 pp. $34.95.

the seventeenth century, and even more so by the early nineteenth cen-, declining child morality, improving life expectancy, and changing social es that emphasized lateral family relationships conspired to create size-e sibling networks that sustained men and women in Britain and America ughout their lives. Hemphill and Davidoff reach similar conclusions e examining evidence from different sides of the Atlantic."

Darcy R. Fryer. *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 6.3 (Fall 2013): 523–27.

nagers

Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens. Danah Boyd. New Ha-ven: Yale UP, 2014. 281 pp. $25.00.

ah Boyd is "a principal researcher at Microsoft Research and a research tant professor at New York University. In life, Boyd retains the spirit of uthful rebel. . . . And perhaps in part thanks to its author's identification h youth, 'It's Complicated' avoids many of the typical either-or clichés t adolescence. Boyd's new book is layered and smart. In each chapter, d addresses various panics about teenagers. She describes how they live ally today. . . . She understands why adults are concerned about teen-s becoming screenagers but also what teenagers get out of their screen . Boyd palpably cares for her subjects. . . . Boyd writes brilliantly about agers' main weapon against privacy invasion, which she calls 'social ste-graphy.' They practice a sort of interpersonal encryption when using l networks. . . . I might find it silly if a 16-year-old from New Jersey on book says she is 95 years old and from Easter Island. However, Boyd sees

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young people dissembling about their age or geography as the technological equivalent of writing messages with invisible ink. According to her, these personae are often modes of self-protection . . . and also self-expression."

Alissa Quart. *NYTBR*, Apr. 27, 2014: 25.

US POWs in Vietnam

Defiant: The POWs Who Endured Vietnam's Most Infamous Prison, the Women Who Fought for Them, and the One Who Never Returned. Alvin Townley. New York: St. Martin's, 2014. 418 pp. $27.99.

"Alvin Townley, the author of books about naval aviation and Eagle Scouts, has written a gripping account of the 'Alcatraz Eleven,' a group of American prisoners of war in North Vietnam who formed a tough core of heroic resisters despite brutal and relentless efforts to break them and convert them into fodder for the Communist propaganda machine. . . . Most of the 11 prisoners have published memoirs, and histories have extensively documented their heroism and suffering, but Townley's telling of these important stories is fresh and vivid, thanks to his interviews with surviving prisoners and their family members. . . . Townley also adds an important, and often overlooked, dimension to the prisoners' stories—that of their wives' campaign at home to thrust the plight of the P.O.W.s into the national spotlight."

Linda Robinson. *NYTBR*, Feb. 2, 2014: 14.

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CONTRIBUTORS

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hia G. Franklin is Professor of English at the University of Hawai'i at a. She is the author of *Academic Lives: Memoir, Cultural Theory, and the rsity Today* (U of Georgia P, 2009), and *Writing Women's Communities: Politics and Poetics of Contemporary Multi-Genre Anthologies* (U of Wis-n P, 1997). She is coeditor of the *Biography* special issues *Afterlives: The*

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Testimonial Uses of Life Writing, with Laura E. Lyons (27.1; Winter 2004), *Life Writing and Translation,* with Miriam Fuchs (32.1; Winter 2009), and *Palestinian Lives Under Occupation,* with Morgan Cooper and Brahim Aoude (37.2; Spring 2014).

Richard Hardack received his doctorate in English and J.D. at the University of California-Berkeley, and has taught at Bryn Mawr and Haverford Colleges. His book *'Not Altogether Human': Pantheism and the Dark Nature of the American Renaissance* was published in 2012 by the University of Massachusetts Press, and he is completing a third book, *New and Improved: The Zero-Sum Game of Corporate Personhood.*

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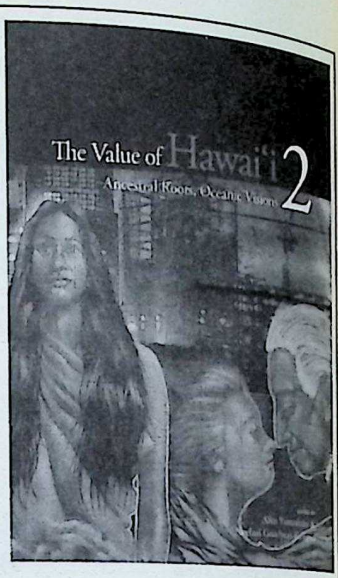
The Value of Hawai'i 2
Ancestral Roots, Oceanic Visions

edited by Aiko Yamashiro
and Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua



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biography

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cover illustration: Launching the Biography Special Issue Life in Occupied Palestine at Al-Quds University, Abu Dis (photo courtesy of Rima Najjar).

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rd Saunders

Defining Metabiography in Historical Perspective: Between Biomyths nd Documentary 325

There is a certain degree of confusion regarding the term "metabiography," which has been used to refer to both comparative historiographical studies and postmodern narratives. While metabiography may come of age with postmodernism, its concerns with self-consciousness and fictionality are at once older and more universal.

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oviet Theories of Biography and the Aesthetics of Personality 343

This article considers the history of Russian thinking on the genre of biography, focusing on the Romantic and post-Romantic intellectual tradition that grants to the biographical subject the power to craft one's own self. This tradition can still be found to be operative in the work of Yuri Lotman and Lydia Ginzburg.

a Luca

ecret Police Files, Tangled Life Narratives: The 1.5 Generation f Communist Surveillance 363

The opening of the archives in the former Eastern European bloc has led to heated political debates in the ex-communist countries, lustration, and the reassessment of the Cold War experience, both east and west. This essay focuses on the significance of accessing the secret police files in life writing produced by the 1.5 generation of communist surveillance. I read Carmen Bugan's *Burying the Typewriter* and Kati Marton's *Enemies of the People* to consider what happens to communist life narratives of an oppressive state apparatus when taken up by children of communist dissidents, how transnational identities and life stories emerging from post-Cold War Eastern Europe impact the genre, and what the implications of this new autobiographical form are for life writing from and about Eastern Europe within the post-communist and global contexts. By mapping the range of relationships between such autobiographical writing and the secret police files it incorporates, I show the numerous changes life narratives undergo in the aftermath of communism in Eastern Europe, illustrate the ever increasing complexity of life writing in global contexts, and point to new routes of memory with regard to communist oppression.

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Cynthia G. Franklin
The Afterlife of the Text: Launching "Life in Occupied Palestine"
This essay describes how, through launching the *Biography* issue "Life in Occupied Palestine" in Palestine and elsewhere, contributors' stories took on a life and generated stories of their own—ones that, while continuing to document the impact of Israeli occupation and settler colonialism, point towards possibilities for decolonial dialogue, friendship, community, and political organizing. 395

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EDITORS' NOTE

n George Simson started this journal in 1978, the cover of the first issue nced that *Biography* would be "An Interdisciplinary Quarterly." The ead inside affirmed this claim, with editors listed for Public Figures, ory, Social Science, and Psychology. Two years later, Music, Art, Medical ory, and Law had been added, so the desire to publish articles from a wide e of disciplines and regions has always driven *Biography*'s editorial efforts. What might strike some readers today is that there was no Literature edi- This was not because the area wasn't valued, but because it was in fact the t. Despite the desire for interdisciplinary scholarship, most of the arti- ere written by literature and history professors, and dealt with European American subjects. George Simson, Anthony Friedson, LaRene Despain, others in the core editorial group were all trained in literature, and even n the shift to women's and cultural studies began having its huge effect on riting studies, the main players, in *Biography* and elsewhere, still tended e literary scholars.

Thirty-seven years later, the landscape looks different. Far more articles deal with the Global South, and the impact of memoir, biography, tes- nio, oral history, personal witness before boards and commissions, and e platforms and social media on our notions of identity, and our aware- f marginalized and suppressed peoples has been astounding, and has de- ed our attention. A quick look at the topics of *Biography*'s most recent, very popular, special issues and clusters—Posthumanism, Baleful Post- iality, Corporate Personhood, Malcolm X, Lives in Occupied Palestine, Online Lives 2.0, and with Indigenous Lives and Caste and Life Narra- on their way—suggests that the interdisciplinary orientation of the jour- as endured, but taken on new forms.

When I also think of the development of the International Auto/Biogra- Association over the past sixteen years, I recognize that the locations of riting conferences, and the heightened awareness of how large regions ind common and fruitful grounds for discussion, have also transformed ense of the discipline. This past year the regional conferences for IABA held in Ann Arbor (IABA Americas), Madeira (IABA Europe), and Ad- e (Asia-Pacific). Next's year's international conference will be in Nicosia, us, and the following year will see regional assemblies in Jamaica, Lon- and an Asian site to be named later. The 2018 International? Brazil.

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I therefore now understand the term "Interdisciplinary" in our title as more about place, methodology, and crucial issues than about a staged conversation between academic fields—especially since that conversation tended to be dominated by critics and historians anyway. And *Biography* will continue to value writing that goes beyond where our limits have been, or causes us to look again closely at what has always been in the neighborhood.

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DEFINING METABIOGRAPHY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: BETWEEN BIOMYTHS AND DOCUMENTARY

EDWARD SAUNDERS

erm metabiography has been used to indicate a variety of different genre- al or self-aware approaches to life writing in both fictional and non-fic- al contexts. Current definitions exist, but they are often difficult to recon- . Is metabiography something as general as, in Lucasta Miller's words, "a k about biography" (x)? Or is it something of greater theoretical ambition, ps specifically postmodern? In this essay I argue that a term which at seems closely linked to postmodernism in fact preceded and outlived it. ough some metabiographies adopt a postmodern stance and require the r to reflect on their relationship to biographer and biographical subject, metabiographies only interrogate the writer's task. The breadth of the 's remit can be attributed to the multiple ways metabiography's concerns unsettling the "unified" notion of the biographical subject and defamil- ing widespread biographical myths can be realized in practice.

This essay begins by surveying current usages of the term in critical de- particularly by Caitríona Ní Dhúill. I then outline the history of the idea etabiography, identifying two hallmarks of this putative genre—author- lf-consciousness and an emphasis on the fictionality of biographical nar- n—and question the relationship to comparable terms such as metahis- metatheatre, and metafiction. A discussion follows of one of the works hich the contemporary term was first applied, Wolfgang Hildesheimer's rt (1977). Further examples are then discussed in two groups. The first prises biographies that recount the "quest" to reconstruct their subject's tory, including works that use fictional interludes or study cultural me- ions as ways of compensating for the absence of archival sources. In the nd are works that deconstruct hyper-mediated lives, where biographical

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myths are more familiar than evidence. These groups correspond broadly to Michael Benton's notions of "inferential biography" and "biomythography."

The discussion is pertinent to topics of enduring relevance in biography studies, such as the verisimilitude of biographical narration and its methodologies, and relates to recent discussions of fictionality in transgeneric forms of life writing, such as Monica Latham's article on Virginia Woolf's "afterlives" in biofiction, Julia Lajta-Novak's analysis of fictionalized biographies of women artists, or—by way of contrast—Daniel Bristow's discussion of autobiographical biomyths in work by Audre Lorde and Jack Kerouac. Fundamentally, though, the discussion relates to debates on the representational function of biography, described by Lara Feigel and Max Saunders as its "work of mediation" (241).

WHAT IS METABIOGRAPHY?

The term gained prominence in academic discussions with Nicolaas Rupke's comparative study of Alexander von Humboldt biographies, *Alexander von Humboldt: A Metabiography* (2005). Rupke wished to investigate "How . . . reputations [are] constructed and reconstructed by national, professional and other remembrance cultures" (9). Similarly, the Darwin biographer Janet Browne sees metabiography as "concerned with the stories that writers create about people at different times and in different places" (351). For Browne, metabiography is a historicist and culturally sensitive approach to the study of biography. In this sense, academic metabiography might be analogous to what Richard Holmes terms "comparative biography," the comparison of different biographical accounts as a way of understanding not only the genre but the nature of historical life writing (15–16).

Other theorizations diversify the term's scope. Pierre-Heli Monot has written of how metabiographies "have sought ways to . . . formally combine ontologies that are, traditionally, kept separate" (660). In Monot's account, these "ontologies" are genres of academic writing, such as historical narrative and reflection upon it. The term has been applied transgenerically to biographical fiction—for example to describe Julian Barnes's novel *Flaubert's Parrot* (1984). Ansgar Nünning deems this book "perhaps *the* paradigm of fictional metabiography in English literature" (17; my translation). However, biographical fiction will remain beyond the scope of this essay.

A sustained reflection on metabiography in the more specific, historiographical sense has been made by Caitríona Ní Dhúill in two recent publications. She has written that the term "suggests a commitment to developing critical perspectives on the cultural and ideological mediations of biography, as well as to finding new pathways through established biographical discourses"

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wards an Antibiographical Archive" 283). Ní Dhúill's definition goes be- the comparative study of reputations to include various strategies for tioning biographical discourse. In this sense, metabiography might not mean "comparative biography," but the study of life writing in general. e Ní Dhúill sees metabiography as a "postmodern manifestation of the aphical," she identifies its founding moment as "the modernist rejection mprehensive, fact-oriented biography in favor of a more impressionistic, mical approach" ("The Hero as Language Learner" 68, 76). Metabiogra- in her view is a recent phenomenon with a longer history, "a more subtle, chanted approach to the traces of past lives and to the stories they gener- (68). While she notes the importance of the "search or quest" as a meta- for biographical research, Ní Dhúill sees metabiography as a rejection of 'detective story model," with its tendency to tie up all the loose ends and e to neat conclusions (65, 75). She describes different metaphors for the tionship between subject and author in metabiographies, with portraiture especially popular, but extending to "re-animation, ingestion/digestion, litary engagement" (75).

ORIGINS

uld be reasonable to assume that metabiography is somehow related to history, a term described by Christopher Dawson in 1951 as referring to nature of history, the meaning of history and the cause and significance torical change" (9). Dawson defended the notion of metahistory, which at time was the subject of criticism, writing that it was "not the enemy of history but its guide and its friend," noting its recourse to "intuitive un- nding, creative imagination, and finally a universal vision" (12). Meta- y, then, referred to an integrated and critical approach to the philosophy tory, and the term was used in this vein by Hayden White in his study *etahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973). abiography could thus have come to refer quite simply to the "philosophy graphy."

However, when Harry Harootunian used the term "meta-biography" in ork review in 1966, he wanted it to indicate a genre of life narrative that s on ego-documents to illustrate the conflict between private individuals their public personas. It was to describe an approach that finds impor- e in the "problem of human personality," as well as the "perceptions men of reality" (258–59, 262). Harootunian saw this as being accomplished nventional biography, but it is a notion explored most radically in the e of "psychohistory" or "psychobiography" exemplified by Erik H. Er- s *Young Man Luther* (1958), where the attempt was made "to connect

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individual with collective history" (Arzt 8). Metabiography in Harootunian's sense did not establish itself, and by the early 1980s a quite different use of the term can be observed: neither as the philosophy of biography, nor as psychologically-informed biography, but as a genre of critical or self-conscious biographical writing.

The earliest reference to metabiography in the contemporary sense is in an essay by the American academic Marion Faber, published in this journal in 1980. It discusses Wolfgang Hildesheimer's Mozart biography of 1977 as a form of "Meta-biography." Faber describes how Hildesheimer's *Mozart* is, at least in part, "a criticism of earlier biographies, a questioning of the method and perhaps the very act of writing biographies" (202). It is the book's "self-conscious preoccupation" that leads Faber to term it a metabiography (203).

Authorial self-consciousness is thus the first hallmark of metabiography. Elsewhere, Hildesheimer has written that for him there is no such thing as "biographical objectivity" ("Die Subjektivität des Biographen" 290). He believes that biographies should engage with all the unedifying details of a subject's life, and sees self-consciousness, via the emphasis on the author's own subjectivity, as "the only proper method . . . to deal with such material" (293; my translation). He describes the book as "the result of the ability to envision [*Vorstellungs*kraft], not to be confused with the ability to fantasize [*Einbildungs*kraft]." The success of his book, he thinks, should be judged on whether he has succeeded in showing that Mozart "is *not* like one of us" (295; my translation).

Another term was also establishing itself in the early 1980s: metafiction. This followed the publication of Margaret A. Rose's *Parody // Meta-fiction* (1979) as well as Linda Hutcheon's *Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox* (1980). As in Hildesheimer's view of biography, self-consciousness is the most important characteristic in debates on metafiction—in this case that of the reader. Hutcheon originally wished to avoid the word postmodernism by using the term metafiction, but she accepts they are closely related (xii–xiii). For Hutcheon,

> The reader is explicitly or implicitly forced to face his responsibility toward the text, that is, toward the novelistic world he is creating through the accumulated fictive referents of literary language. . . . This near equation of the acts of reading and writing . . . sets modern metafiction apart from previous novelistic self-consciousness. (27)

Here Hutcheon emphasizes not only self-consciousness, but also the reader's awareness of the fictionality of the written text. As in debates on metafiction, this aspect of fictionality is an important concern in discourse on recent approaches in biography, and within metabiography in particular.

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Nevertheless, the origins of this discourse lie further back. The difficult ace between fiction and fact in biographical writing was a particularly eat concern in modernist writing. In the chapter of Hermione Lee's *Vir- Woolf* (1996) titled "Biography," one of the "instances of the metabio- ical interest" listed by Michael Benton (63), the same issue is discussed. otes Woolf's interest in the "crucial problem" in biography of the "tug ween fact and fiction and the difficulty of getting to the 'soul'" (10). Lee ides the following quotation from Woolf's notebooks: "The biographer ot extract the atom. He gives us the husk. Therefore as things are, the method would be to separate the two kinds of truth. Let the biographer fully, completely, accurately, the known facts without comment; Then m write the life as fiction" (10). This statement is not meant to illustrate lf's disillusionment with biography as such, but rather her awareness, as writes in her concluding chapter "Biographer," "of how lives are changed rospect, and how life-stories need to be retold" (769).

Hutcheon's description of metafiction, however, contrasts with Woolf's tabiographical" ideas. Hutcheon sees metafiction as completely changing eader's relationship to the text, while Woolf is primarily concerned with grounding the writer's construction of it. Hutcheon explains that in earli- rms of fiction the narrator may have addressed the reader and highlighted ctionality of the text, but in doing so focused on the act of writing, as in lf's comments on biography. In metafiction, the crucial difference is that ct of reading is scrutinized instead. But much has changed since Woolf writing. Nigel Hamilton goes so far as to state that the relationship of riting to reality now seems less direct than that of fiction: "Where once al biographical reporting seemed hard and certain, while fiction could dismissed as 'make-believe,' the roles are now reversed" (283). Due to the rality of these questions, the second hallmark of metabiography is thus ttempt to increase the reader's awareness of the fictionality of biographi- rration.

Despite the clear parallels with metafiction, when Faber uses the term a-biography" she does not have an analogy to metafiction in mind. In- she refers to Lionel Abel's term "metatheatre," of earlier origin than afiction," deriving from his book of 1963. Metatheatre is, in the simplest the motif of the "play within a play," the author's admittedly self-con- s nod to the genre conventions within which he is working. Abel extends device to define a counter-genre to tragedy to be found throughout mod- heatre history. For Abel, "metaplays" are works that "tell us at once that appenings and characters in them are of the playwright's invention": "in etaplay . . . the reality of the world is mortally affected, illusion becomes

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inseparable from reality" (59, 79). Metaplays therefore not only reference their fictionality, but also underscore the sense of reality being an illusion. As will become clear, Faber's analogy with metatheatre is questionable, because metatheatre is more radical in its approach to reality than metabiography: "life *must* be a dream and the *world* must be a stage" (79). In metabiography, by contrast, the half-way position is much more popular than either extreme.

In sum, the various meta-genres exhibit different ways of thinking about "reality," as well as their own fictional status. Metatheatre highlights the fictionality of the staged narrative while unsettling the "reality" of the world, although it does not extend to a critical questioning of reality as a concept. Metafiction, which does encompass such a critique, describes postmodern fiction's attempt to unsettle the reader's relationship to the text (and thus to the construction of reality), specifically differentiating this from earlier approaches where the writer's role is under scrutiny. By contrast, meta-history is a way of drawing attention to the practice and philosophy of history, but does not critically question reality in terms of its (in)authenticity, as in postmodernism, but instead draws conscious attention to the historian's task. What, then, of metabiography?

FLAKY FRESCOES AND TWO-PART SCORES

Wolfgang Hildesheimer's *Mozart* provides some answers. The blurb on the book's cover claims that "Hildesheimer's book is not the book of a musicologist, it is not a biography in any sense at all, it is the book of a writer and artist, someone considerably closer to the creative process." It also purports to be "free of affect and prejudice, presented convincingly and in detail" (my translation). These claims are not wholly genuine; the text is certainly biographical, and indeed relates most of Mozart's life, but is also a withering critique of Mozart as a biographical construct (and thus free of neither affect nor prejudice). Hildesheimer writes:

> This is not least . . . an attempt at recreating, of cleaning a fresco painted over many times in the course of the centuries. The restorer does not work systematically, but assists where a piece of an earlier layer begins to peel away. This is not always easy, as the impermanence [*Unhaltbarkeit*] of the image mostly contrasts with the permanence [*Haltbarkeit*] of the materials with which it is painted over. (7–8; my translation)

The image of the fresco, painted over many times, is—despite the author's apparent fear of the notion of "biography"—an excellent metaphor for the way life stories develop over time, for biography-as-myth.

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Hildesheimer is interested in sustaining only one element of the Mozart
: that of Mozart's singularity, his genius. His desire is for a more honest
t of the composer, who is known to have behaved childishly and enjoyed
logical language. As Tobias Heinrich has shown, Hildesheimer is not
in his desire to re-read Mozart's life. While Hildesheimer emphasizes
nknowability of many things about Mozart's life, he also introduces less
ar images of the composer—for example that, for a time, he was a reg-
horse rider: "one in a series of unimaginable images from his daily life"
; my translation). He notes the persistent attempts to manage Mozart's
ation, writing that "attempts to keep the Mozart image pure are older
the image itself, reaching back into his lifetime" (57; my translation).
book aims to expose some of this reputation management. It is a notable
pt to combine, by means of a biographical critique, the consideration of
nd work, the symbiosis of which Hildesheimer compares to melody and
in a musical score (15–16). Faber notes that, for Hildesheimer, the work
ore important than the life: "Hildesheimer's biography never loses sight
e fact that it is his music, not his life, that makes Mozart great" (207).
In part, Hildesheimer's *Mozart* belongs to the modernist tradition of bio-
hical critique. His stance is comparable to Lytton Strachey's in the preface
minent Victorians (1918), where Strachey claims his plan is "to lay bare the
of some cases . . . dispassionately, impartially, and without ulterior inten-
" (6). Like Strachey, his supposed objectivity is not real. Hildesheimer's
art is postmodern in character, being characterized by a distrust of struc-
and of reasoned suppositions, while containing lists of unanswered ques-
s. It exposes the biographer's responsibility to his subject, the difficulty of
ating a life story without myth-making, and the impossibility of writ-
a life without doing so to some degree. However, Hildesheimer's *Mozart*
t parodic in the manner of other postmodern works, and there are several
ematic aspects to the book. First, Hildesheimer purports to demythify
art, but also appears to want to reshape the myth. As Faber writes, the
k is "shaped by subjectivity, not rhapsodic, naive subjectivity, it is true,
analytical subjectivity" (208). Second, it is a book with extensive histori-
content, but few references (88 in 370 pages of text: roughly one every
pages). Despite its virtues, then, the book has clear shortcomings in com-
on to "traditional" musicology or biography—perhaps especially in its
ency to repeat the failings it identifies in others.
Faber judges the book "convincing" and states why she thinks
esheimer's *Mozart* should be termed a "metabiography." The most im-
ant reason is its self-consciousness, which she sees as giving the book an
ntage over its predecessors. She also compares Hildesheimer's biographi-
pproach to the Brechtian theatre:

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> One might liken the technique behind its integrity to the *Verfremdungseffekt* (alienation effect). The machinery, the flies and wings of Hildesheimer's biographical stage are brightly lit. . . . Indeed, the subjectivity and mythification that he criticizes in the work of others may result from a want of this kind of alienation in their technique. In Hildesheimer's work, reason is to brush away the cobwebs of easy emotion. Yet, as in Brecht's Epic Theatre, the alienation techniques of Hildesheimer's biography also elicit an emotional response, one more rigorous, tempered by critical judgment. (208)

Faber's analogy with Epic Theatre is instructive because it provides a way of understanding how a book such as Hildesheimer's *Mozart* can be exemplary without fulfilling its self-stated promise. The *Verfremdungseffekt* aims at defamiliarizing something on an aesthetic level, and it is in this general sense that Faber employs the term. As Phoebe von Held writes, the term describes "the moment of astonishment at which we do not understand an object that we believed we had understood, a moment which ultimately leads to further insight" (9). While Faber uses the conventional translation of "alienation" for Brecht's term *Verfremdung*, it can be more accurately termed "aesthetic alienation" in order to differentiate it from the term it is intended to compliment, *Entfremdung*, i.e., "social alienation" (Von Held xiii).

The effect of moments of aesthetic alienation in the context of a book biography is such that the reader becomes more aware of the process of reading, and of the writer's business of writing. Nevertheless, the book still has both a fallible author and reader, susceptible to the emotional pitfalls of narrative. To repeat Hutcheon's words on metafiction: "the reader is explicitly or implicitly forced to face his responsibility toward the text." To create aesthetic alienation, Hildesheimer uses critical, often negative commentary on previous biographers, verifying their claims, and applying insights from psychoanalysis and musicology. He dispenses with a conventional structure of chronological chapters, instead employing recurring themes. Faber's comparison with Brecht helps contextualize these techniques, showing why Hildesheimer's *Mozart* is a book about reading biographies, and not just about writing them. Metabiographies, then, can be said to be self-conscious and "alienating" in nature, furthering critical awareness of the processes of reading and writing a life. It is a postmodern example of a phenomenon that is older and more universal than such a periodization might suggest. It is to these other forms of metabiography that this essay will now turn.

QUESTS, QUARRIES, AND QUESTION MARKS

The single greatest challenge in auto/biographical writing is probably what Christian von Zimmermann phrases as the "forming of coherence on the

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level of narrative" (11; my translation). While this is a problem in all it is particularly difficult when the biographer is impeded in learning about the subject. Diane Middlebrook's unfinished work *Young Ovid: Recreated* (first published in German translation in 2012 as *Der junge Eine unvollendete Biographie*) is a good example, and can be compared Anne Wroe's *Pilate: The Biography of an Invented Man* (1999). In both ples, the biographers are working with little information about the subject's life story, and are required to forge a narrative from what information do have: in Middlebrook's case the poet's work, and in Wroe's case Pilate's cultural mediation. Middlebrook splices fictional episodes from Ovid's life (written in italics) with social history and the texts of Ovid's poems. Wroe meanwhile described her study as "a collage of biographical scenes," warning "Nothing here . . . is 'real' in the sense a biography can be when we have journals, letters, photographs, diaries or the memories of a friend" (xi).

While these examples are bold in their attempts to confound the lacunae in the historical record, other works set out to reconstruct an archive of information which is missing, or to which they have no access. Examples include the minor classic *The Quest for Corvo* (1934) by A. J. A. Symons, and more recent equivalents such as Ian Hamilton's *In Search of J. D. Salinger* (1988), a replacement for a longer book that Salinger was able to prevent from being published. *The Quest for Corvo* and books like it are, to quote Judith Scherer Herz, "polemical justifications of the art of biography" (333).

These kinds of texts start with question marks instead of biographical subjects. They then proceed to compare and contrast the different versions of the life they perceive and build up an account of their subject in whatever they find. They are fundamentally metabiographical, in that texts like these make the process of writing a biography visible to the reader. In Middlebrook's text, the fictional sections are highlighted in italics, while in Symons's and Hamilton's books the authorial voice narrates the task of finding information as a story. In the case of the latter two texts, self-reflection by the biographer plays an important role. In general, the more the "quest" becomes the subject of the book, the more pronounced the biographer's voice becomes. In this type of text, the biographer's struggle can displace the subject's story. However, while Middlebrook's text makes explicit the way biographies are created in part from authorial imagination and in part from historical "fact," it does not endeavor to see Ovid in a pluralistic way, which both Symons's account of Baron Corvo and Ian Hamilton's of Salinger are able to do. Because the quest is such an important structural element of these texts, a pluralistic image of the subject emerges by default: the individual scraps of information, memories, and anecdotes that are the fabric of these texts ensure this. Thus Symons and Hamilton produce texts that are *more metabiographical* than that

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of Middlebrook. This indicates that what we are dealing with is both a genre and an approach.

The earliest example mentioned above, Symons's *The Quest for Corvo*, is not only an effective illustration of this attitude but also reveals the diversity of what metabiographical approaches might do. The book is an eloquent first-person biographical narrative about the early twentieth century English author Frederick Rolfe, the self-styled Baron Corvo, who wrote the novel *Hadrian the Seventh: A Romance* (1904), among other works. Symons's *The Quest for Corvo* is a narrative account of an attempt to reconstruct Rolfe's life story, retelling the circumstances of the book's conception, reproducing the letters and other materials that the biographer finds, receives, or acquires, and commenting on the process of how judgments are formed. Contrary to what may be expected in a biographical work, and a metabiographical one in particular, where the usual exhortation is about the richness of the material left undiscussed and how much more there is to say about the subject, Symons ends the book with a declaration of satisfied completion: "It was a deeper satisfaction still to know that every one of the works . . . had been collected together by sympathetic hands, and that, alone of living men, I had read every line of every one. Nothing was left to be discovered; the Quest was ended" (249). True, Symons's satisfaction derives from a successful act of literary historical salvage, and not necessarily from his biographical account. Nevertheless, the example is useful in illustrating that metabiography as a critical stance may not always lead to open questions à la Wolfgang Hildesheimer. Rolfe/Corvo has been revealed in all his mysterious contradictions, his work has been secured: job done. Is this really the case? Of course not. For example, the book tends to skirt around the issue of Rolfe's sexuality. Symons also expediently avoids passing judgment on Rolfe's sometimes misogynistic views and the contrast this forms with his "bodyguard of youths" (79, 117).

Another book that is structured around what cannot be said is Ian Hamilton's *In Search of J. D. Salinger*. Here we can be sure that the author was not completely satisfied by his work, because it owes its final form to Salinger's embargo against the publication of a biography by Hamilton, titled *J. D. Salinger. A Writing Life*, which would have been published by Random House in 1986. Now a collector's item, the uncorrected proofs of this unpublished work were sold at auction in New York in November 2013 for $4,000 ("Sale 2332"). Like *The Quest for Corvo*, which Hamilton directly references in his third paragraph, *In Search of J. D. Salinger* is a first-person account of a biographical quest, this time with the initial, tentative cooperation of a living subject. However, as Nigel Hamilton has written (242–45), this cooperation turned into landmark legal dispute, and the final chapter of Ian Hamilton's *In Search of J. D. Salinger* describes this story and the rewriting of the book. In a

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In Search of J. D. Salinger is a book that fulfilled its (purported) original ...ctions. Ian Hamilton intended that the "rebuffs . . . experienced would ...s much part of the action as the triumphs—indeed, it would not matter ...s if there were no triumphs" (4).

The books by Symons and Ian Hamilton illustrate how biographies may ...ritten in the absence of an archive, or when the material is embargoed: ...ely, by describing the process involved. These are in my view both exam... of metabiographies because of their self-consciousness. Michael Benton ...s such works "inferential biographies," a form of biography "created pri... from the texts" (74) and one which is particularly "vulnerable to the ...ction of unfettered imagination" (88). Attempts to fill gaps in the historic... narrative via inference, however, may be as legitimate a method as any: as ...e Wroe writes in her book on Pilate, "Perhaps this striving to make Pilate ...ould just be dismissed as fiction. But then again, it isn't fiction at all: it's ...empt, made in different ways in every age, to express what the character ...ilate means and why he is important" (xii).

"Inferential" texts do not encourage the reader to think about the act of ...ing per se. Some are speculative in nature, enlisting fiction to fill in the ...ks, or using historically non-verifiable information where none else exists. ...rs are more investigative, telling the story of their own creation as texts ...piecing together a jigsaw puzzle. These texts reveal the inherent difficul... of writing lives, with or without substantial archives. It would not be right ...laim that they are entirely different from another kind of metabiogra... those which deal with hyper-mediated subjects whose lives have become ...ths. Some books, such as Jonathan Bate's *The Genius of Shakespeare* (1997), ...bine elements of both forms, analyzing the many controversies and prob... in writing Shakespeare's life, while also remaining attentive to the per...ce of the "Anti-Stratfordian position," whatever its guise. Bate writes: ...ths are fictions from which there are always truths to be learned" (66).

MYTHS AND IMAGES

...example of Shakespeare is a reminder that while some biographical sub... are quarries to be hunted, others are so much in the public eye that ...y become myths to be deconstructed. Here we are back to the many-...ted frescoes of Hildesheimer's metaphor. A way of characterizing what ...e books have in common with those described above might be to call ...m "biographies without archives." They consist in critical readings of an ...ting biographical literature, and depending on the book, perhaps also an ...pendent re-reading of the published life documents (for example, the ...Wolfgang Hildesheimer re-reads Mozart's letters). This approach relates

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to the concerns of what Michael Benton has termed "biomythography," biographical writing that "dissolves the distinction between the 'actual life' and the 'posthumous life,' between the period of the biographee's existence and the period of biographical interpretation that succeeds it" (63). Many metabiographical texts, notably Bate's *The Genius of Shakespeare* and Lucasta Miller's *The Brontë Myth* (2001) ("a book about biography"), are studies in biographical reception or literary reputation. The demythologizing nature of such texts might at first appear problematic: as Wilhelm Hemecker notes in reference to Claude Lévi-Strauss, Hans Blumenberg, and Niklas Luhmann, the notion of demythologization is a fraught undertaking, something perhaps impossible, and which may in any case be undesirable, for in deconstructing a myth, it not only becomes less threatening, but also less powerful (14). As Benton writes, "we need our heroes and heroines, celebrities and idols, saints and martyrs—they are the leading characters in these explanatory myths" (64).

Although by no means the first book of its kind, Sarah Churchwell's *The Many Lives of Marilyn Monroe* (2004) has a supremely suitable metabiographical subject. This kind of book builds up a picture by synthesizing a variety of different standpoints and breaking a myth down into its components. Historically there has been a tendency in biographies to make overly generalized claims for their subjects: Leo Löwenthal talks of the "maze of superlatives and singularities" that characterize biographical writing (221; my translation). By contrast, texts like Churchwell's treat their subjects as myths or discursive constructs, and tend to avoid making grand pronouncements on behalf of their subjects, or at the very least, they attempt to deconstruct the pronouncements of others.

Churchwell is critical of the existing literature on Monroe, suggesting that instead of throwing light on "an identity that seems confused, secret, lost," many biographies "help to create the confusion in the first place" (7). She reveals that while she has come to appreciate her subject, she is not a default admirer of the actress, saying that she is unsure about the greatness of her talent, the degree to which she was misunderstood, and her victimhood (9). She makes clear that her book is not interested in repeating things about which there are no debates, but is rather "about the disputes, and tells the story of Marilyn's life through them; it looks at the pressure points where stories can't or won't agree . . . Most of all, it is about cliché" (8). As she writes, her question is not "who was the woman who became Marilyn Monroe?," but rather "who was the woman that Marilyn Monroe became?" (15). Churchwell illustrates once again the difference between the "detective story" and the "disenchanted approach" distinguished by Ní Dhúill.

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Nicolaas Rupke's *Alexander von Humboldt. A Metabiography* (2005) is ar in conception but different in character (and a self-proclaimed meta-aphy). It does not include any original archival work: it is a study of s and texts (not only biographies) on Humboldt, or to use Rupke's s of "German Humboldts" (that is, the German image of Humboldt) 17). Rupke contrasts different narratives of Alexander von Humboldt's but he does not do much theorizing of his term. For Rupke, metabi-phy means presenting "a series of separate biographical portraits" and aring "representations in the form of clusters of characteristic features" The book's chronology mirrors the genesis of the differing images of boldts: "Humboldt has acquired multiple identities. He has become a with several lives, products of appropriation on behalf of geographically ate and chronologically successive socio-political cultures" (16). By and Rupke's critique of Humboldt biographies seems substantially the same t of Churchwell on Monroe biographies, or Hermione Lee on Virgin-olf biographies. As Lee writes, Woolf takes on any number of identi-om "comedian of manners" to "lesbian heroine," "depending on who is g her, and when, and in what context" (769).

The main purpose of such de-mythologizing by Lee, Rupke, or Church-is to reveal the constructed nature of life stories and the complicity of ographer. However, they also stop short of a full-blown critique of bio-ical writing: they tend to assume that there is a kind of biographical half-way between the myth and its counter-image, rather than seeing all aphy as fiction. This half-way position is exemplified by Lucasta Miller, writes: "To acknowledge that all biographers have their own agendas and ject the possibility of the definitive biography is not, however, to deny here are rights and wrongs when it comes to life writing" (xi). She also of "the penumbra of emotional, aesthetic and ideological resonances" characterize otherwise truthful "mythic" events in history. The concern ller and others is thus to preserve the power of the myths surrounding subjects, while also interrogating them for their truth-content.

It is important to note that merely emphasizing a number of different in a given life is not nearly the same thing as metabiography: Herm-Lee and Lucasta Miller are writing wholly different kinds of biography. books which sound like metabiographies often are not: John Matteson's *lives of Margaret Fuller: A Biography* (2013) is not a metabiography for mple reason that its goal is to provide a critical biography of its subject, critique the process of doing so. Despite this, there are clear analogies ed by Matteson's recognition of the multifaceted nature of a life. In the ce we are invited to

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> observe Fuller's time on earth not as a single life, but as a succession of lives, each one building on those previously lived. . . . The telling of Fuller's story should be prismatic; if one cannot re-create the unitary light of her existence, one should at least strive to offer up a rainbow. (xv)

Like Hermione Lee's *Virginia Woolf*, Matteson's book might therefore be said to be a "conventional" biography that is attentive to and aware of the kinds of discourse for which metabiography can be used as an umbrella term. Everything that surrounds biographical narration is relevant. As William Epstein argues, biography is not a "provincial backwater in the sprawling imperialist realm of Western discourse," but is able to "reaffirm cultural eminence, contextualize social action, alter literary opinion, deputize political influence, or instruct economic conduct" (222).

Metabiographies such as those by Bate, Miller, Churchwell, or Rupke bring these concerns to the fore. In their careful distancing from primary research they are securely positioned on the "meta" level, and combine biography with discourse analysis. Churchwell's book on Marilyn Monroe shows how the myth of Marilyn grew up in tandem with her life story, not without a degree of authorial imposition from the biographer, but nevertheless demonstrating that while "metabiographies" may never avoid the pitfalls of the biographies they explicitly or implicitly critique, they attempt to do so in full knowledge of their significance as well as their shortcomings.

TOWARDS A WORKING DEFINITION

Metabiography is not the philosophy of biography, nor is it about the place of an individual life in the context of social history—both possible interpretations of a general term. However, it is an idea that deserves greater recognition within debates on mediation and fictionality in life writing, as well as in the history of biography as a whole. Primarily it is a documentary genre or approach, and like documentary film, it can be blended with fiction, ostensibly "objective" investigative journalism, as well as with polemic, to create a category of related approaches that break down into a myriad of sub-genres and variations. Stephen Bottoms has described how successful documentary theatre, such as that of Moisés Kaufman, is able to create "the state of uncertainty and circumspection that must accompany any honest appraisal of history—which is of course the story of competing discourses, not unmediated facts" (64). Successful metabiography should aim for a similar effect.

In its current form, the term metabiography has been in use since about 1980, when it was used to describe a self-conscious and genre-critical approach to life writing. Marion Faber used the term as an analogy to Lionel

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notion of metatheatre, but as has been shown here, the idea of metabi-
hy also has much in common with the then contemporaneous discus-
f metafiction. Like comparative biographical studies, metabiography is
identifying and contrasting often contradictory images of a biographi-
ject. Nevertheless, despite the fact that in many cases a metabiographi-
dy may simply be a comparative biography (Rupke's *Alexander von*
ldt: A Metabiography is a good example), many texts do more. Either
accomplished through the study of biomyths more generally, or by ex-
g fictional techniques to fill in gaps in the life story.
hile metabiographies tend not to engage in substantial primary re-
some do involve independent investigation (this applies especially to
Quest for Corvo). Metabiography, therefore, is about much more than
comparison and contrast. It is normally a third-person form of life
concerned with the questioning of "reality" in that it discusses multi-
ssible interpretations of a life and extends knowledge of the subject, but
so in such a way that it reveals the workings of biographical narration.
iography is concerned with undermining the sense of the biographical
t as a unified image (Rupke's "separate biographical portraits") and with
ting the process of the "forming of coherence on the meta-level of nar-
" (Zimmermann). Metabiography may cross "ontological" boundaries
ot), may compare different times and places (Browne), and as Marion
notes, may use its own form of the *Verfremdungseffekt* to defamiliarize
iographical subject in relation to the reader or the biographer. Meta-
phy is thus an umbrella term for a whole variety of different considered
aches to writing lives, which are unified by the fact that biomyths—or
steries—take center stage.
have argued that metabiographies do not only take myths apart, they
how how they are put together: cliché is a direct concern. The interest
process of construction gives metabiographies what Faber terms their
conscious preoccupation," and what Ní Dhúill phrases as their "disen-
ed" quality. Two of Hildesheimer's metaphors for biographical narra-
are the restored fresco, in which the original image is lost under the
of later paint, and the musical score, where the subject's work is the
dy and his life the bass. Metabiography is about analyzing these layers
examining how the melody and the bass work in terms of their harmonies
discords. Metabiographies may pose as objective texts (authors as differ-
s Hildesheimer and Rupke both take this stance), but as Faber writes,
iographical writing is at best "analytically subjective." As such, meta-
aphies are not necessarily any more objective than the texts they critique,
hey may be more honest.

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SOVIET THEORIES OF BIOGRAPHY AND THE AESTHETICS OF PERSONALITY

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graphical writing is a highly hybridized phenomenon, a heterogeneous that brings together discourses of history, literature, pedagogy, and moral osophy (see Benton 77). The task of the student of biography often con- s in unraveling that knot formed by multiple interwoven specialized lan- ges. What is called for, ultimately, is a synthesis of different approaches, ging from sociology and psychoanalysis to history of concepts and narra- gy, which would make it possible to reveal the socio-cultural and histori- mechanisms that aid in the production of biographical texts and in the bution of particular functions to them.[1] By establishing the relations in ch these different fields stand to each other we could hope, in the long to discern what is distinctive in biographical narratives, to uncover the *graphical* in biography. Once that is accomplished, the genre of biography ght emerge in a new light: no longer a resource mined for information on history of society or culture or on the analysis of the self (as it appears to iologists, cultural historians, and psychologists, respectively), it could be errogated for its own *poetics*. This essay seeks to provide an introduction to oretical strand that has a lot to contribute to this task but that so far has n underappreciated in the Anglophone study of biography.

A particular challenge for any poetics of biography is the peculiar char- r of the constitution of the biographical subject. It evolves through the raction between textual strategies and the realm of social facts such as workings of institutions, models of behavior, notions of success and rec- nition, etc. This interaction has been investigated with reference to auto- graphical texts (ego-documents) in which the subject is often said to be ermined, in one way or another, by ideological mechanisms. A particularly

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eloquent theoretical statement of this position is Pierre Bourdieu's "L'Illusion biographique," which offers an avowedly deterministic account of the self. According to Bourdieu, the meaning of human life is a product of narrative construction, of the stories of the self told in accord with "the laws regimenting the production of discourses" ("Biographical" 301). Such stories depend on the normative model of official self-presentation through curricula vitae, *cursus honorum*, registration papers, police records, etc. ("L'Illusion" 70–71, "Biographical" 300–301). The "biographical illusion," according to Bourdieu, is produced by mechanisms concealing the operation of social institutions that, contravening individuals' beliefs that they live their own lives, generate predetermined forms of human existence. When inflected by a Foucauldian lens, such a vision of ego documents perceives not only social facts, but also effects of discourse as being fundamentally outside of the subject's control.

The insidious effects of social and ideological institutions have been at the center of recent energetic research on Soviet diaries and memoirs.[2] By contrast, the focus of this article is on biographical texts that, while remaining part of the "official" culture, seek to carve out a space ostensibly unaffected by dominant, state-sponsored forms of discourse. This tradition of reflection on the biographical subject, or on the self as it is articulated in biographical texts, originated in the Russian encounter with German idealist philosophy in the first half of the nineteenth century. As I will argue, it has always remained linked to a particular concept of personality (*lichnost'*) that asserts its independence from the world of social relations and whose formation constitutes the chief plotline for this type of narrative. This notion of personhood was carried forward by the psychological thinking of the early twentieth century, and in a modified form, by post-WWII Soviet literary scholarship, particularly by Lydia Ginzburg and Yurii Lotman. Even though both these scholars drew on models and concepts borrowed from the social sciences, the phenomenon of *lichnost'* was never subjected to a genealogical critique, leaving untouched some of the aspects of the cultural mythology that remained important for Russian and Soviet intelligentsia.

While invariably attentive to the conditioning forces of the social milieu as well as to the broader cultural processes, Soviet theorists discussed in this article privilege the *aesthetic* principle in life writing. Biography has a poetics that is not only conditioned by historically given "laws regimenting the production of discourses," but also pre-structured by its subject, the social agent treated in a biography. In this regard, human life is not unlike a work of art, which even as it obeys the prescriptions of genre is also a unique artifact created by an individual author.

Within the overarching conceptual paradigm here adumbrated, Soviet theories of biography, as will become apparent in the following discussion,

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ent a rich and heterogeneous body of work. What this article emphasizes, ever, is a distinct historical continuity in the Russian-Soviet approach to writing. This continuity is due to a genealogy that links twentieth-century retical work to the idealist concept of the personality that arose in the Ro- tic period. Once the "right to a biography" was extended to every human g overriding the earlier definitions of the genre as a kind of rhetorical en- ium, the essential totality of personality became a fundamental premise a powerful challenge to the various analytical approaches, ranging from ian Formalism to Yurii Lotman's cultural poetics.[3] More generally, this de suggests that to understand what a biography meant in a particular rical context—that is, to write a *historical poetics* of the genre of biogra- —we need to be attentive to the evolution of contemporary theoretical k on literature, as well as to the history of the concepts of the biographical ect and of personality itself.[4]

BIOGRAPHY AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

general account of the Russian biographical tradition must begin with observation that in Russia biography was only slowly and with difficulty gnized as a literary genre in its own right. While particular explanations his may differ, they need to make reference to the peculiar character of public sphere in Russia, which came into existence as a result of the mas- reforms undertaken by Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century. Viktor Zhivov has shown, in contrast to the Western European nations, Petrine conception of the state, while representing "a metamorphosis of European theories of the police state (*Polizeystaat*)," did not allow for so- y as a "counter-agent of the state" ("Vremia" 55; *Language and Culture* -56). The Russian Enlightenment was, in Zhivov's term, "statist," which ditioned the biographical subject by imposing a set of behavioral as well ctual ("literary") constraints that were rigidly regimented by censorship s and political decorum. This is perhaps best illustrated, in the nine- th century, by the biographies of generals and high-ranking bureaucrats amounted to expanded *curricula vitae*, and in the twentieth century, by dardized biographies of Soviet party functionaries, war heroes, and "he- of labor," firmly associated with honorary plaques and portrait galleries. The representation of a human life as a text and more particularly as a nar- e can exist in at least two modalities. One is encomiastic or panegyrical, sponding to what Jürgen Habermas describes as "representative public- (8–24)—and in this case we may speak of its aristocratic character—or story about a member of the socially proximate group, which is only pos- within a homogeneous social space. That is the case of the bourgeois

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public sphere construed as unconstrained interaction of individuals involved in critical debate that implies continuous production of new forms of rationality. In this modality, narratives about a life begin to operate as a *discourse* that aids in the production of society's knowledge about itself, due to the multiplication of points of view on problems deemed most significant. In Russia, the public—*publika*—that made its appearance in the second half of the eighteenth century was depoliticized, and inasmuch as it could not debate issues of politics and religion, it generally was a group of "consumers of cultural production" (Smith 57).

Such a speculative distinction between two biographical modalities helps explain the belated emergence of literary biography in Russia, compared to other European nations, as well as its lengthier dependence on rhetoric. In Russian, the word *biografiia* (with an early by-form *viografiia*) appears only in the eighteenth century as a borrowing from French. In its basic meaning 'the description of a life of a single individual' (*Slovar'* 24), it offered a modern analogue to the older words *zhizneopisanie* and *zhitie*, the latter from then on restricted to hagiography.[5] *Biografiia* begins to be used more widely in the first third of the nineteenth century, mostly in rhetorical manuals and instructional materials on Russian style and composition. In these contexts, it is closely associated with historiography. For example, Vasily Plaksin writes in *Kratkii kurs slovesnosti, prisposoblennyi k prozaicheskim sochinenii* [*Brief Course in Russian Letters*]: "*Biografiia* or *Zhizneopisanie* should in many respects be classified among the historical type of writings; its aim is to give a precise notion of life, deeds and fate of an individual" (131–32). Alexandr Galich includes an entry on *Biografiia* in his *Leksikon filosofskikh predmetov* [*Lexicon of Philosophical Subjects*], noting that "*Biografiia* or *Zhizneopisaniie* is a special kind of history": whereas "world history describes the life of the whole of humanity, special history the life of a nation, biography does the same with regard to particular individuals." Moreover, it "represents, properly speaking, not a description, but a narration of fate, deeds, and qualities of a particular outstanding person, and has to accord with the rules of a good piece of narrative fiction [*povest'*] or a character sketch" (83).

Rhetorical guidebooks also define the proper protagonist of a biography. In *Kratkaia ritorika ili pravila, otnosiashchiesia ko vsem rodam sochinenii prozaicheskikh* [*A Brief Rhetoric or Rules Pertaining to All Kinds of Prose Writings*] (1808), Aleksei F. Merzliakov does not hesitate when indicating who has the right to a biography: "the biographer should select such persons whose life by itself is of interest [*zanimatel'na*] and rich in events, those who have drawn universal attention either by their social station or their distinguished merits or an odd confluence of circumstances or a change of fortune." The hero of a

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graphy is a man who has exerted influence on the fates of "a nation or of manity" or is famous for "an extraordinary peculiarity of character or way e" (49). On the one hand, the biographical narrative is driven by a peda- ical intent that extracts intellectual nourishment from historical exempla. the other hand, however, biography legitimates an interest in the everyday of successful individuals, identifying and affirming the social merits that in the attainment of public recognition.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, biographical discourse is radi- democratized, as the right to a biography is given to those who, as seen the perspective of "representative publicity," had no achievements to t of. The emphasis is transferred to the inner life of the individual and from his deeds. In *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k izucheniiu prozaicheskikh so- nii* [*A Brief Manual on the Study of Prose Compositions*] (1866), Mikhail De-Poule notes that

> not only famous or well-known people may be an object of biography but—more or less—any individual. . . . There are those whose lives are rich in external actions, yet there are also others whose lives evolved without any special clamor yet represent a phenomenon of interest in respect to the mores. For a biographer it is easier to describe the life of a man who earned his glory by his external deeds than compose a biography of someone who has lived his life quietly, unknown to society. (17–18)

De-Poule's contrast between the exterior and the interior depends on a par- lar definition of personality (*lichnost'*), that principal object of biography.[6] The new kind of biographical writing, which came into existence as a re- t of the general slackening of state control following the death of Nicholas 1855, presented a self-conscious antithesis to "official biography" and was ed on the liberal ideal of individual autonomy, belief in social progress, a commitment to a Westernized model of society which, as it appeared, to make the development of human personality possible. A whole series new biographical subjects made their appearance in that context: states- n and public figures such as Nikolai Novikov, Nil Koliupanov, and Timo- Granovsky, writers such as Alexander Pushkin, and later on revolutionaries h as Mikhail Bakunin and Alexander Herzen.

THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF PERSONALITY

e concept of *lichnost'* as it evolved in Russian culture has already been com- ted on in scholarship.[7] In Western Europe, the corresponding notion of onality resulted from complex processes, which included the secular- ion of Christian theology and the revival of Roman law. In Russia, the

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modern concept of personhood was a later development, greatly influenced by German philosophy. One particular source of influence was Leibniz's idea of the monad as reinterpreted by the German Romantics, whereby the "unrepeatable variety among individuals" assumed the principal significance (Plotnikov 69–70). In the Russian intellectual circles of the 1820s and 1830s, a close familiarity with idealist philosophy made it possible to construe *lichnost'* as an elusive, "peculiar" principle,[8] inherent in the human being that ties within itself "the universal" (*vseobshchee*) and the "particular or the private" (*chastnoe*).[9]

In *lichnost'*, ostensibly, the "ethical" (*nravstvennaia*) aspect of human existence makes itself visible. Pavel Annenkov, the most celebrated biographer of that period, who wrote lives of Nikolai Stankevich, Nikolai Gogol, and Alexander Pushkin, among others, followed Hegel in interpreting the meaning of this charged epithet through the opposition between the moral sphere (*Moralität*), which consists of "the more or less well pondered rules of human intercourse," and the ethical sphere (*Sittlichkeit*), which "comprises the laws that govern the individual's psychic world" (*Literaturnye vospominaniia* 274). For Annenkov, as for many contemporary Russian intellectuals, reflection about the self was dominated by the impulse to annul the contradiction between these two aspects of human existence, allowing for the world and the self to be perceived as a single whole.[10] The connotations of unity, harmony, and fullness inform the concept of *lichnost'* as an aesthetic phenomenon. One's personality is viewed as a product of individual creativity for which the individual bears sole and exclusive responsibility. Obviously, this concept of the self was not the only one available, and the word *lichnost'* could be used to describe other kinds of autonomous existence as well as the means by which individuals can mark their difference from others. Nevertheless, it is the "Hegelian" vision of personality that came to define the ethos of Russian intelligentsia, and in its various modifications, prevailed over the course of the next two centuries of Russian history.

The intellectual "circles" (*kruzhki*) of the first third of the nineteenth century provided the initial laboratory in which new views on human beings and social processes were molded. These groupings were opposed to salons, which upheld codes of high society, and typologically were more akin to the Masonic lodges of the second half of the eighteenth century. What distinguished the nineteenth century *kruzhki* was a consistent interest in German idealism (Schelling, Fichte, and later Hegel).[11] In the words of Vasilii Zen'kovsky, philosophy did not so much offer "answers to theoretical inquiries of the mind," but rather indicated how "questions of life are to be solved": "it was not the removal of theoretical problems, but an urge for total synthesis analogous to

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one offered by religion" (115).[12] In the mid-nineteenth century, *lichnost'* endowed with a quasi-sacred standing and charged with the task of disering harmonious unity with the world and of resolving contradictions ween the individual and the universal, very much in the spirit of the Hege*Aufhebung*.

Texts that aim at depicting *lichnost'* comprise the most original part of Russian biographical tradition. The first text written in that modality was el Annenkov's life of the philosopher Nikolai Stankevich, who died as a y young man.[13] According to his biographer, Stankevich's main preoccuion that gave meaning to his life was the education of his own personal"the labor of the self," which consisted in continuous self-scrutiny and -reflection, epistolary exchanges, and the use of the other as a possible rner in the process of molding the "inner man." These imperatives derive m practices characteristic of the Masonic variety of Sentimentalism, yet in ntrast to them, their objectives were not clearly defined since nineteenth ntury intellectuals did not share the notions of virtue and virtuous life as iversal goods, as espoused by their late eighteenth century counterparts. e Romantic personality claims autonomy and self-sufficiency and assumes a ical stance toward the world. It realizes itself in the very quest for sources of -definition, and one such source was German philosophy. Stankevich, who mplished nothing in his life, and in the words of his biographer, pursued work career in the proper sense of the word" (*polozhitel'nym trudom*), emfied the new type of personality by showcasing a rupture between individ- and society, between the life of the spirit and the world of social relations.

In the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth cen-ies, this type of personality was subjected to various modifications, giv- rise to a significant tradition of conceptualizing the biographical subject. der the influence of the philosophy of Vladimir Solov'ov, there evolved a vement of Russian "personology," a peculiar synthesis of German Ideal- the Slavophile tradition, and Russian Orthodox theology, represented by res like Lev Karsavin, Nikolai Berdyaev, Boris Vysheslavtsev, and Georgii dotov. "Personology" anchored its notion of the human person in the ideas *bshchaia zhizn'* 'common life' and *sobornost'* 'communality,' both construed emically in opposition to Western society, and aimed at overcoming the ntradictions between belief and reason, and individual being and life shared all. For these thinkers, the achievement of "unity common to everyone" uld allow the individual to attain the fullness of being, beauty, and genuine dom. A notable aspect of "personological" terminology was its conscious k of verifiability, which testified to the special, divine status of *lichnost'* and ireducibility to the real world and its social conditions (Khoruzhii 102).

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In the wake of these developments, one can trace the emergence of various strategies of writing lives for writers, philosophers, and public figures. In Mikhail Gershenzon's biographical works collected in *Young Russia* (1908), which considers the generation of the 1840s (Stankevich, historian Timofei Granovsky, and public figures Ivan Galakhov and Nikolai Ogaryov), the social problem of the molding of Russian *intelligentsiia* as a class is interpreted in a philosophical and existential spirit as the individual's quest for unity and harmony with the world. The category of *lichnost'* is of paramount importance also for Yuly Aykhenvald, the author of the famous book *Siluety russkikh pisatelei* [*Silhouettes of Russian writers*]. In the Introduction, Aykhenvald affirms the absolute autonomy of creative personality, since talent exists outside of everyday life, whose mystery it constitutes, and obeys only "laws of its own" (19). Biographical writing is "opposed" to such notions of personality, and "is acceptable only when it fuses together with creativity; where one finds a disjuncture between the two the critic should base his judgment on creative work, not on biography" (22). *Lichnost'* is a mystical, cosmic principle that realizes itself in art and transcends both actual lived human life and the social world.

In this way, a particular kind of personality is born, in which idealist philosophy, theology, and early twentieth century "personological" mysticism come together. It is founded on an ineluctable gap between personality and the text's capacities to serve as its embodiment, on the ultimate and necessary failure of writing to capture human individuality (Paperno, "Tolstoy's Diaries). The biographical text, in this tradition, is conceived as an attempt to rationalize an essence that necessarily rejects rationalization, since it is identical to life itself and is therefore more rich and complex than any particular form in which it might be explicated.

TOWARDS A THEORY OF BIOGRAPHY

Russian Formalism, a movement whose heyday falls in the 1920s, put forward a conceptual framework which both recast the problem of *lichnost'* and offered a new perspective on biography as a genre. In a polemic with the cultural-historical school that considered biographies as a source for the reconstruction of national and social history and as texts in which the hero is explored through complex interactions with the social whole, the Formalists based their inquiries on the demand for the autonomization of literature, which they sought to relieve of various political implications imposed by both academic literary scholarship of the second half of the nineteenth century and Symbolist "aesthetic criticism" such as that of Gershenzon and Aykhenvald.

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In 1923, Boris Tomashevsky published a brief article entitled "Literatura i grafiia" [Literature and biography], in which he first posed the fundamental problem that would preoccupy the Russian Formalists later in that decade: of the relation between literature and everyday life (*byt*). In answer to the question, "Is a poet's biography necessary for understanding [his] creation?" Tomashevsky emphasizes that a writer's life assumes importance only by virtue of its tie to literature. That tie may be manifested, on the one hand, as literary use of one's own biography," and on the other, as "the intrusion into of literary patterns [*shablony*]" (7). According to Tomashevsky, documentary biographies "pass into the domain of cultural history, along with biographies of generals and inventors; for literature and its history they may only provide external, albeit necessary background material" (9). Contrasting the tasks of a literary historian and a historian of culture, Tomashevsky assigns to them two different functions: the object of literary history is the "biographical legend" that ties together literature and life, whereas the history of culture seeks to reveal the "real" character of the writer (8).

As might be expected of a literary scholar, Tomashevsky's attention is centered on literature. He is troubled by "a pathologically exacerbated interest in literary history, in the everyday [*byt*], in [the writer's] *lichnost'*" (6). The life of the author is part of a literary project, and texts related to that life can claim interest only insofar as they pertain to, or instantiate, literature. Thus, the ultimate analytic goal was to detect a literary quality in texts that were not previously seen as literary. That became the driving principle of the Russian Formalists' work on documentary genres.[14] Indeed, the historical *lichnost'* was valid only if it could, in one way or another, be related to literary creation.

Similar assumptions are at work in Yurii Tynianov's "On literary evolution," one of his landmark essays. Acknowledging the possibility of "the expansion of literature into *byt*," Tynianov points to a correlation between Heine's lyrical heroes" and his "literary personality (*lichnost'*), [which] . . . formed life as it emerged from verse [*ozhivala iz stikhov*]" (*Poetika* 279). In some cases, a notable contrast may emerge between biography and artistic creation; thus, Tynianov notes that Heine's literary personality "is far removed from the biographically attested Heine." In any case, any discussion of biography is possible only within this analytic frame. The notion of "literary personality," which ostensibly plays only a minor role in Tynianov's theoretical work, represents a crucial mediating term that eventually permitted him to interpret human personality itself as a "system of relations"; that is, to approach it "in the spirit of that conception of systemic correlation of elements that has already been put forward in the article 'On literary evolution'" (*Poetika* 514). Tynianov's further reflections on the genre of biography found

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their realization in his artistic practice. In the 1920s and 1930s, he published several novels and novellas, some of them real or fictional biographies.[15]

While Russian Formalist work points to a new, productive theorization of personality, it should be stressed that for Tynianov, as well as for Tomashevsky, the writer's personality "assumes life" not based on an independent factual narrative, but rather based on his literary output. Art is revealed as an essential lens for accessing the author's life. This move suggested a devaluation of biographical narration as previously conceived. Both Tomashevsky and Tynianov understand by "biography" the life of a writer that is made accessible through diaries, letters, and memoirs: texts that serve either as aids for a philologically-minded commentator or as material for the scholarly reconstruction of the everyday context of literary production (*literaturnyi byt*). Biographical narratives proper—and particularly, biographical texts unrelated to literature, such as biographies of scholars, explorers, politicians, etc.—were thereby assigned to an unspecified and ill-defined domain of the history of culture, where they would remain, as far as most scholars were concerned, from then on.[16]

Grigorii Vinokur's *Biografiia i kul'tura* [*Biography and Culture*] (1927) represents an important attempt to overcome the marginalization of the genre of biography by reflecting on its general foundations, and indeed by offering a particular "theory of biography." Vinokur's book suggests the possibility of synthesizing the German tradition of studying the history of human life in the spirit of Wilhelm Dilthey with the analytic apparatus of Formalist literary scholarship. Although it did not sprout a scholarly tradition and thus remained an isolated intellectual experiment, it deserves credit for exposing the limitations of the Formalist approach to biography, as well as for putting forward a consistently theoretical, holistic vision of this genre.[17] As suggested by its title, *Biography and Culture* carries a polemical and apologetic intent. Vinokur states that biography is "an inseparable unity" of all elements of life, a "living tie [that is] . . . given to us in history" (24), and it is history, for Vinokur, that provides a ground where "not a single element can be understood outside of a relation to the *whole*" (31, italics original). It follows that the life of an individual "must be construed in structural terms" as a synthesis of different aspects that comprise "social reality" or "the social whole" (32, 33). An individual history of life is construed as a process of selection of elements that correspond to the "object" of private life. Biography thus is a special sphere of creativity that possesses an "aesthetics" of its own (18–21). This aesthetics of personality is based on a narrative principle, shifting the emphasis away from the direct depiction of *lichnost'* to storytelling (36).[18]

Grigorii Vinokur's reflections can be easily extended beyond literature, providing a theoretical foundation to the analysis of the biographical text as a

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ral phenomenon. It also shows how literary scholarship with a philologi-
ent can give rise to a "scholarly-critical" theory of biography. Notably, in
Soviet Union, the most far-reaching conceptualizations of documentary
e emerged from within literary studies. Of special importance in this re-
are the methodological inquiries of Lydia Ginzburg, who elaborated a
al critique of the tenets of Russian Formalism.
A student of Yurii Tynianov, Ginzburg focused on what might be termed
derline literary genres—those that exist outside of the literary canon. As
a Savkina has recently suggested, Ginzburg was not aiming at elevating
moirs, diaries, or correspondence to the status of literature, but on the
rary, at detecting a "peculiar kind of literariness" in them. For Ginzburg,
umentary prose is an object of study in its own right, placed between "so-
historical and psychological notions and the specific aspects of artistic
ucture" (*O literaturnom geroe* 7–8). Her main heroes belong, once again,
e generation of the 1840s: the young philosopher Stankevich, the distin-
hed Russian critic Vissarion Belinsky, the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, the
ian revolutionary Alexander Herzen, and the writer Lev Tolstoy. All these
nsibly very different individuals are united by the "quest for their own
onality." That quest is the main concern in her books *Alexandr Ivanovich*
rzen (1957) and *On Psychological Prose* (1971).
When speaking of *lichnost'*, Ginzburg emphasizes the process of collect-
disparate elements into one whole. In conceptualizing this process, she
oys the vocabulary of social psychology—in particular, her familiar-
with the theories of George Mead and Erving Goffman is an established
." In the resulting original conception, the biographical subject, or "char-
r" (Ginzburg's term, rendered by Judson Rosengrant as *personality*), is an
ome of individual efforts with inter-subjective interactions: "Personal-
(*kharakter*) is an ideal conception, a structure created by the individual
mself in consequence of his self-conception, and continuously created in
yday life by everyone on the basis of observations of other people or of
rmation about them. It is clear that everyone's personality will be subject
series of interpretations, some sharply divergent, others differing merely
rtain details and nuances" (*On Psychological Prose* 10). The production of
s own character (which is to say, the building of one's personality) is thus
ealed as a form of "social" creativity and one of the chief goals of human
. This process enters into complicated relations with literary creativity, yet
o has independent value.
Moving from Tynianov and Tomashevsky to Vinokur and Ginzburg, we
how the study of second-order biographical texts is gradually accepted
e field, and how a fitting methodological apparatus comes into being.

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Within that apparatus, *lichnost'* is construed as a peculiar "cultural" or "aesthetic" phenomenon purified of concrete social investments, as "purposiveness without a purpose," whose history is first and foremost the "history of spirit" and its inner strivings. A fundamental contradiction thus arises: while ostensibly rationalized as a "structure" or a "role," in the spirit of Goffman, personality lacks external motivations, whose origins lie in the social world. Ginzburg's "sociology" (in this case, the term calls for quotes) is opposed to the reductionism of orthodox Marxism, which viewed the human being exclusively through economic relations. For Ginzburg, it is not the economy, but culture that determines the individual, and that relation of determination is not subject to any methodological doubt or critical reflection.

YURII LOTMAN AND THE SEMIOTICS OF CULTURE

Lydia Ginzburg's conception of character as a historical phenomenon was a breakthrough that pushed the problem of personality into the foreground of research in literary studies. Cultural semiotics, a movement closely associated with Yurii Lotman, who was the leader of the so-called Tartu school of semiotics, put forward a new theory of human behavior that, while less centrally concerned with *lichnost'*, shared the basic assumptions stemming from the tradition of pondering personality discussed in the preceding section.

In 1984, Lotman published a small note with the revealing title "Biografia—zhivoe litso" [Biography: A Living Face]," dedicated to Alexei Gastev's *Leonardo da Vinci*, published in the famous Soviet biographical series *Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh liudei* [*The Life of Remarkable People*]. Pondering the popularity of the genre, Lotman suggests that "behind the reader's interest in biography there always hides a need to see a beautiful and rich human personality [*lichnost'*]" (228). Lotman laments the fact that a scholarly attitude toward the problem of personality has not yet become customary in literary studies, with "the practical result that stereotypes dominate in the biographical genre."[20] Ironically, however, when he turns to Leonardo da Vinci himself and asks "What was that man? What shapes the unity of his personality?," Lotman seeks recourse to Gastev's term *sfumatto*, referring to the painterly device that creates a hazy effect of fading lineaments. "[T]he psychological structure of personality," Lotman concludes, "is a mutual projection of different lives," where "one thing shines through another, where inspiration is visible through the lumps of life's circumstances, and light, through smoke. A portrait in the *sfumatto* manner" (236).

This note, which was intended for a broad audience of non-specialists, suggests a conflict between two seemingly opposed positions. The imperative of subjecting personality to analysis is confronted with a twofold hermeneutic

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cit: the inadequacy of analytic categories for grasping *lichnost'* and the in-ficiency of artistic means for reproducing it. Lotman sought to resolve this dox in his own biographies of Karamzin and Pushkin, in which personal-s cast as an object of self-conscious construction. As a result of this effort elf-fashioning, *lichnost'* takes on a degree of autonomy and integrity, as as aesthetic qualities such as "richness" and "beauty."

Yurii Lotman's own biographies can be seen as illustrations of the poten-of the semiotic approach to this genre. In the preface to the Polish trans-n of his biography of Alexander Pushkin, Lotman states that the book's n objective is "to approach biography as an object of semiotic analysis" *manovskii sbornik* 86). Lotman's semiotics, which presented an explicit, d method of studying human behavior in texts and in real life, was thus d on Formalist premises, such as the view of literature as the highest cul-l form, the definition of personality in terms of structure, and the impor-e of the writer's biographical legend. It bears emphasizing that cultural iotics ignores those forms of behavior that lack marked, easily recogniz-e features. Lotman's hero performs a role, or a multiplicity of roles, that laden with cultural meanings. Viewed through the semiotic lens, the bio-phical subject easily dons different hats and masks, continually existing e regime of social performance that presents a contrast to the routine of yday life.

In these terms Lotman describes Pushkin's work on the creation of his *nost'*:

> the more brilliantly, in this or that poem from the Lyceum period, Pushkin learns to employ existing stylistic and generic norms, the more the properly Pushkinian becomes manifest in him. Something similar occurred in 1817–1820 in the do-main of the poet's construction of his *lichnost'*. He acquired "the rules of the game," accepted in this or that social circle, with an astonishing ease, entering the style of amiable interaction proposed by this or that mentor-interlocutor. Nevertheless, Pushkin does not dissolve in alien characters or norms. He is in quest for himself. ... It would be a mistake to imagine "the construction of *lichnost'*" as a dry rational process. As also in art, here a pre-calculated design coexists with intuitive findings and momentary illuminations which suggest a solution. All this together forms that mixture of the conscious and the unconscious that is characteristic of all creativity. (*Pushkin* 44–45, 79)

eed, the poet creates his personality "as an original and complete artistic k" (79).

This creative process, nevertheless, takes place in a social context that has objective laws and is founded on values that an individual must embody order to attain a special standing for his *lichnost'* and to mark his whole life

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project as a success. What is called for is a lucky synthesis of various elements, of the man and the world, of the personal and the universal, the kind of synthesis that opens access to the historical. Lotman's use of the metaphor of history as a "chain" of events is particularly telling:

> Pushkin assigned a special meaning to the notion of a "link in a chain": in order to carry on the relay of generations, one must be a bright personality that has dignity of its own, as well as personal autonomy, fullness of spiritual and psychological life, mental and emotional richness. Only the individual who is a bright human totality is part of history. Not self-annihilation and subjection, but independence and efflorescence of human individuality, brightness of experienced life, a meditative and carefree stance—joy and sadness at once—can constitute at once a contribution to culture and an adoption into culture. (*Pushkin* 151)

Lotman's biography of Pushkin is anti-psychological in a principled way. Lotman's protagonist at any given time performs a role, thus leaving open the question of how the unity of a *lichnost'* can be compatible with the multiplicity of stances that it adopts. Ginzburg's conception of personality tends in the opposite direction: it is hyper-psychological in that it involves labor on one's self which is being painstakingly assembled from available historical material. Within that conception, anyone can be a biographical subject, even a hero who does not pursue marked forms of behavior.[21] This difference, however, should not conceal an overarching similarity: a *lichnost'* can only be built through participation in a culture that serves as the chief and indisputable source of legitimacy.

CONCLUSION: THE ANTINOMIES OF BIOGRAPHY

In the beginning of her article on the conceptions of the self in Mikhail Bakhtin, Yurii Lotman, Lev Vygotskii, and Lydia Ginzburg, Caryl Emerson notes that all of these thinkers are "wholly free from hermeneutics of suspicion" (201). Indeed, *lichnost'* can exist in a tragic or a heroic hypostasis; it is open to the outside world and to language, and is granted the power of creation and a determination to find a place in the world. It acquires the meaning of its existence through culture, and although it can be represented by structural relations between various elements (as, for example, in Ginzburg's conception of the historical character), or by reference to performed roles, it ultimately overrides all interpretations that seek to reduce its status by exposing its concrete determinants, objectives, or social strategies. In this regard, Lotman's approach to self, for example, lacked a spirit of critique, in part because, in contrast to analogs in French structuralism and poststructuralism, it was not designed as an instrument for unmasking dominant ideology or social myths.

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The use of sociological models for conceptualizing culture and the self withstanding, powerful continuities link Soviet literary theorists to the tion going back to the middle of the nineteenth century, the liberal ep- that saw the rise of the new modality of biographical writing as well as the st for a metaphysical unity of society and the individual. That tradition solidated the new class of intellectuals, the *intelligentsiia*, by monopolizing ss to the de-politicized domain of culture which in that particular mani- tion tended to be identified with literature. Biographical narratives about eative artist, a poet, or a writer were part of a hermeneutic effort that had litical meaning inasmuch as they instantiated the struggle of a specific so- group for the right of "imposing a legitimate vision of the world" (Bour- , "Espace social"). That effort proved constitutive for the identity of the iet intelligentsia.

In the Soviet epoch, the theoretical effort to define human personality *hnost'*) as a historical entity had to negotiate between two contradictory ntions or realizations. On the one hand, literary scholars sought to base ir inquiry into the human psyche on scholarly methodologies and analyti- categories, with the stated goal of revealing its participation in concrete tions intrinsic to the social world. On the other hand, they adhered to a werful holistic cultural mythology that was closely tied to the concept of *hnost'* and whose genealogy went back to the Russian reception of German alism. In the Soviet period, this antinomy was inflected by a persistent op- ition of the principle of *lichnost'*, embraced by the intelligentsia, to the ssure of official discourses. It is fair to say that *lichnost'* had the function of mpensating for the spiritual, mystical-religious holistic principle of human ividuality, associated with Orthodox Christianity and therefore suppressed ring the Soviet period. This concept thus was charged with the ethos of ncipation from any kind of regulatory systems, revealing its latent liberal pposed to Hegelian) connotations.

NOTES

Among numerous relevant studies the following should be mentioned: William H. Epstein's *Recognizing Biography* and John Batchelor's collection *The Art of Literary Biography*. Other works that are significant from a methodological viewpoint include Ira Bruce Nadel's *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form*, Paula R. Backschneider's *Reflections on Biography*, and Ray Monk's essays "Objectivity, postmodernism and biographical understanding" and "Life without theory: biography as an exemplar of philosophical understanding." See Halfin; Hellbeck; and Paperno, *Stories of the Soviet Experience*.

The term "a right to biography" was apparently introduced by Boris Tomashevsky in his 1923 article "Literatura i biografiia" (as I will discuss in the "Towards a Theory of Biography" section of this essay).

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4. Important theorizations of genre within the Russian tradition of Historical Poetics include Mikhail Bakhtin's "The Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," and Alexander Veselovsky's "From the Introduction to Historical Poetics: Questions and Answers."
5. See also Geim 1: 357: "*Zhizneopisanie*—L'histoire de la vie; la biographie; *zhizneopisatel'* Le biographe, der biographe." Ivan Rizhskii defines the history of a single person as "*zhitie* (biographie)" (283).
6. Both *chelovek* 'human being' and *litso* 'person' can be used of synonyms of *lichnost'* during that period. In other contexts, the distinct meaning of *lichnost'* as a uniquely constituted individuality is unmistakable, as in Mikhail Arkhangel'skii's *Rukovodstvo k izucheniiu slovesnosti* (204–205).
7. See Vinogradov (273, 291–92), Sorokin (201–205), and Plotnikov (64–84).
8. "One cannot deny the influence of moral qualities on the feeling of love, yet when one loves a person, one loves him in his entirety, not as an idea, but as a living *lichnost'*; one especially loves in him that which one can neither define nor name. Indeed, how would you define and name, for instance, that elusive expression, that mysterious play of his face, his voice, in a word, all that constitutes his particularity, makes him unlike other people, and all that for which—trust me—you love him most of all?" (Belinsky 10: 28).
9. Consider Gerzen (3: 42): "Turbid individualities, produced from natural unmediatedness [*iz estestvennoi neposredstvennosti*], are elevated as fog into the sphere of the universal and, illumined by the sun of the idea, they are dissolved in the eternal blue of the universal. Yet they are not annihilated in it; having received the universal inside them, they pour down as beneficent rain, pure crystal drops on the same old earth. The grandeur of the returning *lichnost'* is due to its having preserved both worlds, to its being both *genus* and *individuum* at the same time [*rod i nedelimoe vmeste*], to its having become what it was born as, or better put, that for the sake of which it was born—a conscious link between both worlds, to its having comprehended its universality while preserving its singularity."
10. In a letter to Bakunin of 10 September 1838, Vissarion Belinsky describes the process of the birth of *lichnost'* construed as the recognition of the mutual interrelatedness of various world phenomena on the plane of individual existence. Reporting on his intellectual and moral transformation, Belinsky represents *lichnost'* as a coming together of previously incompatible concepts: "Duty, the moral point of view, selflessness, self-sacrifice, grace, will, freedom in gratitude, the directness of actions, politics, love, marriage, taste in what is elegant—in a word, all the most contradictory concepts have for me taken on a certain integral meaning and no longer fight each other, but rather form a whole structure with many facets, one general painting using different colors" (11: 282).
11. On the reception of Schelling's ideas in Russia, see Kamenskii.
12. Zen'kovsky's language is indebted to the tradition of Russian personology.
13. On Stankevich and his influence on Russian intellectual life, see Brown.
14. In "The Literary Fact" (1924) and "On Literary Evolution" (1927), Yurii Tynianov approaches literature as a dynamic system in which "literary function" may arise as a result of a modification in the relation between different "series": "literary" and "non-literary" (273). Thus, in some cases, memoirs and diaries would have the quality of "literariness," and in others, not (they would therefore belong to the non-literary series).

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Tynianov's biographical narratives include works on Wilhelm Küchelbecker (*Kiuchlia*), Alexander Griboedov (*Smert' Vazir-Mukhtara*), and Pushkin (*Pushkin*; left incomplete at the time of his death); his famous novella *Lieutenant Kijé* is based on a historical anecdote from the reign of Paul the First. Tynianov also discusses the problem of biography in his private correspondence. For instance, in a letter addressed to Viktor Shklovsky (5 March 1929), he writes: "It is imperative that biography be recognized, that it be yoked to the history of literature and not run by the side like a foal. 'Human beings' as they exist in literature are a result of cyclization around a name, the name of the hero [*tsiklizatsiia vokrug imen—geroiia*] and [the result of] the application of devices in other domains, where they are tested out before they are admitted into literature. There is no 'unity' or 'totality' but instead a system of relationships toward different activities, whereby a change in one type of relations, for instance in the domain of political action, can be linked, in a combinatory fashion, to a different type, for instance, the relation to language and literature (Griboedov, Pushkin). In general, *lichnost'* is not a reservoir whose emanations take the form of literature etc., but a cross cut across [the domains of] activity that are subject to a combinatory evolution of different series [*riady*]" (*Poetika* 513). For more on literary-theoretical debates around the relation between "literature" and "real life" [*byt*], which touch upon the problem of biography, see Chudakova 439, 443.

Across the Atlantic, the commitment of American New Critics to the autonomy of literature was similarly detrimental to the recognition of biography's distinctive value. In René Wellek and Austin Warren's *Theory of Literature*, the genre of biography is not discussed under the rubric of "Literary Genres," but instead dealt with cursorily in a chapter on the misuses of the biographical and psychologizing approaches to literature, where it is stated that most scholars have not perceived a "specifically literary" quality in biographical narratives (76). Northrop Frye, for his part, does not even mention biography in *Anatomy of Criticism*, and would probably subsume it, alongside historiography, under the category of "descriptive pieces of writing," which "survives by virtue of its 'style', or interesting verbal pattern, after its value as a representation of facts has faded" (75).

As Vinokur states, work on biography in Russia is hampered not only by a deficit in theoretical reflection, but also by a lack of a strong biographical tradition. In his article "Rannie biografii Pushkina" ["Early biographies of Pushkin"] (1937), he writes that "in Russia the art of biography lacked solid traditions; there were few genuine biographical writers, who would see biography as a vocation. The very problem of biography not only was not debated in scholarly-critical or philosophical literature, but almost never emerged as a serious cultural problem" (*Stat'i* 35).

In Vinokur's account, *lichnost'* is conceptualized in a Formalist spirit as a structure and even as a "structure of structures" that represents a particular constellation of elements that are sifted and selected by the biographer: "*lichnost'* is that which lives and that without which there is no life. Yet biography does not study *lichnost'* as such. Titles or subtitles of biographical works that suggest as much, in fact, always refer to the *history of private life*" (*Biografiia* 35–36). The biographer should be able to grasp the growth and becoming of a person from "a coherent and living historical context" (43). According to Vinokur, it is history, and not an essential inner psychic core, that grants life to personality, yet it is history seen through the lens of the aesthetics of life writing.

For Ginzburg's interest in Goffman, see Andrei Zorin.

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20. "The simple truths that human personality represents a complex psychological and intellectual structure which appears at the interstices of period-based, class, group and uniquely individual models of consciousness and behavior, that all historical and social processes are realized through this mechanism and cannot bypass it (that is, through human thoughts and human behavior), that the social process is also manifested in the structure of social interaction and that, consequently, all humanistic inquiry must reckon with the achievements of scholarship in these fields—all these simple truths have not yet penetrated the scholarly consciousness of students of literature" (Lotman, *Biografiia* 230).
21. "We all know people who readily fall into one or another typological category, however superficial, and others who remain elusive in this regard (their behavior is either 'semiotic' or 'nonsemiotic'). We also know people who maintain poses and roles, and others who do not" (Ginzburg, *On Psychological Prose* 16).

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ECRET POLICE FILES, TANGLED LIFE NARRATIVES: E 1.5 GENERATION OF COMMUNIST SURVEILLANCE

IOANA LUCA

rg Dreyman, the acclaimed East German playwright in the Oscar win- movie *The Lives of Others* (2006), fails to be artistically productive af- e Berlin Wall goes down. When he finds out, in the early 90s, that he been under full secret police surveillance, he goes to the Stasi archives t together the missing pieces from his recent past.[1] After reading his file finding out about the Stasi officer who actually protected him while en- ering his own career and life, the playwright writes a novel dedicated to W XX/7," the Stasi officer, "in gratitude." It is Dreyman's engagement his file and the recent past that puts him once again in the creative lime- . By making use of his secret police file, Dreyman reconstructs the puzzle s past, confronts it, understands it, and ultimately engages with it in nov- ic form. The punch line of the movie, "It is for myself," is uttered by the er officer purchasing Dreyman's book, *The Sonata of a Good Man*, and ing the gift wrap.

The surveillance officer and the artist under surveillance come together the fall of the Berlin Wall in the playwright's autobiographical novel, in h the officer, an agent of oppression, is memorialized in gratitude.[2] The illance file, an instrument of state control and oppression, brings the un- uctive writer back to artistic creation; the Stasi past of fear and intimida- turns into a liberating force for the playwright in the present. *The Lives hers* is a fictional engagement with the secret police files that shows the plex relationship of the present with the communist past and its surveil- e system in the former Eastern bloc. It is this intricate, paradoxical, and ed relationship (artistically transcended here) with the secret police files he life stories emerging out of them that prompts my interest in life writ- produced by the 1.5 generation of communist surveillance. By analyzing ien Bugan's *Burying the Typewriter: Childhood under the Eye of the Secret*

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Police (2012) and Kati Marton's *Enemies of the People: My Family's Journey to America* (2009), I discuss the complex intersection at which life writing by children of communist surveillance is positioned, and the multilayered forms of life narrative[3]: personal memories, family stories, narratives of the oppressive state apparatus, transnational circuits of post-Cold War lives and documents. More precisely, the questions that frame my analysis are: What happens to communist life narratives of an oppressive state apparatus when taken up by children of the communist dissidents? How do transnational identities and life stories emerging from post-Cold War Eastern Europe impact the already "ruffled bed of autobiography" (Watson and Smith 1)? What are the implications of this new autobiographical form for life writing from and about Eastern Europe within the post-communist context as well as the global one?

Literary scholars working in the archives of the secret police have emphasized the potential of the files for generating stories: "a disturbing collage of found objects," the secret police surveillance files are seen as "still pregnant with untold stories: yellowed newspaper clippings, a love letter opened before reaching its destination, the transcript of an overheard conversation . . . scalloped edged photographs, and fragments of literary manuscripts" (Vatulescu, "Arresting" 243). The stories emerging from the surveillance files, and the connections between surveillance files and life writing, as well as the implications of communist files for the life writing scholar, point to complex configurations that I briefly map in the first section of my article.

LIFE WRITING AND THE COMMUNIST SECRET POLICE FILES

The opening of the secret police archives in the former Eastern European bloc has led to heated political debates in the ex-communist countries with regard to lustration: the reassessment of national literary or political figures as well as the Cold War experience, both east and west.[4] The date, type of access, and, of course, the scale/scope of the archives vary from country to country, from the opening of the Stasi files as early as 1992 in the former German Democratic Republic to keeping some partly classified, in Russia.[5] One of the common denominators, however, is that, once made available, the secret police archives provided access to the different types of surveillance files maintained between 1945 and 1989 in the former communist countries. The specific role of the surveillance files in the larger narratives of overt political contest and/or repressed memories varies across the former Eastern European bloc. The significance of the files in the national processes of transitional justice or the remembering of communism depends on their completeness, and the countries' (lack of) legal framework in connection to them, as well as the historical and political debates characterizing each national context.[6] As there was "no

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practice of communism," but a geographically and diachronically di-
experience of it, "pluralized across national, ethnic, social, professional,
er and generational borders" (Todorova 5), the significance of state sur-
ance also differs.

In his monumental *Political Epistemics* (2011), Andreas Glaeser regards surveillance mechanism in the GDR as hubris and the end of socialism. life narratives of the Stasi officers Glaeser interviews (which recall Tim- Garton Ash's rendering of the encounters with the officers who spied him) are the point of entry into the demise of the system, as they show discrepancy between lived experience and official party descriptors (xxi). opinion of Adam Michnik, the former Polish dissident who has been an e opponent of opening or carrying out lustration based on the files, is ly referenced: according to Michnik, it would be absurd if "secret po- colonels [were to] give out morality certificates" (23).[7] Numerous public s in Bulgaria are also against "the game with the records" (Baeva 382); in mania, legislation has been both resistant to opening the files, and chang- with regard to their legal significance.[8] At the very opposite end would be Germany, where employers made a case by case decision based on the rmation provided by the Stasi files. The secret police files figure distinctly larger historical and political debates of the former communist coun- and generalizing about the exact extent of the strength and role of the illance networks, and consequently of the resulting personal files across egion, has its pitfalls. I agree, however, with those scholars who argue that ging with the secret police files has meant mostly "realpolitik"—the files been "good business" politically, as they have been used in power strug- and political battles in post-socialist times (Verdery, "Postsocialist" 73).[9] At the same time, the legal frameworks that have turned the archives into c institutions make explicit the significance of the surveillance files in "re- ng one's past life, family life" (Consiliul); as the German act mentions, the pose of accessing the files is to offer people "insight into documents that ern them so that they may *catch up with* their life's story," and "clarify" the ence the state security had on one's "personal fate" (qtd. in Vismann 154, asis mine). Access to the files thus implied from the very beginning the mption that they "store" individual life stories. Consequently, the surveil- files became, in various national contexts, a well of resources for writing or iting lives, and indeed a wide range of biographical and autobiographical ices emerged around them. These practices include a steady flow of biog- es of literary and political figures, which have become staples in publish- atalogues in the former communist bloc, as well as various forms of auto- graphical writing in connection to the files.[10] At the same time, both "data ects" (Vismann 154) or "target people" (Verdery, "Romania's" 2)—i.e., the

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people under surveillance—and former state informers have written their autobiographies, and rewritten their lives, in view of the newly acquired documents. Thus, both the former incriminated subjects as well as the ones who watched and reported on them have engaged in multiple forms of archaeology of the past and the self in autobiographical form.

Depending on the national context and the timing of the publication, such autobiographical writing has had its role in different forms of transitional justice: it has exposed informers of the regime; presented the inner workings of the state apparatus, with its terrible system of control; provided closure to the victims; and offered forms of self-justification (even repentance) to collaborators. It has also been regarded as a "reminder of everything ugly under communism" (Tabacu), a "necessary memento," a "needed testimony" about the past (Muşat), and a mine of information for the newer generations or even important actors of post-communist historiography.[11]

While an exact mapping of life writing forms triggered by the opening of the archives is beyond the scope of the present essay, it is in order to say that they record forms of alienation, the pain and shock the subject experiences (upon finding out about betrayals by family and friends), and the horror of understanding the expanse of the state apparatus; they may also feature a disclosure of the informers (and a moralizing attitude), a reconstruction of one's image (in the case of public figures), public confessions, self-justification, or just playful engagement with the files, in the case of former collaborators.[12] The surveillance files have been often envisaged, both by autobiographers and the public at large, as relics capable of offering an authoritative account of the past, a privileged space to generate the "truth" about one's past, or a repository of a past which is to be brought into the open. Even the Oxford history professor Timothy Garton Ash, who authored the first such autobiography to reach international audiences and thus go beyond national contexts, cautions about using the secret police archives, but still emphasizes the existence of a truth in them: "there is a truth that can be found. Not a single, absolute Truth with a capital T but still a real and important one" ("Trials" 282). At the opposite end of such an approach are archive researchers and specialists in communist oppression, who highlight the unreliability of the secret police files by explaining the numerous manipulations, mystifications and lies that their creation has involved (Banu). More recently, ethnographic views of one's own surveillance files emphasize the many "fictions" of the archives (Verdery, "Romania's" 1, 9 and *Secrets* 31–76). Such different perceptions do not imply a relativistic perspective on questions of truth, historical knowledge, or historical manipulation as revealed by the secret police files. On the contrary, this wide range of responses points to the complex issues that need to be carefully contextualized and analyzed—the party ideology behind the files, the functioning of the

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...m with its (self)legitimating processes, and the reality it created—when ...mining the secret police files and the life stories they tell.[13]

...East Germany was the first state to enable public access to the police files, ...the response was so rich in forms of life writing coming into existence as ...sult of consulting the Stasi files that the legal scholar Cornelia Vismann ...ed the term "file-based autobiography," an autobiography designed to ...what is "missing" in the file (156). People wrote their autobiographies to ...pond" to or comment on their own experience in relation to the Stasi files; ..."appropriated their files and transformed them into 'authentic' sources ...documentary evidence for their narrative voice" (Roy 212). Another sa... approach to files and their connection to auto/biographical practices ...lighted the changing "regimes of truth" and "regimes of value" the files ...undergone in the decades following their opening in the former GDR, ...their initial role as instruments of secret state control to post-modernist, ...ivist literary uses they are put to by the former secret police collaborators ...is 297).[14]

The communist secret police file itself is a form of life writing, and lit... scholars associate it with a "biography" of the subject. This heteroge... collection of documents, which included the subject's own brief auto...graphy, a required piece of information in people's employment files and ...sequently in any surveillance dossier, formed a complex oppressive state ...hanism of surveillance, control, intimidation, coercion, and criminaliza... in the former Eastern European totalitarian societies. The communist ...t police file thus is defined by Alison Lewis as a "hostile, unauthorized ...graphy" (383), "authored by an oppressive state apparatus" (378). Cristina ...lescu's overview of the Soviet and Romanian files from the 1920s to the ...0s also clearly emphasizes that such a file is a heteroglossic biography that ...e about the surveillance systems characterizing each communist country, ...also changed along with the political and technological transformations ...e period ("Arresting" 243–47). Katherine Verdery, a US anthropologist ...was also the subject of a Romanian Securitate file of over 2,500 pages, ...ds her surveillance file as a "disorienting" narrative, a "disjoined portrait ...e subject" (*Secrets* 55) lacking a single narrative thread due to its col... ...rative authorship and the polyphonic notations in the margins. She as... the "fragmenting" effect to the abundance of narratives about the files' ...ect and his/her multiplication of name codes, and notices that the sub... biography is in need of rearrangement and chronology ("Romania's" 18, ... Here Verdery echoes other researchers, who regard surveillance files as an ...sive collection of documents" but still emphasize their potential to tell the ... story of people entangled in a web of lies, deception, and intimidation ...pies, informers or victims" (Stan, "Inside"). It is the specific but highly

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complex communist context and the heterogeneous nature of the secret police files—which included not only informative reports, surveillance minutes, collaborator's notes, and conversation transcripts, but also confiscated letters, personal writings or even memorabilia that belonged to the "target subject"—that led critics to highlight their potential to generate stories.

While it is hard to predict the many avenues through which life writing will flourish in connection with the communist files, two things are certain. First, even if autobiographical writing triggered by the files loses the power to generate scandal, create headlines in major publications, or arrest the public attention through its revelations (as happened in the early 1990s in the former GDR or early 2000s in Romania), the number of publications will continue to grow, increasingly reaching beyond the national borders of the Eastern European bloc. Books such as *Suspect: My Securitate File* (first published in Dutch 2012) by Jan Willem Bos, a former researcher and lecturer at the University of Bucharest in the 1970s and 1980s and currently the Dutch translator of numerous well-known Romanian writers; *Communist Intimacy* (published in English in 2014) by the Macedonian literary scholar Jasna Koteska, who engages with the file of her father (Jovan Koteski, a famous Macedonian poet); and the memoir by Katherine Verdery, *My Life as a Spy: Memoirs of a Cold War Anthropologist* (forthcoming), about her life as a researcher in Romania viewed through the secret police files, are all cases in point.[15] All these texts illustrate that life writing based on or derived from communist files is yet to bloom in global contexts. Second, in the near future, life narratives such as visual engagements and dramatic performances will also bring to the public the "parallel lives" of the twentieth century "through the eyes of the secret police," as the title of an ongoing collaborative project makes manifest. Started in 2012 and made possible through the collaboration of six countries, ten artists, and several institutions from the former communist bloc, the interdisciplinary project "Parallel Lives: 20th Century through the Eyes of the Secret Police" envisions theater productions and short TV documentaries based on "authentic stories interspersed with interviews with the witnesses in that era, agents, victims and other people whose lives had been affected by the activities of the secret police," and speaks about a concentrated interregional support and cultural agendas in this direction.[16] An increasing number of artists in various media have engaged with the surveillance files in recent years in an attempt to recover life stories revealed by the newly opened communist archives. Installations or digital montages in art exhibitions such as *Second Life in Communism: People, Attitudes, Places* (Bucharest, 2012) or *Ex and Post Eastern Europe under the Lens* (Sydney, 2015) are indicative of artistic remediations of the personal surveillance files, the focus on life narratives, and the increasing presence of such exhibits in global circulation networks.[17]

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HILDREN OF COMMUNIST SURVEILLANCE WRITE THEIR LIVES

ssay furthers current scholarship on autobiographical writing in connec- o the files by drawing attention to the significance of life writing by chil- of the former "target people." To this end, I read Carmen Bugan's *Burying pewriter* and Kati Marton's *Enemies of the People* in an attempt to reveal le of the surveillance files in their autobiographical writing. A second line quiry refers to the significance of these two authors' life writing for the ory of communism, and the transnational circuits of post-communist re- bering that Eastern European exiles' life writing enables.

While the historical events experienced are almost a generation apart, the authors and their autobiographies have many things in common. Marton, an award-winning ABC and NPR journalist, and Carmen Bu- a poet and scholar, were both brought up in the communist bloc, the ary of the 1950s and the Romania of the 1970s and 1980s, respectively. parents stood up for human rights (Bugan) or freedom of speech in alism (Marton). Consequently, the two authors left their countries for S during their childhood and adolescence respectively, as political refu- Thirty and fifty years later, respectively, both writers record their early nd weave into their autobiographies the secret police files they consult- the late 2000s. The files concern their parents, who were under constant llance and even imprisoned. Both authors were old enough to remem- ose moments. Marton and Bugan differ from what can be called a first of "file based autobiographies," as they are not the "data subjects" of es. They can be considered the "1.5 generation" (to borrow the term, as rs of the Holocaust have also done, from immigration studies) of com- m surveillance: they were too young to be the very subjects of obser- , but they were old enough to be aware of and influenced by this early perience.[18] Another common feature is that the authors do not directly ipate in the immediate process of transitional justice or post-communist iography in their home countries, due to their distance from it both in nd space and even language: in fact, the two autobiographies were writ- English and published in the UK and US respectively (Graywolf 2012/ or 2013, and Simon & Schuster 2009, respectively).

y claim is that the inclusion of the files (no matter how marginal, as all see) speaks about recuperative mnemonic practices: the children of es under surveillance acquire ownership of their personal, familial past, was previously silent, buried, or just denied by their parents. It is a per- engagement with an archeology of the self and of a lived but unknown y) past. It is also a familial, generational duty to their parents' difficult nce, courage, and suffering. The texts are family memoirs collapsing

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the boundaries usually established between biography and autobiography (Davis); they are also forms of relational autobiography, in the sense meant by Susan Stanford, Paul John Eakin, Nancy Miller, and G. Thomas Couser where "the focus is on someone else's life and story, and the primary activity of the autobiographer is the telling of this story" (Eakin 71). This form of post-communist family memoir and relational autobiography emerges in the context of the parents' silence (Bugan) or downright refusal to talk about the past (Marton), and is triggered by the very incriminatory documents used by the state apparatus against the parents. What is also at stake in these autobiographical practices, and differentiates them from what I tentatively call a first-wave file-based autobiography (one written by the very "targets"), is the evolving ethical and theoretical discussion about the way communism is remembered, intergenerational suffering is embodied, and post-1989 mnemonic life writing practices are circulated. As we shall see, these intergenerational works of transfer, and the life writing which records them, are entangled intersections between family stories, personal memories, and the very narratives of the oppressive state apparatus—"the hostile biographies" of their parents (Lewis 378)—whose regimes of truth are in turn appropriated, denied, or challenged. By mapping the range of relationships such autobiographical writing presents in connection to the secret police files they incorporate, I show how autobiographies by children of communist surveillance can become a new platform for reconciliation, and lead to new forms of portraying communist dissidents and communist oppression, as well as become part of the transnational history of the Cold War.

CARMEN BUGAN: FROM ARCHIVES' HAUNTS TO ENACTING THE FILE IN BBC DOCUMENTARIES

Carmen Bugan's autobiography, *Burying the Typewriter,* and the visual life narrative/BBC documentary *The Man Who Went Looking for Freedom* (2014) derived from it, provide layered memories and needed historical reenactments that bring a difficult family past into a hopeful and performative future. *Burying the Typewriter* is an autobiography of rural childhood and adolescence in communist Romania. The first chapters portray the idyllic reality of the author's native village and family life in the 1970s through the eyes of a naive and happy child. Reminiscent of Anne Frank's diary, this first part clearly distinguishes itself from other Eastern European exiles' accounts of childhood under communism, as the voice of the child, unaware of the grim realities the adults experience, dominates the text, familiarizing the reader with a joyful early life.[19] It is a world filled with rich rural traditions, grandparents' wisdom, vacations on the Black Sea, and Christmas and Easter celebrations:

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At Easter we bake the *cozonac* [sweet bread] in the clay oven in the yard, which is so big you have to fire it for days and you have to crawl into it, whereas at Christmas we bake everything inside. . . . We are beginning to rehearse carols and dances. (21)

glistening portrayals, very informative at times and almost ethnographic ature, sometimes morph into bleaker depictions of all forms of shortages, rations, and material deprivations: "[T]here is never, ever enough bread to round, so people fight each other until the strongest make it to the head of ine. Older people scream and beg . . . women plead . . . kids get smashed to-er" (66). Even such instances are seen as part of a happy life due to the lov- presence of parents, grandparents, and close relatives. It is the purchase of ka," the typewriter of the book title that becomes the eye-opening moment oung Carmen. The mode and atmosphere at home changes in obvious for the eleven-year-old child, who observes her parents locking themselves night, typing out fliers of protest against the communists, and burying ypewriter in the garden before dawn. This is followed by the uncanny "spy ions" (80) she and her sister undertake around the house, and the conse- discovery of flyers and a huge anticommunist banner in the attic.

The climax of the book is her father's protest against the repressive escu regime by holding a placard in the center of Bucharest—"Criminal, Don't Want You to Lead Us" and another reading "Army, Justice, Police, Do You Defend, the Ceauşescu Dynasty or the Rights and Liberty of " (4)—while also distributing antigovernment leaflets to passersby. This llowed by his arrest and a sentence of ten years in prison. It is this second of the book that documents in detail how the repressive state apparatus tioned, and how her family was under permanent surveillance: "[E]ver I was twelve my life has been lived in public, scrutinized, reviewed, pon- d, and recorded over and over again" (129).

10 March 1983," the title of the chapter that chronicles her father's pro- nd subsequent arrest, breaks the thematic structure of the previous titles. is the moment of trauma or rupture that does not need framing or ex- ing in the chapter title. The second part of the book describes the fam- strength and ways of surviving the difficult moments that followed the t. The book stands out through its compassionate depiction of neighbors, ds, and relatives, irrespective of their support, betrayal, or downright ic shaming of the family members during those days. The depiction of a, the neighbor who informs on the Bugans but who is "trusted" by the gonist's family "and by the police at the same time" (144), reveals both utobiographer's insightful understanding of the communist system, and eluctance to assign blame, as well as the complexity of a system for which istic terms fail to do justice:

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> Sofica . . . is called to Securitate to give information about us. Does she have a choice? We can't tell the difference between her "being interrogated" about us and her being asked to "inform" on us. . . . This arrangement strikes me as a chapter from a Kafka novel; it is weirdly comic and unbelievably painful, making Sofica somebody who is trusted by our family and by the police at the same time. She performs her task with humour, utmost sincerity, and kindheartedness . . . . When there is something she is assigned to ask us, she writes, "they want me to ask you the following," and then intones the question loudly, in the most innocent of voices, content that we are properly warned. (144–45)

Similar characters appear in other autobiographies derived from files (Doru in Bos's memoir, for instance), but Bugan's sense of irony and wit makes Sofica's portrait, and by default the inner springs of the Romanian communist system, stay with the reader. Verdery rightly called such instances the "network phenomena" and "socially embedded" forms of collaboration, which means that sometimes people became collaborators because they had friends and families whom they wanted to protect or whose actions had implicated them ("Postsocialist" 78), but Bugan's clear depiction gives life to the specific realities of the times. While the book offers a wide array of portraits that talk about human solidarity and the grey shades the system created, the focus is on the young girl's pain in the absence of her beloved father, her forced growth into adulthood, and her ways of coping with the situation. The international reviewers of the book highlighted its testimonial value in depicting the surveillance of the state apparatus, but I would suggest, it is the contradictory reaction to her father's act that captures the reader's attention. Both the girl and the mature narrator present with disarming honesty the affective response to her father's behavior. While the heroic nature of his anti-communist protest is constantly foregrounded, it is always doubled by the torn memories of those moments, and the ambivalent reaction of the young child to her father's courageous behaviors: "Did he think what might happen to us because of him? Did he really think that we, his flesh and blood, were expendable in comparison with fighting for human rights for the whole country?" (155). Such a statement, of utmost sincerity, sounds like an accusation directed toward her father, but it points once again to his heroic act, idealism, and firm belief in justice at the expense of his own family. It allows the reader access to the way a child responds to communist resistance and subversion.

Her father's release from prison five years later, a result of general amnesty, comes however with further hardships—his house arrest, enforced family surveillance, and the equally heart-wrecking experience of seeing him behaving oddly, being "very weird" (158), "a broken man" (114). Immigration, a hard-achieved victory due to then seventeen-year-old autobiographer's courage to go to the US embassy and request political asylum, comes for the narrator with

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air. It is "a sort of death, unmerciful death" (179), involving the confiscaof their house, while for her father it means hope and desired freedom. The book does not discuss arrival and life in the US (only two black and e photographs record the arrival and naturalization), but it does end with return to Rome in 2006—the Italian capital was their first stop on the to the US. So, where are the surveillance files and how does she engage them? The files and the knowledge acquired from them do not feature in narrative of her life proper—the writing of her life is in "accordance to her mory" (xv). Bugan's life story is framed however by an introduction, "Old tographs," an "Afterword: Files 2010–2011," and the "Appendix: Archival terial." It is in these framing chapters that the autobiographer mentions files. In "Old Photographs" [Figure 1], Bugan announces their existence makes clear that she consulted them only "*after*" having finished the book

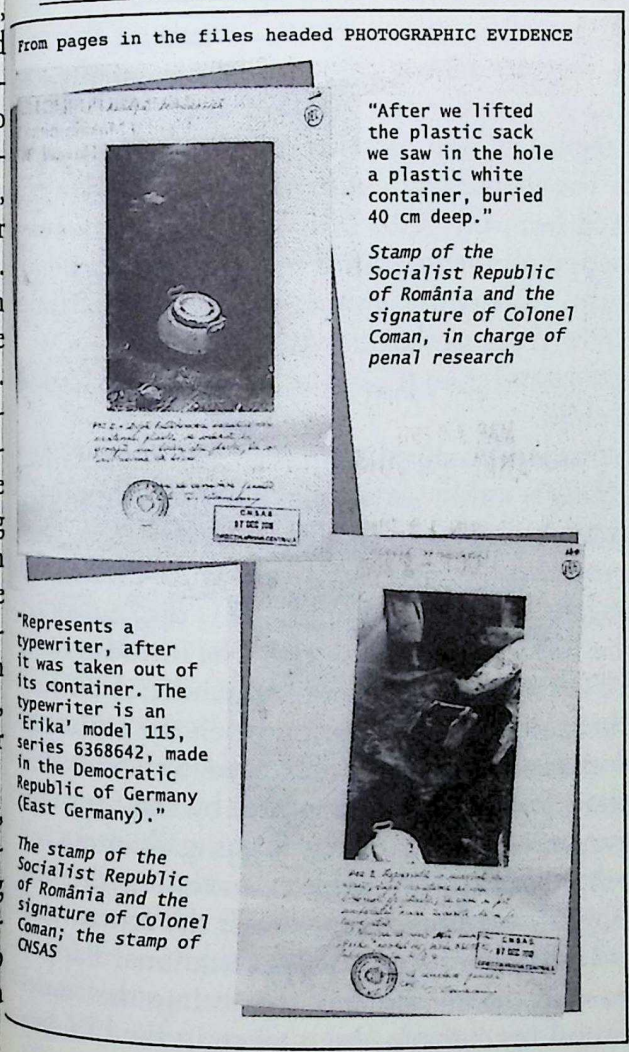

Figure 1. Frontispiece from Carmen Bugan, *Burying the Typewriter: A Memoir.* © Copyright 2012 by Carmen Bugan. Used with the permission of The Permissions Company, Inc. on behalf of Graywolf Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, www.graywolfpress (USA and Canada) and Picador (Picador UK–Macmillan Publishers Limited).

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manuscript (5). It is in the "Afterword: Files 2010–2011" that she uses them to fill some gaps. Moments described earlier acquire a new significance, and the reader is offered a more comprehensive canvas against which the story of the author's early life is to be read. The emphasis is not on reconciling "facts" and memory, setting the record straight, name telling, or adopting a moralizing stance. This short chapter is in fact very eclectic: it brings together Bugan's thoughts when reading the files—"I feel oddly as if I am sitting in library, studying for an exam" (200)—short accounts of her returns to Romania, and a dry, official-like, description of the way the secret police functioned.

There is no bitterness or feeling of revenge. The reference to the files seems to be a means of authenticating her life narrative, her official proof of lived suffering and injustice. Their very existence is mentioned as if to testify to the veracity of her narrative, even though the author only marginally engages with their contents proper. What the reader gets is the autobiographer's gratitude for their existence, and existential inquiries about consulting them: "How could I not be glad? (209), they are a "magical way into the past" (207), the "life line into a different and yet familiar past" (209).[20] She recovers the story she typed as an eleven-year-old, as well as censored letters from her father which never reached them. The chapter ends with her putting aside the copies of the latest files she received from CNSAS, with "their noises and sorrows" (210), and remembering happy moments from her childhood while she herself is expecting a second baby. Apparently, a transgenerational continuum of happiness and hope takes over; it seems that the suffering, injustice, and pain the files record are given closure and even transcendence, as she is looking forward to having her second child.

In the short appendix entitled "Archival Material," seven pages from the files proper are excerpted. This is a three-layered chapter, as photos of some pages from the file run parallel with their English translation in typed letters and the author's numerous explicative footnotes [Figure 2]. The excerpts present the "purpose and means of surveillance" in 1971, the "enforced measures" of 1973, as well as the 1983 sentence and trial. The introduction, "Old Photographs," "Afterword: Files 2010–2011," and "Appendix: Archival Material" appear to reflect the chronological sequence in which the author became aware of the files. The book manuscript is left unchanged, as her child's voice, joy, and happiness would have been "strangled" (209) by the file's contents. Accordingly, the autobiographer adds them in the framing chapters.

How does one read such a life narrative, which weaves together multiple beginnings and endings? Bugan's recollection ends with the return to Rome, the afterword with a record of her apparent transgenerational happiness (a new baby), and the archives with the jail sentence that brings the reader back to the introductory chapter and her father's photo taken in the US, in which

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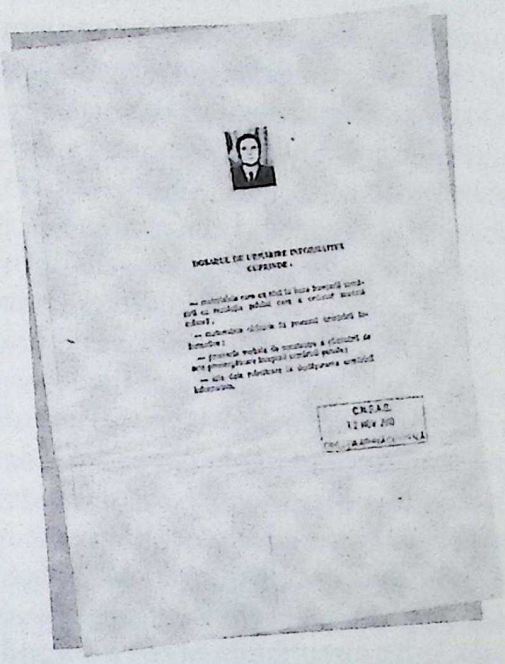
The Surveillance Dossier Comprises:[6]

-the materials that show the reasons for initiating the surveillance and the documents in which the chief of the investigation explains his decision tocontinue with surveillance activities;

-the materials obtained in the process of surveillance;

-documents and paperwork relating to gathering of evidence before a penal surveillance

-other data obtained in the course of surveillance



6. Photo of my father probably taken from the records office or his driver's license (circa 1970).

e 2. Page 214 from Carmen Bugan, *Burying the Typewriter: A Memoir.* © Copyright 2012 by men Bugan. Used with the permission of The Permissions Company, Inc. on behalf of Gray-Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, www.graywolfpress (USA and Canada) and Picador (Picador Macmillan Publishers Limited).

reenacts the initial protest. If autobiographies of "data subjects" openly en- with the files and unveil significant amounts of information, rectifying it, menting upon it, and writing back to family and friends, Bugan's marginal rtion of the files speaks about the reenactment of childhood trauma (the bearable traumatic moment of her father's protest), which meant for her the ndonment of the family—"Left us to God's will and the secret police, the uritate" (3)—and his subsequent imprisonment. The introductory chapter cribes the reenactment of her father's anti-communism protest—"He posed us on Helen Street with an American car on which he placed our Dacia's

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license plate number; on top of the car there is a black placard" (4)—while the appendix ends with her father's imprisonment which followed the protest.

Susan Suleiman puts forth the concept of "preterition" with regard to the 1.5 generation of child survivors of the Holocaust, whose writing is characterized by "affirmation and denial, saying and not saying," with the attendant figures of "suspension, postponement digression, juxtaposition and metacommentary" (*Crises* 208), which are emblematic of experimental writing about childhood and trauma, and in particular childhood and loss. This is an accurate way of reading Bugan's own engagement with the files as well, but in this case, the surveillance files perform in multiple manners. They are the Derridean *pharmakon*, both healing and poison, a magic entry into the past, but one that also prolongs the logic of communist oppression into the present.[21] If the communist regime "murdered her youth" ("Three") through the imprisonment of her father and constant surveillance, the opening of the archives means also one more "exile from Eden" (*Burying* 201), the Eden of her happy memories this time. What she recalls as happy moments is marred however by the newly acquired knowledge, the life under surveillance and the parents' oppression, even when she was not aware of it. The opening of the archives, the appropriation of the files, and their inscription in one's narrative extends the logic of the oppressive state apparatus and its performative powers into the present. The subject under surveillance is affected, dispossessed, and suffers once again; by not assigning guilt, but instead by emphasizing understanding and reconciliation, the autobiographer does not continue the communist files' logic of denunciation.

We have thus a warped memory of Bugan's past, with many layers and many contradictions, but which is retrieved from the very state apparatus that inflicted the suffering and trauma. At the same time, the performative act continues, because Bugan brings the past into the future, as her memoir was only a first step in producing new autobiographical performances. The plan to "use these dossiers as a guide and retrace my father's . . . failed escape from Romania," as "they have kept the maps, the photos of his binoculars and compass" (207), becomes fact, as in March 2014 *The Man Who Went Looking for Freedom*, a one-hour documentary tracing her father's three imprisonments and featuring her own parents, was shown on the BBC. Information from the secret files now figures prominently, and conversation transcripts, surveillance minutes, and officers' notes are extensively read, making up a significant part of the documentary script. The visit to the CNSAS, the institution that houses and administers the files, provides the background for the retraced journey, and includes explanations by the director as well as a brief presentation of the surveillance exhibits the archive now displays. The daughter's voice-over shapes and dominates the documentary, but this time she clearly emphasizes how "proud"

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is of her father (50:23). The BBC documentary, together with an article alling her father's first imprisonments ("How"), take further the life writ- project initiated in Bugan's memoir, extending it into a visual life narrative ging on historical reconstruction, which projects the dark and "paranoid" (14:05) into a hopeful present with open borders and "inviting" guards 21). The autobiographical engagement with the files leads to this televised narrative, a filmic reconstruction of her father's imprisonments and failed pe. The focus is now on her father (the prison cells, his itineraries of es- el), but it is the autobiographer's script and voice-over that frames the BBC umentary. Just as importantly, the short film brings the family together *into r past* (both her parents and her siblings are in the film), from which her er "protected us by saying nothing" ("How"), and makes her and her fam- communist experience known to broad international audiences. Electron- global) media has thus facilitated a shared consciousness and cosmopolitan mories that span national borders (Levy & Sznaider). While films, televised s, or documentaries engaging with other historical traumatic events have ht the global attention, and the events described have become a shared al memory, the experience of surveillance and fear in the Eastern European has only occasionally reached large international audiences. Bugan's visual narrative contributes thus to the scarce avenues through which memories mmunism go beyond national or regional boundaries.

KATI MARTON: SEARCHING FOR TRUTH, THE JOURNALIST, AND THE ARCHIVES

Bugan consulted the secret police files *after* having finished the manu- pt, Marton, in the attempt to find the "truth" (2) about her parents, be- her memoir by accessing their AVO (Hungarian secret police) files. The k starts with the warning a historian of the Hungarian files gives the US rnalist, namely that she was "opening a Pandora's box" (2). Marton's keen rest in her family's story was triggered, however, during research for an ier book (*Wallenberg: Missing Hero,* 1995) when she found out by chance her maternal grandparents perished in Auschwitz, while she was not n aware that she had Jewish roots (Land). Her parents, acclaimed Cold r journalists both in Hungary and the US, left Hungary after the 1956 olution. While their "defiance of the communists . . . their arrest, trial conviction as CIA spies" in 1955 was at the "core of the family identity" large portions of the family history were "glossed over" (3), and impor- chapters just "edited out" (21).[22] Her discovery and subsequent embrace her Jewish roots in her thirties led to a "sad rift" with her parents (13). AVO files her father received in the early 2000s were left unopened, as

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history was a "burden" (4): they "held to their right to forget" (136), refused to talk about the past and would tell her "You are an American . . . you cannot ever understand what it was like under the Fascists and the Communists" (2). After her parents passed away in the mid-2000s, she became "obsessed" with learning everything she could about her family's story during her childhood in Hungary (4). But *Enemies of the People* is much less a memoir of her own childhood (as we have seen with Bugan) than a relational autobiography, namely a biography of her parents—the "bruised survivors of both the Holocaust and the Cold War" (14).

Access to the AVO files leads to a book in which Marton takes her and her parents' life as the object of investigative journalism, and attempts to reconstruct the family life in Budapest from the Second World War to the early days in the US. If Bugan's memoir is clearly marked by a strong emotional response and ambivalent affective ties to her past, her native country, and her father's courage and heroism, Marton, the award-winning journalist, puts her reporting skills to use in documenting the chains of events, conducting interviews with witnesses, relatives, and survivors, while also accessing various archives in the US in which her parents, given their high profile as dissident journalists from behind the Iron Curtain, also feature.

What strikes the reader is not the heroic, though not less human, portrait of her parents: they faced persecution, jail, and forced collaboration with the Hungarian secret police, and subsequently FBI and AVO watch in the US—"neither the FBI nor the AVO trusted them" (247), as the author ironically puts it upon discovering files on her family after their immigration to the US. Most compelling is the truly minute depiction and almost detective-like rendering of Marton's family story. Her memoir often turns into a work of investigative journalism, as her focus is less on self-analysis and personal affective response (as in Bugan's work) than on reconstructing the puzzle of her, her parents', and grandparents' early life. "A real life thriller" for an American audience (Heller), *Enemies of the People* offers the twists and turns of her parents' lives: they were converted Catholics and survivors of the Holocaust, worked for US wire services during the Cold War, stayed defiant of the Soviet system, were consequently arrested by the communist government in 1955 as CIA spies, were tortured and then liberated on condition of collaboration with the secret police before the Hungarian Revolution, and were finally helped by the US embassy to leave the country in its aftermath.

While the autobiographer mentions that she was "looking for truth" about her parents in the AVO files, or that she "was finally in possession of *the* truth" (14, my emphasis), the book stands out through the impressive amount of research that goes into writing her early life and parents' biographies. Unlike *Burying the Typewriter*, information and excerpts from the files feature

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dominantly in Marton's memoir, but she engages with them in a highly
ytical way. Conversation transcripts and surveillance minutes are includ-
n italics (in translation) but the memoirist does what Dominick LaCapra
ests: namely, reads historical documents as texts that "supplement or re-
k 'reality' . . . not [as] mere sources that divulge facts about 'reality'" (11).
spite of the apparent "truth" value Marton assigns to them, the AVO files
not seen as relics, a privileged place to generate information or knowledge,
instead are constantly put into a larger context, problematized, and even
llenged. The challenge comes not from her memory and life experience
from juxtaposing multiple documents about her parents from various ar-
es, or conducting interviews with friends and witnesses. Structurally, the
le book is characterized by juxtaposition and double checking of sources
e information she gathers from the files (111, 27).
The experienced journalist turned autobiographer uses the secret police
s to reconstruct her parents' experience, but at the same time goes "along
archival grain," in Stoler's terms, and thus regards the files not as monu-
nts from the past brought to light in order to speak directly and unam-
iously about themselves, as repositories of truth, but rather as a series
agments of the past, with their own history of making—as "documents
itineraries of their own" (Stoler 1) that need to be traced and understood
ist not only the oppressive communist regime but the Cold War ideol-
at large. Thus the information gathered from the AVO files is always con-
ualized and brought into dialogue with a wide variety of sources: docu-
nts from the archives of the Associated Press, United Press International,
US State Department and the FBI, and Washington diplomatic records,
ell as her own memories, her father's published memoir, *Forbidden Sky*
71), her mother's unpublished one, history books, letters, interviews (with
ner neighbors, friends, even informers), and oral histories of the Hungar-
revolution. From this perspective the memoir often reads like a piece of
sinational Cold War history, as sources on both sides of the Atlantic are
oked, examined, challenged, and brought together to shed light on her
nts' lives. For her, the communist secret police archive is not only the sum
s documents but also the sum of silences—of what was occluded, disre-
ded, and repressed—with which she thoroughly engages. The transcripts of
phone conversations with state officials as well as the surveillance reports
n the same day enable Marton to interpret the gaps and the silences in or-
to analyze both the delicate situation of her mother while her husband was
ady imprisoned as well as the AVO mechanisms of "toying" with people
7) and disorienting them, under the cover of professional state officialese.[23]
The heroic nature of her parents is emphasized throughout the book but
does not exclude presenting their human frailties in all earnestness. Their

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extramarital affairs while still in Hungary are part of their portraits, just as her father's handing over the Hungarian budget to the international press is seen as an act of "irresponsible behavior," "reckless bravado for which the entire family paid a price" (70):

> Papa might not have known about Glaspell [the mole in the US embassy] but he knew he was under surveillance. Sharing a restricted document with the Americans was an act that exceeds the reporter's responsibility and especially from the perspective of the Cold War, could be interpreted as espionage. Papa paid a huge price for his *reckless arrogance*. (72, my emphasis)

Such a remark, however, speaks more about the professional ethics of Marton, the US journalist, than the times the memoirist describes, where such minor subversive acts were a means of expressing defiance against an oppressive regime, a way of feeling free and unregimented. One remembers here Bugan's ambivalent, at times reproachful comments about her father's heroic gesture, and thus we notice the shared critical look Marton and Bugan initially have about their parents' political acts. A personal affective wound dominates Bugan's perspective on her father's dissent, while a pragmatic view, brought about by gradual distancing, in time and space, from the events described, defines Marton's reaction to her parents' communist resistance. The initial understanding of such resistance, its reception by the 1.5 generation, is thus rendered in nuanced ways by both autobiographers. In *Enemies of the People*, Marton's journalism ethics morphs into the daughter's gratitude for her parents' total commitment and dedication to family, and thus spares them from other possible similar remarks with reference to the numerous twists life in communist Hungary held for them. Rather than the journalist's, it is the daughter's voice who is grateful for her father's pact with the devil after the first imprisonment—"this time he put his family ahead of his profession and his own pride . . . a humbler man now, he was willing to bargain with the devil himself to preserve his family" (203).

It is a similar daughterly, emotional, and affective response to the resemblance between her father and "Flower"—the code name of a former AVO informer—that leads to an empathic reaction when Marton interviews him: "he reminds me too much of my father," and this makes her "feel like a predator, stalking too small a prey" (232). His flat denial of collaboration when faced with the files, his calm and unrepentant conviction of having been a "small cog in a giant machine," prompt Marton to take her parents' view on such instances—"insignificant, why bother" (236). The shock and puzzlement about this Hungarian informer in Washington, who even attempted to co-opt her father in the AVO when he was already in the US, does not translate to Marton's *own* way of overcoming the draining encounter with him; she

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ses over the meeting by reading the AVO officer through the eyes of her
nts. The American journalist's critical judgment is suspended here in fa-
of her parents' resigned acceptance of things past. Such an attitude might
problematic historical and ethical stance—the child uncritically adopts
parents' traumatic reaction to the past, and thus demands forgetting—but
encounter with the files and the officers involved in compiling them func-
s in a reconciliatory way. While, for instance, in post-Apartheid South
ca the Truth and Reconciliation Commission provided a public space of
ession, apology, and finally amnesty (with all the pitfalls involved), in the
of the 1.5 generation of communist suffering the space of encounter is
vided by the secret police files and the exploratory approach taken by the
ims' children—Marton as the investigative journalist, Bugan as the film-
er in the BBC documentary.

Marton's minute reconstruction of the context (exact time, dates, actors
lved) resembles at times Cold War detective fiction, given the numerous
ayals and multiple twists and turns lives during those times underwent,
ch Marton the memoirist thoroughly records. The detailed research on the
mstances of her parents' life under communism that went into this min-
reconstruction leads Marton to a better understanding of the context, and
general tone of the book, with the innocent narrator entering the heart of
kness, changes by the end of the final chapter.[24] Finding out from the AVO
that her parents' liberation was "conditional" (i.e., collaboration with the
0), the memoirist is "less prone to outrage": "My initial, how *could* they,
been supplanted by another question. How would *I* survive under such
tem? What price would I pay to preserve my own freedom and my chil-
's future?" (186). From this perspective, the book becomes Marton's own
iation into the communist times that she experienced as a child, without
understanding them. Her transformation, from curious but naive nar-
r into an insightful and perceptive one, is achieved through empathic
wledge and emotional connection to the times and people she describes.
The work of the investigative journalist gives way, in the final chapter, to
e letter and thank you note to her parents, especially her father: "I wish
ould hear me say: Thank you" (257). The book writes her parents' (and
dparents') biography, and traces Marton's roots, childhood, and troubled
ney to the US, just as it also follows her adult initiation into the Hungar-
communist regime and Cold War dynamics. The AVO files trigger further
arch, and an impressive amount of it, on both sides of the Atlantic, but
like Bugan, the author highlights the significance of the secret police files
ecuperating her parents' past and even renewed memories about them:
files have preserved them in a vivid, living way that no memories, per-
s not even a diary could have done" (8):

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> Discovering what they have lived through in such detail makes . . . my understanding and admiration of them so much greater. (252)
>
> Now thanks to the AVO, I feel as if I do know them. (255)

Information from the files is contextualized, problematized, and even challenged in her memoir, and knowledge from them is the first step for further investigation; on the other hand, the AVO files are seen both as a door allowing access to unknown stories about her parents and as a means to create new affective links and strong emotional connections with them, beyond all boundaries. Consulting the secret police files and the subsequent detailed reconstruction of the communist period within the larger Cold War framework means for Marton (just as for Bugan) reconnecting with her now departed parents. However, this reconnection happens in life writing that operates within the public sphere and is predicated on the intersection between the newly opened communist archives, the secret police files, the unauthorized biography of her parents, personal lived experience, and generational (tangled) memories about a lived but buried past.

Marton's book, a true success in the US (a National Book Critics Circle Award Finalist, National Jewish Book Award), and translated and acclaimed in Hungary as well (2010), widens the scope of Bugan's endeavor through the many transatlantic sources she consults (due to her parents' high-profile jobs both in Hungary and in the US). These throw light not only on her (grand)parents' lives and the Hungarian secret police but also on US institutions and their functioning during the Cold War. The AVO secret police files are the starting point of a larger historical puzzle, which the experienced journalist successfully takes up. It is this multilayered life narrative, which unfolds after accessing the files and is turned into a relational autobiography and family memoir, that leads to the popularity of the book, and consequently to a large audience for lives under the Hungarian communist surveillance.

SURVEILLANCE FILES AND POST-1989 LIFE WRITING

Recently declassified secret police personal files are becoming a domain of inquiry worldwide. The FBI files on African American writers are compared to Soviet surveillance files (Maxwell 7), and examined in order to illuminate the "ghost reading practices" of the Bureau and their effects. In Guatemala, the discovery of the secret police archives led to numerous recuperative projects: through them, historians tell the "history of the war" (Weld 12), human rights activists seek justice (Doyle), while filmmakers and NGOs attempt to "give a life back" to the victims (Yates 02:40) and use the information and

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tures from the files in the impressive digital memory project *Granito: Every mory Matters*.

In the former socialist bloc, authorized courts of law have been scarce, just ppropriate forms of restorative justice have posed a significant legislative llenge; this has happened because, apart from the contested political ter- , the rule of law is based on individual guilt and cannot account, as sev- l scholars have emphasized, for the larger context of collective responsibil- .[25] In the absence of public courtrooms, timely forms of restorative justice, le-ranging memory projects, or a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, file-based autobiographies have provided alternative spaces for victims, petrators, or secret police collaborators to tell their own stories and enact me sort of closure with the past.[26]

For the 1.5 generation, the surveillance files make legible an unknown lective and family past. The very surveillance and oppression the files re- led to the break in communication across generations; retrieval and nu- ed engagement with the files fills the gaps in knowledge and helps bring t, present, and future together. The discontinuity with the past—the sur- llance the secret police file recorded—is bridged, and the rift between gen- ions is reconciled in life writing. Through the files, the authors retrieve a den" (Bugan 5), "glossed over," "edited out" (Marton 3, 21), and thus un- own part of their lives, and their autobiographies become a space of projec- with multiple performative powers in the present.

For the two authors, the secret police files are a complex mnemonic en- ble, the external storage of the family experience they did not know much out.[27] In their life writing, the official narratives, reports, collected letters, scribed conversations, and even dreams are embedded, contextualized, gnified, and reinscribed. From a state apparatus means of control, the rmative surveillance files become in their autobiographies intimate ma- al allowing affective connection with their parents, their family stories, their past. If photography was an umbilical cord for the generation after Holocaust (Hirsch, "Generation" 111), and public, anonymous images e reinscripted and personalized,[28] the individual surveillance files in auto- graphies have a reversed trajectory: in the hands of the 1.5 generation, become a memory of collective experience. Separated from their codi- and wooden language,[29] contextualized, narrated, and translated both life writing texts and into English, the communist secret police files here beyond the status of dug-up relics, brought into the open with immediate sequences, and become an embodiment of a regime and of the oppressed s whose stories have not been written. Via life writing, the very personal aracter of the surveillance files—which cracked open the most intimate riers of an individual[30]—acquire an emblematic, generic value.

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The participants affected indirectly by communist surveillance, the dissidents' children, become active agents in reactivating and re-embodying the past via the files, and circulating widely the knowledge about it in a decisively reconciliatory way. The children reactivate and re-embody the hostile and clinical minutes, transcripts, or reports, retrace their parents experience, and bring the unknown past into the present and future by autobiographical narrative (and even visual life narrative). Their filiative, lived, or inherited memories (vertical), and the affiliative ones (horizontal) that the communist files enable, lead to resonant individual and familial forms of mediation, which bring to the surface the historical and individual trauma the communist systems inflicted upon their families. The discursive space of life writing texts and aesthetic expression via their narrative enable reconciliation with the past and transcendence of the communist oppression. The refunctionalized files lead Bugan and Marton to reconstruct family histories and narratives they were denied, and build a memorial to their parents, as well as make broadly available another facet of communist memory. The process of remembering communism is very dynamic and its reception quickly changing (Todorova 9), and Eastern European memories require constantly adjusted lenses and nuanced analytical frames (Blacker and Etkind 4–5). The two autobiographers invoke in turn critical distance, identification, empathic reenactment, and reanimation of the past. By thus acknowledging the moral complexities of the times, the life writing of the 1.5 generation acts as an important complement to national memory discourses or memorial sites.

Bugan's and Marton's life writing related to the files goes against the post-communist moralizing stance that sought to pin down blame and draw sharp lines between perpetrators, collaborators, and victims.[31] The two authors bring to light an undeniably politicized context, but also show a genuine need for understanding the past and reconciling with it. They do not feed scandal or assign guilt, and thus do not extend the communist logic of the files, which often continued (even in the absence of legal forms) in the post-communist period. Given the lack of fixed identities within a flux they capture in a highly convincing way, both autobiographers highlight the in-between-ness and greyness of the communist society, while they also suspend the space from which definitive judgments can be made in relation to the past. They situate individual responsibility within the coordinates of its collective structural conditions of appearance, but without excusing or relativizing people's ability to exert agency (see the excerpts that reference Sofica and "Flower"). In Marton's and Bugan's life writing, the files are not a means of "restorative justice," a way to seek redress by exposing informers and revealing the "truth," or one more attempt to bear witness to a dehumanizing system. In making use of them, the authors go beyond lustration in national

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texts, while also sharing the forward-looking, future-oriented agenda of sitional justice. Embattled national discourses that have focused mostly the crimes of communism and its multiple forms of oppression give way to detailed recuperative projects that emphasize forgiveness—though not getfulness—and implicitly widen the discussion with considerations about dom, liberty, and reconciliation in general. These life writing texts voice promise of an increasingly more nuanced and complex narrative from ich to draw a better understanding of communist times and their after-th, which still lack transparence (linguistic, political, archival) and thus are misunderstood.

If memoirs of the Soviet experience were envisaged as actors in the court-m of history, and memoir writing was seen as a "Russian Nuremberg" udakova, qtd. in Paperno 42), the autobiographies of these members of 1.5 generation, written and published outside the national context which ressed their parents, become "connective histories" (Hirsch, *Generation* 201–249) and a place of multiple encounters. In the relative absence of uine public forums of storytelling and sharing memories about the past,[32] become a space of reflection and dialogue. Bugan and Marton explore past without appropriating it, and their life narratives conjoin spaces, gen-ions, and discourses about the past. Their autobiographies bring together ilies across half a century or more, and a wide range of archival documents Marton's case, the archives span countries and several agencies), protago-s, narrators (at different life stages), and readers. The mediation of the files fe writing provides an alternative (transnational) space of reconciliation, orical understanding, and reenactment.

By being published in English by major international publishing houses, writing emerging from secret police files offers new forms of communist mory, and alternative discourses about facing the past and the present in Eastern bloc. Equally important, such narratives transcend the physical ders of the state or region out of which their experience actually emerged e choice of language, publication, and initial audience speaks to this). m a US perspective, they give voice to lesser known narratives about the ld War featuring not so much state agents or stories of heroic dissidence a wide cast of social figures, and a large variety of individual choices and inies during communism. At the same time, due to the transnational ex-ience of their authors, the collective experience of communist surveillance lso circulated within a broader global framework. Bugan's and Marton's ratives expand the purview of both US and Eastern European life writing encompass cartographies of state documents, national institutions, pub-and personal histories about Eastern European communism, and lesser own narratives of the Cold War.

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If the ending of *The Lives of Others* portrayed the flux of communist identities and life narratives post-1989, here I have attempted to demonstrate the multiple layers, junctions, and metamorphoses life narratives undergo in the life writing of the 1.5 generation of communist surveillance. Positioned at the tangled intersection of personal memory, family story, and narratives of the state apparatus (which are embedded, challenged, resignified, and re-inscribed), the autobiographies of Bugan and Marton show the numerous changes life narratives undergo in the aftermath of communism in Eastern Europe, illustrate the ever increasing complexity of life writing and its significance, and point to new routes of memory about communist oppression.

NOTES

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1. Dreyman writes a subversive article for the West German newspaper *Der Spiegel* in 1986. Although he is under full surveillance, the Stasi finds no incriminating proof about his writing; against this background, his girlfriend's guilty conscience leads to her death in a car crash—in a desperate attempt to save herself and her own career, she informed on him the night before.
2. For a critical but highly insightful review of *The Lives of Others* and its Hollywood-like scenario, see Ash, "The Stasi"; for an academic collection pointing to the complexity of the film and the ethical issues it raises post-1989, see Scott and Taylor; see also Evans for an accurate framing of the movie and critics' reactions to it.
3. Smith and Watson understand life narrative as more inclusive than life writing; they employ the term life writing for "written forms of the autobiographical," while "life narrative [is used] for autobiographical acts of any sort"; more precisely, life narrative is the "general term for acts of self-representations of all kinds and in diverse media, that take the producer's life as their subject, whether written, performative, visual, filmic or digital" (4).
4. Since 1989 secret police files have wrecked lives, destroyed family relationships and friendships, made and broken people's careers, and attempted but often failed to achieve "transitional justice" (see Verdery, "Romania's," *Secrets*; Stan, *Transitional, Encyclopedia,* among others). Public allegations of collaboration with state security made against figures such as Milan Kundera, Cardinal László Paskai, Oscar-winning film director István Szabó, or the former Polish president and anticommunist hero Lech Wałęsa stand proof to the ethical problems of the post-socialist archive fever, as well as to the pain the archives in the former communist bloc have the power to produce. Deák offers an incisive discussion of the Hungarian context, while Rév examines implied confession and its

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significance in Szabó's films. Both the wide critical acclaim *The Lives of Others* enjoyed, and the well-deserved criticism it received from former East Germans and historians of the period, also show the stakes of communist surveillance and post-1989 engagement with it.

Most studies about lustration deal with the secret police archives in the former Eastern European bloc. Depending on the national context and its connection with the former USSR, the types of surveillance files and their organization differed. For a comparative study of the archives and their role after 1989 in East Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania, etc., see Verdery, "Postsocialist." For Russia's former KGB files, see Vatulescu, *Police* 29–31. For Poland, see Nalepa. For Romania's Securitate, see, in English, Vatulescu, *Police*; Stan, "Access," "Inside," and "Romania"; Vultur; Petrescu; and Ciobanu. Sources in Romanian are a field in themselves, with the current institution in charge of the archives publishing the journal *Caietele CNSAS* and funding important studies. For landmark texts, see Țârău, as well as Chivu and Albu.

I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers for emphasizing this difference and for the reference to Verdery's "Postsocialist," whose excellent comparative analysis makes this point with a detailed examination of several national contexts.

For a larger discussion of Michnik, see Nalepa 72–75.

See Ciobanu, and also Țălnaru's short piece, which shows the highly divergent reaction in the Romanian press to the first trial of a communist torturer (2013–2015).

Similar views are expressed by Petrescu ("history was left to politicians"), Stan, and Ciobanu, with reference to Romania, and by Baeva for the Bulgarian case.

For the Romanian scene, see Ardeleanu, Boia, Consiliul, Corneanu, Diaconescu, Mareş, Munteanu, Sipoş and Crăcană, and Tudor.

For a discussion of the centrality of security archives in writing the history of communism in post-communism, see Poenaru; Verdery, *Secrets*; and the publications of the national archives in different countries. For a comprehensive view of the national archives of the secret police files, their role, and publications, see The European Network.

For alienation and different forms of betrayal, see Branev (cited by Kiossev), Esterházy, Lengsfeld, Müller, and Tănase; for reconstructing the public image, see Witt; for confessions and self-justifications, see Corbeanu, Jela, Mârzanca, and Zugravu; for the expanse of state apparatus, see Ash, Bos, Liiceanu, and Verdery; for playful engagement, see Anderson (cited in Roy). An interesting case in the Romanian context is Tănase, who upon the release of the book (a best-seller), used his status as a TV host at the time to confront on live TV his former best friend turned Securitate informer.

Todorova's discussion of distinct communist experiences, with "no single idea of socialism" (5), is a case in point.

The Stasi files were the first communist archive to be declassified and opened to the public, with many autobiographies published in the early 1990s. File-related autobiographies started to appear in the other countries of the communist bloc depending on the availability of archives to the large public; in many cases this happened only in the late 1990s and 2000s.

Referring to Verdery and other scholars studying the archives in Romania and Bulgaria, Todorova observes that the unprecedented opening of the files of the secret services in

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the former Eastern bloc is beginning to produce a "new academic genre: scholars confronted with and analyzing their own files" (22).

16. The project has a very detailed webpage announcing the latest productions, performances, and participations in the international festival circuit, as well as other project events and outcomes; see <http://en.parallel-lives.eu/project>. In 2010 Romanian CNSAS launched the Oral History Center, which collects and makes available interviews with "subjects" or "target people" of the secret police, and envisages among other activities an exhibition entitled *Facing Your Past* (see "Centrul").
17. *Carmen Popescu* and the *taxi drivers'* installations stand out in the exhibition *Second Life in Communism: People, Attitudes, Places* through their emphasis on life stories (Toma et al.), while Kiraly's *Open Skies. Revisiting Public Space* is present in both Toma and Stenczer and Erdei. A presentation of the project *Second Life in Communism* is now available online in English at <https://platformaspace.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/second-life-in-communism-overview.pdf>.
18. I draw here on Susan Suleiman's definition of the 1.5 generation in connection to the Holocaust: "people who were too young to have had an adult understanding of what was happening to them, but old enough to have been there during the Nazi persecution of Jews" ("The 1.5," 277), as opposed to the second generation, born after the war.
19. Most exiles' autobiographies that feature childhood in communist Eastern Europe are filtered through the eyes of the mature narrator, who takes turns in employing an ironic, realistic, or even critical stance about childhood events. See for instance Andrei Codrescu, Eva Corredor, Vesna Goldsworthy, Kapka Kassabova, Haya Leah Molnar, Susan Suleiman, Csaba Teglas, or Anca Vlasopolos.
20. A variety of such emotional responses characterizes file-related autobiographies. Ash, for instance, notes "what a gift of memory is a Stasi file. Far better than Proust's madeleine" (*The File* 10), though elsewhere he calls the files a "poisoned madeleine" ("The Stasi").
21. For an extended discussion of this point in Romanian post-communist historiography and the way the archives affected (in a paradoxical way) intellectuals and dissidents, see Poenaru, *Contesting* 99–127.
22. This is an interesting aspect in terms of the life story Marton's parents transmitted, especially from the point of view of Holocaust studies, as usually the Holocaust suffering is at the core of one's narrative and identity while other aspects become subsumed or secondary.
23. For a similar reading of gaps and silences, see Verdery, *Secrets* with reference to her own file; her focus is on the way the communist surveillance system functioned, rather than on reconstructing her own life.
24. This is another aspect Marton's memoir shares with Ash's *File*; both autobiographers suspend judgment in the final chapters, and provide an insightful understanding of the times they describe—an empathic knowledge accumulated through the research while writing their autobiographies; see Ash 202–227.
25. For an analysis of István Szabó and his films from this perspective see Rév, for collective responsibility see Verdery ("Postsocialist" 78).
26. Life writing has long been seen as offering the possibility of "extrajudicial trials" and forums of judgment; see Gilmore, "Jurisdictions" and "Rigoberta," see also Jensen and

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jolly. I owe the reference to the *Granito* project to Leigh Gilmore's superb plenary address at IABA Americas 2015. With reference to Eastern Europe, Etkind and Todorova are the authors of landmark monographs or collections that argue for the need for memory projects, and emphasize the problematic contexts when talking about memories from/about communist times in the former Eastern bloc.

This is very different from autobiographies by the "subjects" of surveillance who reconstruct or remember via the files missing pieces of their *own* lives.

Margaret Bourke White's photograph of liberated prisoners in Buchenwald in *Maus*, for instance; for this claim and incisive analysis of the role of photography in Holocaust memory, see Hirsch, "Generation" (extended in *Generation*), "Family," and "Surviving"; and Hirsch and Spitzer.

For the codified and cryptic language that characterizes the secret police files, see Verdery on "officialese" (*Secrets* 51–52); Vatulescu, *Police* 36–39; and Stan, *Transitional* 58–84.

The autobiographies under analysis, as well as numerous others written by former subjects, emphasize this total breach of privacy, and intimacy of the individual under surveillance. Gabriel Liiceanu, one of the most celebrated Romanian public intellectuals, feels "raped" while reading his former file; see also Sandru.

In *Dragul Meu Turnător* [*My Dear Mole*], a work by Gabriel Liiceanu, the autobiographical engagement with his own file and then direct questioning of the officer about the surveillance activity he undertook, leads to a "Nuremberg" of former informers and collaborators.

Exhibitions and oral history projects ("Centrul"), however, are growing in both national and international contexts, as my earlier reference to artistic projects illustrates.

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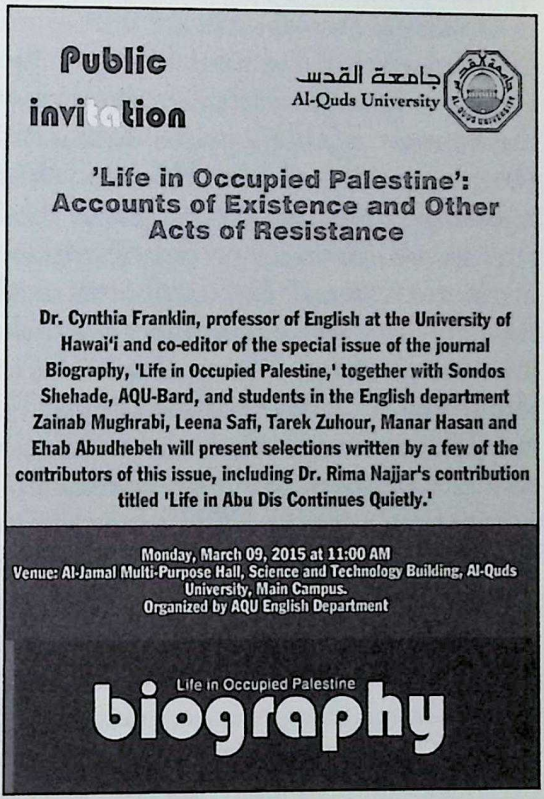
THE AFTERLIFE OF THE TEXT: LAUNCHING "LIFE IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE"

CYNTHIA G. FRANKLIN

THE TEXT IN THE WORLD

e in Occupied Palestine," a spe- *Biography* issue that I co-edited Morgan Cooper and Ibrahim de, came out in Spring 2015, n I was leading the University Hawai'i's study abroad program London. Being abroad gave me opportunity to participate in ulti-continental launch of this ial issue, often alongside other ributors. In London, I partici- d in an event at the Free Word re and gave a talk at the School Oriental and African Studies AS). In Palestine, I joined Mor- and other contributors, who nized six events in Ramallah, Dis, Birzeit, Nablus, Hai- and Occupied East Jerusalem. my way back from London, I part in panel discussions and ches in the San Francisco Bay Area, at UC Berkeley, Stanford Univer- and La Peña Cultural Center. Once back in Honolulu, I Skyped in for a ch at the University of Malaya, and another in Gaza, hosted by the Centre Political and Development Studies (CPDS).[1]



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Participating in these events—and working to help disseminate the special issue as a free download through Project MUSE, as well as encountering the obstacles to getting hard copies into Palestine—reinforced for me and the *Biography* staff the accounts from contributors about the difficulty of life in occupied Palestine. Launching the special issue with contributors, and with the support of chapters of Students for Justice in Palestine and Jewish Voice for Peace, and colleagues at different institutions in London, Palestine, and the Bay Area, also breathed new and beautiful life into my ongoing interest in the many ways life-writing collections matter. They matter not only for the stories they bring together under one binding, but also for the connections and communities—and for the political organizing and education—that they can engender.[2] More specifically, the events in and related to Palestine and the state of Israel in the first half of 2015 both illuminated and also raised thorny questions about the relationship personal narratives have to political movements and historical events.

We launched the special issue in the context of a very particular confluence of events. We wrote the introduction and finished editing the volume in the summer of 2014, a period during which the Israeli army killed over 2,200 Palestinians, 551 of them children.[3] While waging this war on Gaza and also terrorizing Palestinians throughout the West Bank and inside the 1948 international Armistice boundaries, Israel incurred seventy-three deaths, five of them civilians.[4] As contributors made their final revisions, they related firsthand accounts that brought home the horror of these numbers, and their asymmetry. Refaat Alareer lost his brother and four other family members along with his family home during a "humanitarian ceasefire"; another Gaza contributor, Yousef Aljamal, lost his closest childhood friend; Rima Najjar sent us a photo of the demolished home of her friend in Abu Dis; and when Morgan met up with a badly injured Sa'ed Omar at her café, La Vie, he told her of how he had lost vision in his eye when an Israeli soldier shot him with a rubber bullet at a protest over the Gaza bombings.

Just as these unfolding events informed our introduction and contributors' final revisions, we launched the special issue mindful of the conditions that followed from this summer of violence. These included Israel's violations of its ceasefire agreement—Gaza remains under siege, blockade, and occupation (see Erakat); the Israeli elections, followed by the formation of what is widely considered to be the most right-wing coalition government in the history of Israel (see Jilani); some finger-wagging from the United States at Israel for continuing to expand its illegal settlements (numbered at 225 and growing), accompanied by a commitment to increase US military aid from an average of three billion dollars a year to as much as four billion;[5] the mainstreaming of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement

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ast Israel's illegal activities in Palestine (see Horowitz and Weiss)[6]; re-ed forms of solidarity between those engaged in the struggle for justice in stine and in the United States;[7] and a "war on BDS" that conflates anti-ism with anti-Semitism, and includes an uptick in McCarthyist black-gs, renewed pressure on universities from Zionist donors,[8] and a rash of -boycott legislation in the US, Canada, France, and Israel.[9]

Releasing the special issue at this historical juncture—one characterized by growing awareness of and support for the Palestinian struggle as well as psurges of Zionist violence and repression—foregrounds the connections ween civil rights restrictions at home and human rights violations in Israel-stine.[10] This moment underscores the important role played by what Ste-Salaita has incisively called America's "Palestinian exception to free speech academic freedom"[11] in underwriting the assault on Palestinians through-Israel-Palestine. So too—as the "de-hiring" of Salaita that occasioned his ark and the attacks on him indicate—this clampdown on free speech in United States has depended in large part on circulating affect-laden stories ut "uncivil" individuals, especially when they are Palestinian, that distract n and distort their criticisms of Zionism and the challenges they pose to nism's systemic dehumanization and erasure of Palestinians.[12] These attacks work in tandem with Israel's human rights violations against Palestinians, with the ways the Israeli state seeks to deny Palestinians' humanity both ugh narratives demonizing Palestinians and through the silencing or cen-g of narratives by Palestinians. For the former, Israel, enabled by billions S tax dollars, builds its arsenal of military weaponry; for the latter, it in-millions more into "Brand Israel" campaigns (*hasbara*) that, often by way ltural ambassadors, sustain the Zionist narrative at home and abroad, par-larly for its primary sponsor, the United States, where organizations such he American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), with its over sixty ion dollar annual budget, bolsters these efforts.[13]

In such a climate, Palestinian life writing, even at the most basic level of tting Palestinian existence, is inescapably political, and in ways that can plement the efforts of groups and movements working for Palestinian ation. In the special issue's introduction, I discuss how accounts of life ccupied Palestine can expose the decidedly uncivil structure and undem-tic practices that define—and normalize—daily life in Israel-Palestine, le also evidencing, with great affective power, Palestinians' ordinary and aordinary heroism in resisting and surviving Zionism's land theft and de-manizing determinations about who counts as fully human.

Collections of Palestinian life writing can do this work not only as tex-objects, but also as events, ones in which Palestinian writers and schol-come together to discuss their life narratives inside as well as outside of

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Palestine—with one another, with other Palestinians, and with non-Palestinian participants and audiences. As I joined in launches featuring "Life in Occupied Palestine" contributors, I was struck by how, at these events, contributors' stories took on a life and generated stories of their own—ones that, while continuing to document the impact of Israeli occupation and settler colonialism, pointed towards, in sometimes unexpected but always moving ways, possibilities for decolonial dialogue, friendship, community, and political organizing.

I hope my perspective will not only contribute to discussions in life writing studies but also suggest how events such as those I describe here, because they are framed as literary or cultural celebrations, have the potential to help circumvent—and counter—Zionist efforts to criminalize and censure the non-violent BDS campaign and other forms of direct political protest. As well, I am interested in how these events provide possibilities for puncturing—and for providing alternatives to—"soft" Zionist narratives premised on "two sides getting along" or "the need for dialogue."

TRAVEL PERMITS FOR THE TEXT

Our Palestine launches were held without physical copies of the special issue, which did not make it through on time. In part this was the result of run-of-the-mill production delays. Another reason owed to the difficulty and expense of getting the books into Palestine. From my own experience in 2013 traveling with a group of US professors to the West Bank, I knew that entering Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion airport with educational materials about Palestine, or exiting with such materials, or with Arabic coffee, or with any other goods indicating time spent on the West Bank, turned a traveler into a "security" threat—even for those like me who are white, Jewish, US citizens.[14] I also knew the potential obstructions to mailing anything from Israel that evidenced Palestinian existence. One of my fellow travelers in 2013 had her field notes and Palestinian music CDs, mailed from an East Jerusalem post office to the US, confiscated; another, Bob Ross, discovered that his notes, business cards, books, and maps had been replaced with a Russian-Hebrew Torah (see Williams). Then last year, a US friend and colleague visiting the West Bank, received an envelope she had mailed with her research materials that contained instead a crocheted potholder. So, too, mail sent to Palestine can arrive vandalized, if at all. Morgan's MA thesis had reached her in Ramallah six months after it was sent from Honolulu, with her advisor's comments whited out. Last year, a colleague sent a box of thirty books via an express shipping company and had the books held for months by the Israeli customs in Haifa. After numerous attempts with the shipping company to get the books to the West Bank, she was notified that the books had been "destroyed at the

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omer's request." *Biography* contributor Rima Najjar told me that when ister, an author and publisher, tried to mail children's books from Jordan he West Bank, the Jordanian post office returned her parcels, stating they e not allowed to send books there.

As anyone at all familiar with Palestine will know, these stories are com- nplace. Taken together, they cannot be dismissed as a consulate worker's syncratic malice or as a postal employee's juvenile pranks. The systemic al- nce for these individually aimed and invasive acts, especially when com- d with their affective excess, provide clues about how Israel maintains its tices of land theft and ethnic cleansing. Certainly, these instances of mail pering are more "benign" than the terrorizing actions of Israeli soldiers admit to shooting Palestinians for fun and even take photos while do- so, or the "price tag" attacks Jewish Israelis commit against their Palestin- neighbors (most recently, the "revenge" killing of baby Ali Sa'ed Dawab- burned alive when settlers gas-bombed his home), which they sometimes e on Facebook.[15] Nonetheless, along with accounts of such war and hate nes, these mail-related micro-aggressions provide insights into the affec- structures that sustain individuals' support for the Zionist project and nti-Palestinian violence that is part and parcel of it. And so, particularly readers of *Biography* who do not regularly experience or hear about how roughly settler colonialism pervades every aspect of life in Palestine, I hope narrating the process of getting the special issue into Palestine will act as nd of postscript that augments the volume's work.

PATHWAYS TO PALESTINE

ause the *Biography* staff anticipated problems with hard copies reaching stine, and because we wanted the issue to be available there, as well as to potential readers who might not have access either to a hard copy or to institutional electronic subscription through Project MUSE, we commit- early on to making the special issue open access—something we were able ccomplish thanks to support from the University of Hawai'i Press and ject MUSE.[16] So, too, we set up a Facebook page to circulate information ut the special issue and to provide links to it—a tool that has proved an portant way to reach readers in Palestine.[17]

With less success, we also tried mailing hard copies to Palestine, through Ex and the US Postal Service. As expected, most of the boxes mailed in rch 2015 by our senior editor Stan Schab—who revealed gambler-like hings as well as a persistence we already knew well—never reached their des- ation. Of the several boxes Stan mailed through the USPS or UPS to Jeru- m rather than to the West Bank to increase our odds, only two boxes have

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made it so far—one in mid-June, another in mid-July—even though he readied the boxes in accordance with Morgan's directions: shipped off in different colored wrappings, a week or more apart, and containing only up to eight copies at a time. One box reached the Educational Bookshop in Occupied East Jerusalem by mid-June, a few months after the launch held there, and its owner Mahmoud Muna passed two copies along to Refaat Alareer's friend, who carried them into Gaza. The books arrived just days before Yousef Aljamal, in Malaysia pursuing a graduate degree, managed to return home to Gaza. When Egypt opened the Rafah crossing for a few days, for the first time in three months ("Egypt extends"), Yousef was able to make one of his surprise visits home to his mother, another three copies of the special issue in hand. And then, to the astonishment of everyone but Stan (and a bit to the chagrin of Morgan, who had not yet received a hard copy), a box of journals arrived intact to Gaza, some fifty days after it was mailed, but in time for the June 15, 2015 launch. Another box was returned to the *Biography* office in late July, and the location of at least one mailing remains unknown.

The special issue, overlooking the Mediterranean in Gaza (photo courtesy of Refaat Alareer).

The arbitrary inflation of the costs once the journals arrived was to me, if not to my co-editors and the contributors, shocking. While I was outraged, Morgan was gleeful that when the second USPS box finally reached Jerusalem in July and an American friend picked it up for her, it came "only" with an extra 50 USD customs charge; she has been charged as much as 200 USD extra for a few books of poetry. Packages sent via Fed-Ex have been slower and costlier. A package of two journals, sent for 133 USD to contributor Sonia Nimr at Birzeit University (BZU), arrived in mid-July with a tacked-on custom's fee of 440 Israeli New Sheqels, or approximately 120 USD—a cost we told her not to pay. *Biography* then received notification that the package was accruing storage fees that would start at 90 USD a day and continue to mount—so that package was ordered destroyed as not deliverable.

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In addition to tracking the ongoing journey of the journals as they disappeared or made their way into Palestine, my own travel for the launches sought new insights into how conditions of occupation more generally obstruct the movement of goods into the West Bank. My experience also gave me increased appreciation for the resourcefulness and networks of friendships and alliances that enable Palestinians to circumvent Israel's various attempts to cut them off from the world outside Israel-Palestine—and to fragment and isolate them from one another. When it comes to the Gaza Strip, it is well known that neither goods nor people can move freely: Israel's stringent land, air, and sea blockades, imposed in 2007 and continuing to tighten in violation of international law and ceasefire conditions, are so devastating that, in combination with the wholesale destruction that has come with Israel's biannual bombings, the United Nations predicts that life in the Gaza Strip will be unlivable by 2020 (see UNRWA). If it is only against all odds that a Fed-Ex box can get through, or enterprising friends can bypass the blockade to get a few books into Gaza, then moving the masses of concrete and other materials needed to rebuild a ravaged infrastructure or revive a strangulated economy is simply not possible. One year after "Operation Protective Edge" not a single one of the 18,000 homes that were reduced to rubble or severely damaged has been rebuilt, and over 100,000 people remain displaced (Erakat). Ramallah, by contrast, along with the other parts of the West Bank that I visited, is not marked by poverty or a decimated infrastructure. In Ramallah, people thronged the maze of stores and open markets where I wound my way through—orienting myself by way of directions to and from the landmark Al-Manara square, through a series of post-its upon which I wrote things like, go left at the Vero Caffe, turn right after "Star and Books," go left just past the wedding dress place next to the shops for (plastic Ikea) kitchen gear, then right at the corner cart with the mountain of (Israeli) strawberries. Walking among the lively crowds of people, many sporting colorful hijabs with matching shoes, waiting in the long line at Rukab's and watching families socialize over bowls of ice cream, I had a taste of why Ramallah is sometimes said to exist in a protective bubble when it comes to conditions of occupation. In her introduction to the special issue, Morgan discusses this perception while also describing how occupation permeates every cup of coffee she drinks.

On this trip, I gained glimpses into what Morgan meant, along with a deeper understanding of how firmly Israel maintains economic as well as military control over the West Bank, including places like Ramallah that are in Zones of Area A, supposedly under Palestinian control. When I boarded the private jet plane at the Luton airport in London, bound for Ben Gurion, I had packed into my carry-on items from Morgan's wish-list—two cookbooks, a

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tin of organic raspberry tea, a jar of face lotion crammed into one shoe, and a package of decaffeinated coffee in the other. There is no good reason those living in the West Bank should be unable to access such small luxuries—or the energy-efficient light bulbs and other everyday household items that Morgan put on a shopping list when I went to the launch in Haifa. These products were readily available in stores directly off the wide, well-maintained Israeli highways off-limits to West Bank residents, including Morgan, whose "Judea and Samaria" stamp on her US passport makes her presence on the roads forbidden by the Israeli military, and which, while she is in Israel-Palestine, cancels out most rights that usually come with US citizenship—unless, that is, she finds herself in prison.[18]

Problems obtaining goods that are abundantly available just a few kilometers—but also at least a few checkpoints—away cannot be dismissed simply as bourgeois or consumerist woes. Toward the end of my visit, I sat at a sunny table in the La Vie courtyard before the café opened, with Morgan and her husband, Saleh Totah, who were enjoying one of their first moments of leisure since my arrival. We were drinking coffee and eating eggs fresh from their chickens, cooked in olive oil with chunks of fat red tomatoes, when Morgan got a call. The Israeli making the coffee delivery to the Hizme checkpoint at the entrance to the West Bank had arrived early, and was impatient to be on his way. Bolting from the table, Saleh jumped into his truck, and raced off to reach the driver before he disappeared back along the Israeli roads with their week's supply of coffee. As Morgan and I finished breakfast, Saleh's abandoned cup of coffee and half-eaten meal served as a kind of still-life, one suggestive of the disruptions that come with running a café or a household under occupation, even for those with economic privilege.

Although this and many other such everyday problems are minor (La Vie keeps a spare supply of coffee because missed connections are not exceptional), they take their toll. These inconveniences—which also include running short of the water Israel steals from the West Bank and then sells back to Palestinians in only semi-dependable deliveries made to their rooftop tanks (Shakir), or the mysterious and sometimes extended stoppages of electricity, or the inability to readily replace a Mac computer or battery—do not of course come close to the deprivations that include undrinkable water and severe power outages that exist in the open-air prison of Gaza,[19] or in any number of impoverished places throughout the world. Nonetheless, these disruptions, in addition to creating constant frustrations and chronic stress, are corrosive reminders of an assault on a people's dignity, freedom, and very existence—of how, despite the veneer of normal life, and with complicity from the Palestinian Authority, the West Bank falls largely under the condition of Israeli military and economic control (see Borri).

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REPRESSION, READINGS, AND RESISTANCE

as goods do not flow freely through walls, checkpoints, and borders, also much at issue in this mad rush for coffee is how Palestinians face even ter impediments to their own movements, established to punish them for ing and for refusing to relinquish Palestine as their homeland. Their every ney, however small or large, is subject to the often violent whims of Israeli ers and soldiers. This was painfully evident when launching the special is- in Palestine. Of the contributors who participated in the Palestine launches Morgan, Falastine Dwikat, Yasmine Saleh Hamayel, Rima Najjar, Sonia r, Sa'ed Omar, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, and Raja Shehadeh—I was only person who could attend them all. Morgan and the other contributors West Bank IDs cannot under Israeli military law enter Occupied East Je- lem, only a few kilometers away, let alone make the trip to Haifa to attend launch organized by Nadera at MADA Al-Carmel (the Arab Applied Re- ch Center). Even in Morgan's car with its yellow Israeli plates, such a jour- would have put her at risk should we have undertaken it and been stopped Israeli soldiers as we left the West Bank.

Although I possessed basic freedoms not available to any of the contribu- even before boarding the plane for Tel Aviv, and then through every step y trip, I too got small glimpses into the constant stress and difficulty that acterizes life in occupied Palestine. Before I departed, I spent a good part day emailing launch materials to Morgan; removing photos, email access, documents from my phone and iPad; and making myself unsearchable ugh Facebook. I also made a reservation at a Haifa hotel so I could give an li address as my destination. Although I found myself wishing I had used nickname "Cindy" for work related to the US campaign for the Academic Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI), I still knew the worst that could pen was that I would be refused entry. So my fear was disproportionate as ed the young man at passport control, who joked about my name, asking was related to Ben Franklin. Taking this opportunity to establish myself as ish, I told him that when my great grandfather came over to America from nd to escape the pogroms, he changed his name to Benjamin Franklin. then cheerfully quizzed me on my profession, challenging me only when I ed Toni Morrison as a contemporary author. For him, Morrison was an- t. His surety and sudden sharpness impressed upon me not just his youth, also his power to detain anyone he found suspicious, however spurious reasons. As a white Jewish American, I escaped such an outcome. As he poised to stamp my passport, he asked, half jokingly, if I could promise I was not after a job at Hebrew University. On this point, I was able to sure him sincerely.

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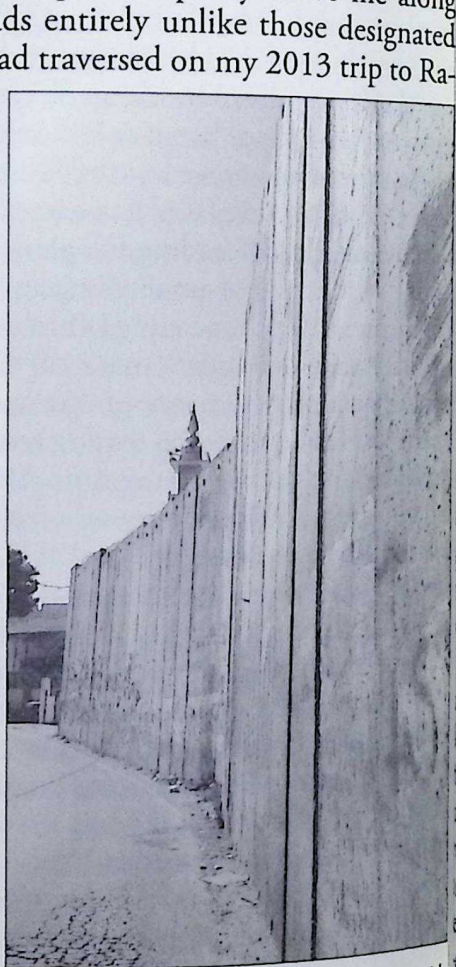
Not until I picked up my bag and exited into the meet-and-greet area did I encounter a delay, one confirming the structures of apartheid invisible to travelers coming to experience Israel as a Jewish homeland or as the only democracy in the Middle East. The driver, a Palestinian citizen of Israel whom Morgan had sent to pick me up, informed me that his other passenger, an elderly Palestinian friend of his, also with Israeli citizenship, had not yet made it through security. As over two hours passed, the driver became increasingly agitated. At around 10:30 pm, after much back and forth on the phone with Morgan, we left the airport and he sped me to a checkpoint near Ni'ilin where I could cross into the West Bank and get into the cab waiting to take me to Ramallah, as my first driver sped back to Ben Gurion to see if his friend had yet made it through airport security. The cab driver whom Morgan arranged to meet me at the checkpoint expertly drove me along dark, potted, windy, partially paved roads entirely unlike those designated for cars with yellow Israeli plates that I had traversed on my 2013 trip to Ramallah. I arrived at Morgan and Saleh's home adjoining La Vie Café with an upset stomach, quite literally sickened by how Ben Gurion airport and Israel, all gleam, efficiency, and welcome to those arriving as white American Jews, is at one and the same time a site of repression and even terror for those Palestinians who can access it—including those who are citizens of the US or Israel. Even Palestinians who can access the airport (Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza cannot travel to, enter, or exit Ben Gurion) are regularly criminalized, detained, and denied entry.



View from the car window near the Al-Quds campus main entrance (photo courtesy of the author).

The next days were full of such experiences—as I traveled to the launches, every movement brought awareness of my own privilege and the stench of apartheid and occupation. Whether traveling by cab, bus, shared taxi, or private car, the looming Apartheid wall, 85 percent of which runs inside the West Bank, rarely left my sight. I also caught instances of the humiliation and violence that soldiers and settlers directed

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ards Palestinians. As Morgan and I crossed a dusty stretch of a West Bank d, bound for Abu Dis, we passed a Palestinian who had been pulled over, hands up on his car as a soldier prodded him with his gun. The thirty-min- bus ride from Ramallah to East Jerusalem took almost three hours because Qalandia checkpoint was still jammed from protests earlier that day, when r 1,000 Palestinian women had marched there from Qalandia Refugee mp to mark International Women's Day. Israel had closed the checkpoint d met the women with live ammunition and gas grenades that left dozens ured, while on the Israeli side, protestors demonstrated free of violence.[20] t I knew to allow extra hours to travel a few kilometers speaks to the regu- ty of such difficulties, though I still just barely made it on time to Salah din Street for the event with Raja Shehadeh at the Educational Bookshop. d uncomfortable as it was to inch through the checkpoint for hours on the s at least I could sit. All the Palestinian passengers, having exited as we ap- ached the checkpoint, were suffering from more than the stealing of their e, as they stood virtually still in the long hot lines in order to pass on foot ough the locked turnstiles—or not, depending upon the inclinations of the diers in charge. On the way back, I missed the last bus to Ramallah. To my prise, it departed before 7:30 p.m.—yet another indicator of the small and umscribed spaces in which Palestinians must live. The patchwork return entailed a bus ride to, then a walk through, the eerily empty Qalandia ckpoint. Although unimpeded by the armed soldiers and locked turnstiles regulate the entry into Israel, the surrounding grey concrete and metal still d menace that, unlike Ben Gurion, was not camouflaged for tourists.

Given how my freedoms contrasted to those indigenous to the land I was iting, the pleasures of attending the launches were bittersweet. This was rticularly true of my trip to Haifa. First, there was the disparity of cross- over from the narrow, dusty Palestinian roads onto the wide, smoothly ed sweeps of Israeli highway, paneled by the seemingly more democratic nterparts to the Separation Wall: election billboards featuring the faces Benjamin Netanyahu and his ilk. The sudden appearance of these politi- ns' larger-than-life faces looming overhead, blotting out otherwise beauti- stretches of land, served as cruel reminders that those in the West Bank— ere no traces of the election were to be found—cannot vote, even as they strated quite literally the presence of the men and women who exercise wer over every aspect of Palestinians' lives under conditions of occupa- n and apartheid. The following week, victories went to those who ran on- eir-face racist campaigns. A new coalition government was formed by the elected Prime Minister Netanyahu that included as Justice Minister Ayalet aked, a woman who had openly advocated genocidal policies for Palestin- s during Operation Protective Edge; Defense Minister Moshe Yaalon, on

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record in support of killing Palestinian civilians, children included; Education Minister Naftali Bennett, who espouses an education platform that blatantly disregards Palestinian human rights; and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Tzipi Hotovely, who defends Israel's illegal settlements with the assertion, "This land is ours. All of it is ours" (Jilani; "In Their Own Words").

These campaign-filled corridors of highway could not cover over the fierce beauty of the land, blanketed in capes of yellow flowers, with craggy hillsides. When we reached Haifa, we took a road leading away from the city so that we could dip our toes in the ocean, and I thought of the contributors who write about Haifa's sea with such longing. I was haunted by the words of Sa'ed Omar, whom I had met the evening before, first at the launch at the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center, and then over dinner and drinks at La Vie Café, as he and his friend had shared on a laptop the brilliantly imaginative, playful, and sometimes weirdly funny, art and music videos they have made as part of their work for the cultural organization Dar Qandeel.[21] At Sakakini, Sa'ed's discussion of his *Biography* contribution had brought his experience hunger striking, and then his experience upon being released from prison, even more powerfully to life. In his narrative Sa'ed tells of how, in his exit interview, he informed the officer questioning him of his plan to go to Jaffa and Haifa, to the sea that borders the land of his grandfathers, and take pictures. The officer promises to arrest Sa'ed and return him to prison if he sees these photos evidencing Sa'ed's forbidden return. Sa'ed's response, which concludes his *Biography* piece, and which he relayed at Sakakini, is:

> I told him he's welcome to.
> But I will go to the sea in the end and I will take photos. (559)

At the Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center launch: (left to right) Yasmine Saleh Hamayel, Sa'ed Omar, Cynthia G. Franklin, Morgan Cooper, and Falastine Dwikat (photo courtesy of the author).

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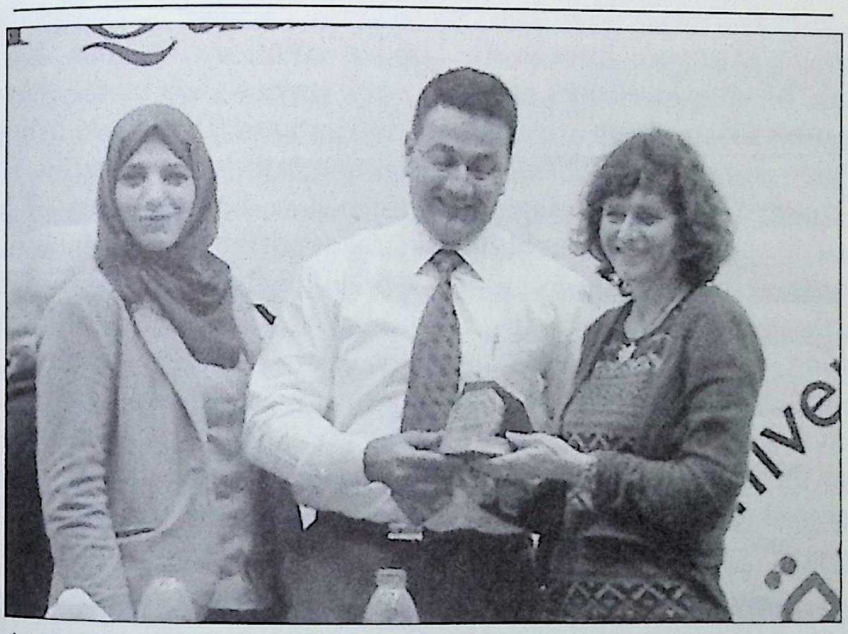
e contrast between my mobility and that of the other contributors struck once again as I left Israel-Palestine. My exit out of Ben Gurion, despite my iety, was as easy as my entry. I prepared by following advice to remove the el from my Hebron keffiyah and the tags from jewelry made by Palestinian men's collectives; to leave behind any Arabic receipts for food or gas, or gifts at came clearly from Palestine. Before Falastine Dwikat's London travel was ried, she had planned to carry through Jordan my wooden "Al-Quds" em- sed box and a book by Tania Tamari Nasir featuring photos of embroidery d Palestinian flowers, though I did hold onto the operatic classical music) *Ila Mata?* [*Until When?*], featuring Tania and her sister-in-law Rima Nasir azi, which I slid into a Hawaiian music case.[22] At the last moment, as I was ing goodbye to Morgan, she snatched from my hands a water bottle that, n empty, would raise suspicion in the airport because of its Arabic label.



Al-Quds University: (from left) Manar Hasan, Jamal Nafi, and Cynthia G. Franklin (photo cour- of Rima Najjar).

Of course, such precautions were minor inconveniences compared to the stacles faced by my co-editors and the contributors. In "Life in Occupied lestine," Morgan details the Catch-22s that attend getting to Ben Gurion, d Brahim describes his refusal to be subjected to the humiliation and diffi- ties of even trying to enter his homeland—conditions the other Palestinian ntributors also document. Problems they face come not only from Israelis. lastine had been invited to a double-launch at London's Free Word Cen- that paired the *Biography* issue with a Palestine-themed issue of *Wasafiri*, eautiful Resistance," to which she also contributed.[23] At the last minute,

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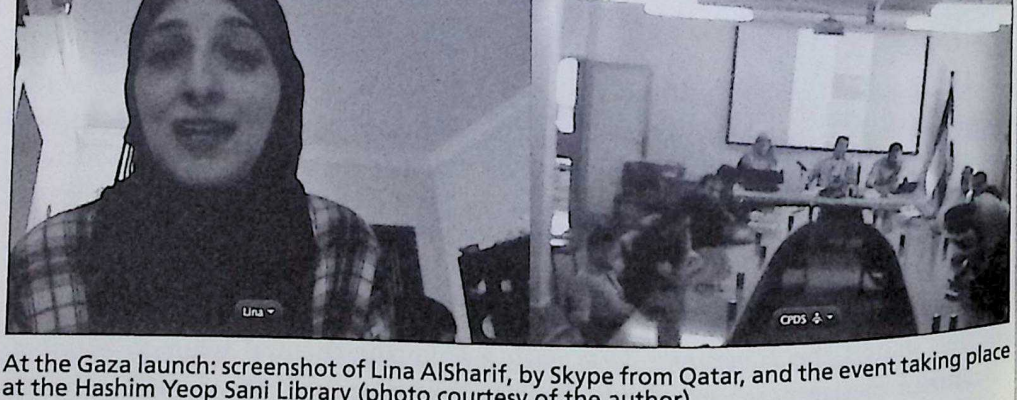
the UK denied Falastine a visa because, among other reasons given, her bank statement was in Arabic. Her participation therefore instead came via an audio clip in which she explained her absence, wryly noting that for her, "the most entertaining [reason] was that they were not sure I would leave the UK. Now, do I ever want to live in a country that colonized my homeland? . . . If we manage to survive Israeli destructions, we find ourselves facing other bureaucratic governments who think that all we want to do is leave Palestine. But we were here. We are here. And we are not leaving." With less than two weeks before the launch, it proved easier for Rima Najjar, in possession of a US passport, to go in Falastine's stead. Making the arduous journey to London via Jordan was easier for Rima than traveling the few kilometers from her home in Abu Dis to the Educational Bookshop, or to the West Bank for the events at Sakakini and Birzeit University. As she describes in her *Biography* essay, Rima has been denied re-entry into the West Bank twice in the past few years. Upon exiting the West Bank to participate in the London event, she lost her visa permit extension, because Israel does not issue work-permit visas in the West Bank for internationals working at Palestinian institutions. This made her re-entry to Palestine on the way back from London uncertain, as it always is.[24] Meanwhile, Yousef Aljamal, pursuing graduate work at the University of Malaya, did not know whether he would be able to attend the Gaza launch until the last minute, as he could not count on Egyptian officials allowing him through the briefly-opened Rafah crossing. At the launch, his description of how he was subjected to criminalization and difficulties on his latest journey added layers to his account in *Biography* of "Traveling as Palestinian." Skyping in for that launch from Qatar, where she explained she could not leave her apartment owing to the 45-degrees Celsius heat, Lina AlSharif, author of "Locked Out," spoke as well of her continuing inability to return home to Gaza, and of her family members who could not exit Gaza to visit her and meet her daughter.



At the Gaza launch: screenshot of Lina AlSharif, by Skype from Qatar, and the event taking place at the Hashim Yeop Sani Library (photo courtesy of the author).

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A TEXT IS A NETWORK OF CONNECTIONS

the Gaza launch, accounts of the precarity of Yousef's travel to Gaza and how Lina remains unable to return home provided more than illustrations the architecture of occupation. These personal narratives also conveyed ys Palestinians continue to nurture their connections to one another and Palestine despite persisting conditions of siege and blockade. Lina's small ughter, perched on her mother's lap as Lina Skyped in, was welcomed by all the formal proceedings as a treasured participant in the still-unfolding sto- s of resistance and survival so central to "Life in Occupied Palestine." And Yousef spoke of how, with difficulty, he made it through border control at fah, I thought of the Facebook message I had received the previous week m Refaat. When I expressed worry to Refaat that I had inadvertently ex- ed the secret of Yousef's impending visit, he reassured me, "By tomorrow, of Gaza will know Yousef is home"—a prediction supported by a flurry of cebook activity the next morning celebrating his arrival.

I did not need to Skype in for the Gaza launch to appreciate the power Lina's, Yousef's, and Refaat's insights into how stories about individual s carry culture in life-sustaining ways and create bridges or alliances when red with audiences from other parts of the world. Their pieces powerfully ke these points on their own. What I did learn from the Gaza launch was w, in the process of contributors coming together to share their personal ries, the work of storytelling was carried forward often through the very allest of exchanges, sometimes in a way even more moving than the largest most sweeping of narratives.

The other launches also conveyed ways Palestinians forge connections oss oceans and continents, with one another and with their allies. When ave a talk in London for SOAS's Centre for Palestine Studies that situated special issue in relation to work in the United States to support the Pales- ian call to boycott Israeli educational institutions, I met Norma Hashim, faat's and Yousef's friend and the editor of *The Prisoners' Diaries: Pales- ian Voices from the Israeli Gulag*, a collection translated by Yousef along th Raed Qaadura.[25] Norma, based in Kuala Lumpur and visiting London, cumented the event for Yousef and Refaat as it took place, using Facebook essenger. Then, as she did again the following month for the launch Yousef ganized at the University of Malaya, she shared photos on the special is- 's Facebook page. The Gaza launch, sponsored by the Centre for Politi- l and Development Studies, took place in the Hashim Yeop Sani Library, ich Norma funded in her late father's name. In addition to posting on cebook Yousef's narrative of the launch, Refaat and Yousef were able to

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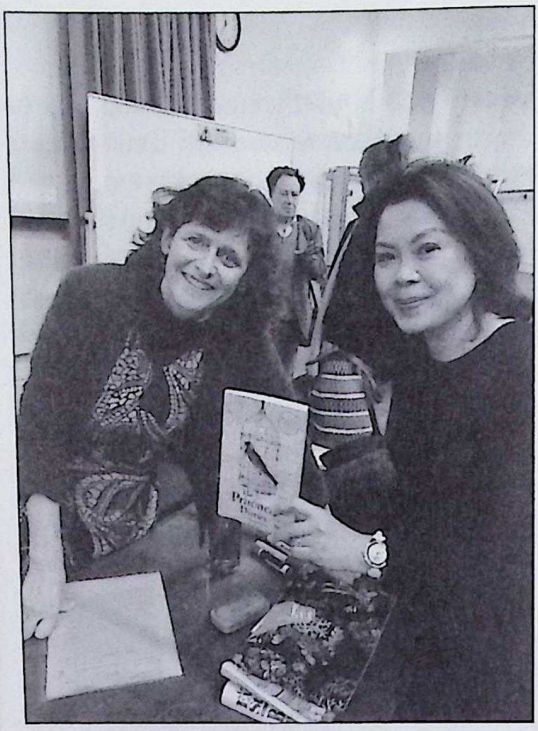
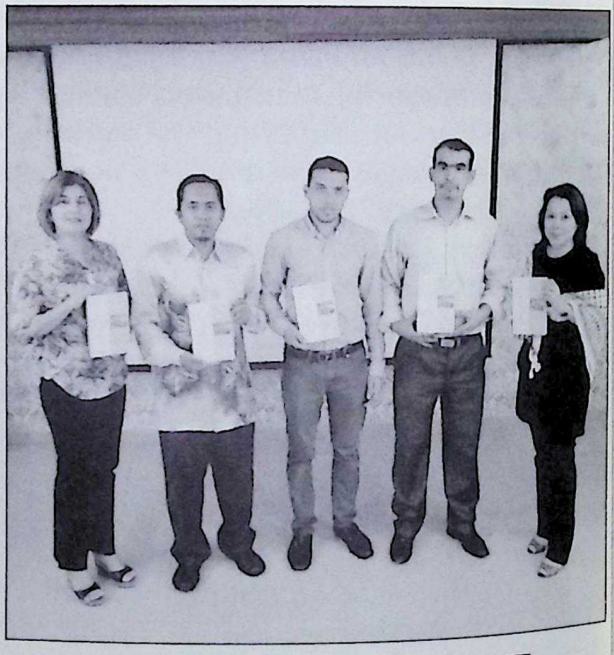


At the SOAS launch, Norma Hashim presenting Cynthia G. Franklin with a copy of *The Prisoners' Diaries* (photo courtesy of Norma Hashim).



At the University of Malaya launch (right to left), Norma Hashim, Tarek Ladjal, Yousef Aljamal, Roslan Mohd, and Azra Banu (photo courtesy of Yousef Aljamal).

share with Norma photos of this library, a center for reading, writing, and political discussions, which Norma, who has not been able to enter Gaza, has yet to see in person.

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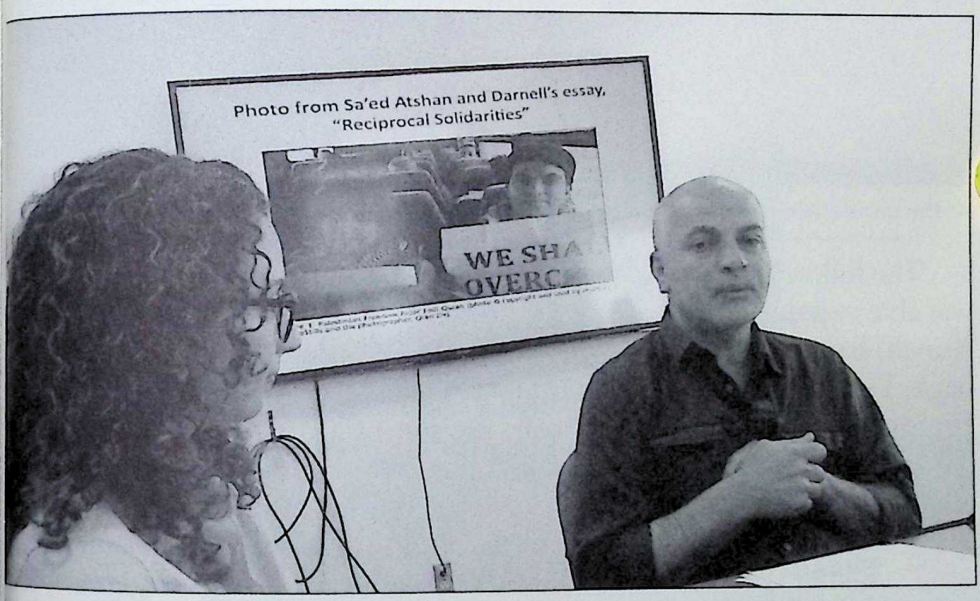
The absences of contributors also spoke powerfully to their connections
d forms of alliance, in ways that extended the work of the special issue. At
UC Berkeley launch sponsored by the Ethnic Studies Department, Dar-
l Moore was unable to Skype in with Sa'ed Atshan due to an urgent Black
es Matter event that had been organized at the last moment in response
Officer Dante Servin being acquitted for fatally shooting Rekia Boyd. In
introduction, Keith Feldman, who organized the event with Maria Faini,
sed the "open question" as to "where and how Palestinian narrative, in all
heterogeneity and complexity, is rendered legible, taken up, thought with
d through." Sa'ed's address and the ensuing discussion with Sarah Ihmoud
d Magid Shihade, which put the Black Lives Matter movement in dialogue
h the Palestinian struggle, took up Keith's question in ways that built upon
reciprocal solidarity about which Darnell and Sa'ed write.



he UC Berkeley launch, Sarah Ihmoud and Magid Shihade (photo courtesy of the author).

In addition to many such moments of solidarity, the events created op-
rtunities for contributors to come together. They also occasioned new con-
ctions that refuse the Israeli state's attempts to isolate and fragment Pales-
ians, and to render them as either terrorists or as non-existent. At the BZU
ent, Sonia Nimr was introduced by her brother. In the special issue, she
ites about her entry into political organizing and her experience surviving
ison through acts of imagination and solidarity with the other incarcerated
lestinian women; her brother, also formerly a political prisoner, figures as
important inspiration in this narrative. Hearing them together onstage ad-
ess their students, before Sonia presented a selection from her memoir that

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she translated into Arabic, provided a moving testimony to how they are carrying their work for a free Palestine forward for the next generations.

At the Birzeit University launch, Sonia Nimr (photo courtesy of the author).

The following week, at the double launch at the Free Word Centre, Rima was able to reunite with her niece, who recently moved to London. Then, post-launch, by way of an introduction through *Wasafiri* contributor Selma Dabbagh, I ended up at a pub with not only Selma and Free Word director Rose Fenton, but also with Ramzi Nasir, the son of a new friend from Palestine, Tania Nasir, who had sent him several emails reminding him to attend the event. Following the Birzeit University launch, Tania had invited Morgan and me to her home—formerly part of the BZU campus—in the Ramallah hills. As we sat in her beautiful living room, surrounded by photos of giants in Palestine's history, Morgan in a deep velvet red upholstered chair that Tania told her was the one Mahmoud Darwish sat in just before his death, during his last visit to their home, we felt the force of history. When I met Ramzi after the Free Word launch, he whipped out his phone as we walked down Farringdon Road, snapping a photo that he emailed to me and his mother, joking that though grainy, he hoped it was "evidence enough to satisfy my mom that we met."

Other connections were less direct. The route that brought several members of the Aswat Ensemble to play their music at the launch at the La Peña Cultural Center in Berkeley involved threads of emails and phone calls in an order I can no longer reconstruct. I only know that they involved the amazing Palestinian London-based band 47Soul,[26] which I knew about because one of their band members is a friend of a friend; Nadeem Karkabi, a SOAS PhD

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ndidate from Haifa, finishing his dissertation on Palestinian music, who I et on the tube following a gig by 47Soul; Nadeem's good friend Sarah Ihoud, the *Biography* contributor who had just moved to the Bay Area and so s joining Magid Shihade, on leave from BZU, for the launches there; Persis rim and the Jewish Voice for Peace members who organized the La Peña ent; and the Students for Justice in Palestine organizers who, working with SACBI Organizing Collective member David Palumbo-Liu, sponsored the unch at Stanford.

: At the Free Word Centre Launch: (left to right) Cynthia G. Franklin, Rachel Holmes, Rima ijjar, Selma Dabbagh, and Rose Fenton (photo courtesy of the Free Word Centre).
ove: At the La Peña launch (left to right), Magid Shihade, Sarah Ihmoud, Cynthia G. Franklin, embers of the Aswat Ensemble, and Persis Karim (photo courtesy of Persis Karim).

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LOVE AND BOYCOTT IN THE TIME OF OCCUPATION

Although details such as these do not necessarily rise to the level of a story or even an anecdote, they nonetheless constitute a significant way the launches changed my relationship to the special issue, as they gave me insights into the relationship between "a politics of against" and "a politics of for"—a distinction Magid Shihade got me thinking about when he critically addressed how opponents of boycott create "a dichotomy of distraction and paralysis" that unnecessarily pits the boycott movement against work that more positively supports Palestinians, as if the two are mutually exclusive.[27] When I pitched the idea for the issue to *Biography*, I was in large part driven by a number of things I am against that were also fuelling my participation in the USACBI Organizing Collective: my opposition to Israel's ongoing practices of occupation, settler colonialism, and apartheid, as well as my objection to US support for these practices. Also, after arguments that led to impasses with colleagues and family members who found my anti-Zionism to be anti-Semitic, I wanted to see if life narratives might unsettle deep-seated belief in the rightness of a Jewish state in a way that explicitly political actions or strictly scholarly analysis could not. While co-editing and then launching "Life in Occupied Palestine," however, my motivations shifted. For me, the project increasingly became fuelled by "a politics of for."

What I found most catalyzing were forms of friendship, love, respect, and alliance that came into being over the course of launching the special issue. These include not only witnessing the sorts of connections described above, but also ones I experienced from strangers who extended hospitality to me as I made my way to and from events. I think here of the engineer I met in a cab, who was taking the day off to comfort a friend who had miscarried, and who insisted on waiting with me at the Nablus station until I was met by my host, or of the elderly Bedouin man who, on the way back from Nablus, sang Bob Dylan songs to me, and spoke of his wish for Palestinians and Jews to live together in peace. Such encounters, along with even briefer ones, took on added meaning when a friend told me of how when Palestinians say "welcome" to foreigners in the street, this is shorthand for a greeting that in English very roughly translates to "May our house be as your house, and may the path rise up to meet you." I also experienced this remarkable Palestinian generosity at the events themselves, from the contributors and students who participated in and organized them, and most of all from Morgan and Saleh, who opened their home to me. The growing importance of these personal connections—some fleeting, some substantial—did not replace or distract from my commitments to USACBI, nor did they dispel my anger over Israel's violations of international law and US support for them.

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stead, love and pleasure in the most casual of encounters, and also in the ming-into-being of political forms of community, friendships, and solidari-s—in other words, "a politics of for"—increasingly came to animate my rk, and to predominate over, even while strengthening, what Magid rightly es gets called "a politics of against."

The launches also often productively upended such distinctions altogeth- as they foregrounded how what in the United States often gets dismissed "a politics of against" in Palestine is greeted as "a politics of for." This s particularly evident when Rima Najjar, who organized the launch at Al-ds University, spoke of our work together on the USACBI Organizing llective, and her students, colleagues, and the campus administrators loud-cheered. At An Najah, students and faculty members also uniformly em-ced boycott as a crucial form of international support and care. Similarly, the BZU launch, Morgan, speaking in a combination of English and Ara-; elicited loud applause from students and faculty members when she told her commitment, in co-editing the special issue, to demonstrating that for lestinians inside Israel, in Gaza, in Occupied East Jerusalem, in the West nk, or locked out of Palestine entirely, the occupation is one occupation—d one to be opposed collectively, from people inside and outside Palestine.

So too at An-Najah University, students used a discussion of the special ue to think about the place of violence—as a way to resist occupation, to be e, but also in relation to their own ability to preserve not only their lives, also to assert their human rights, and their humanity. In a discussion orga-ed by Professor Nabil Alawi that took place under the framework of "auto-graphy and resistance," they discussed Malcolm X's autobiography in the ntemporary contexts of Ferguson and Palestine as they debated the decision use violence. Their legal right to use violence against their occupier under ernational law was their starting point as they entered into passionate de-erations regarding both the political efficacy and the ethics of responding Israel's violence with violence, and as they also probed the distinctions and nnections between their own situation and that of black Americans. What ost struck me during this discussion was not only the persistent presence of lence that at once interrupts and is part of these students' daily lives, but o their insistence on finding ways to combat this violence without sacrific-g their own humanity.

These experiences at the launches and the personal connections I made rough participating in them deepened my structural analysis, not simply be-use I came away with more facts and figures about occupation. Even more, ey gave me a more textured understanding of its human costs alongside an preciation for the many ordinary yet extraordinary ways in which Palestin-ns oppose occupation. If the devil is in the details, so too details can capture

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the most admirably human of actions and qualities, ones that are all the more extraordinary because they are unremarkable—precisely because they are not the stuff of grand gestures, performances, or appearances. These included everyday acts of generosity. Like outrage, generosity, too, constitutes a refusal to be dehumanized by a nation-state that attempts to deny Palestinians their humanity at every turn, and that institutionalizes divisions between people.

For me, a dramatic instance of the strength, integrity, and vision that informs this generosity came on my last night in Palestine, from Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, a law professor at Hebrew University and the director of the Gender Studies Program at MADA Al-Carmel. During the panel discussion that she organized at MADA, she elaborated on the *Biography* piece she co-wrote with Sarah Ihmoud, particularly on the scene that opens the essay. In it, Sarah and Nadera tell of white feminists who turn their backs on them at the border, immediately after a conference they attended together in Amman on Palestinian health (378). As Sarah and Nadera are detained, these women, who during the conference had called for solidarity with Palestinians, walk past them as if they are invisible, unwilling to jeopardize their entry into

At the MADA Al-Carmel launch, Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Raja Shehadeh (photo courtesy of MADA).

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stine to conduct their research. After this MADA event, Nadera took e of us who had participated in it to a restaurant perched high up in the , where we looked out at the stars and the city of Haifa, lit up and spread beneath us. Despite the resplendent view, I was ill-at-ease. My impend- departure was on my mind, all the more so because, as we had pulled into estaurant parking lot, Saleh had called to say that a marathon scheduled he next day meant there would be road closures and that I couldn't get ast Jerusalem and from there take a bus to Ben Gurion, as planned. Saleh trying to line up a ride for me with the driver who had picked me up n I arrived, the only one he and Morgan knew with permission to drive Ramallah to Ben Gurion. I didn't want to mention my nervousness at er, not only after the panel discussion, but also because it felt so trivial in of the conversation we were having. In response to my questions about it was like to be a Palestinian faculty member at Hebrew University, era had been speaking of the constant discrimination and the harass- ts and humiliations that, like all Palestinians inside Israel, she experiences daily basis, and the toll this takes, physically and emotionally. As she e of how the structure of dispossession affects Palestinians in different lities of historic Palestine in various modes, she addressed ways Palestin- in Israel suffered the viciousness of Israeli settler colonialism not only re and during the Nakba, but also following the establishment of a state turned them into a minority in their own homeland. As she explained demographic policies, laws, and regulations that fragment and uproot ilies and take from them their homes, fields, industry, and land, she also ribed the relentless violence—vigilante and officially sanctioned—that sh Israeli citizens, soldiers, and police in the Old City of Jerusalem where lives perpetrate against their Palestinian neighbors. Each day, Nadera said, experiences instances of this violence, whether it be the hunting down, il- l interrogation, and arrest of small children on suspicion, for example, of wing plastic beads; the tipping over of coffins as they are borne through streets by mourners on their way to mosques; or the pushing of women rubbish bins and calling them trash for speaking Arabic. Nonetheless, n Nadera asked when I was flying out, her response, along with Raja She- eh's and his wife Penny Johnson's, was immediate sympathy that I would e to go through Ben Gurion. She told me that a white Jewish American nd of hers had been held up for hours there because she forgot to remove e new shoes from their Ramallah shopping bag. If I should run into diffi- ties, Nadera said, I must call on her and use her married (Armenian) name. as and remain overwhelmed by this immediate act of generosity. I had ed for and been denied far more modest forms of help from Israeli friends riends. As I have had time to reflect on Nadera's generosity, I have come

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to appreciate it not simply as one driven by a capacious empathy, but also a an act of solidarity that bespeaks a fierce unwillingness to abdicate one's hu manity in the face of the Israeli state's machinery of violence and dehuman ization.[28] This is the subject of Nadera and Sarah's essay, and is integral to th home space that is a radical space of love, belonging, and becoming that, ir the act of theorizing, they realize.

THE PERSISTENCE OF PALESTINE

The afterlife of the launches continues. This summer, two students from An Najah, Tasneem Nedal Sawalmeh and Enas Mansour, sent autobiographica narratives via their professor, Nabil Alawi, that we have posted to the "Nev Writings" section of the website "Life in Occupied Palestine." Other imag inings, whether realized or not, give continuing life to the special issue—. think here of the post-launch plans Yasmine Saleh Hamayel's friends mad over dinner at La Vie to turn her mother-daughter narrative into a two woman play.

One of the lessons of the launch is that as long as there is occupation, Pal estinians will continue to tell of the ways in which they resist and survive it both through acts of imagination and the telling of their stories, and through organized political struggle against the Zionist state that denies them thei most basic of rights. Another lesson is that even as books and people might b unable to cross borders, the stories and the forms of connection and solidarity they convey and bring into being can and will take root and travel, offering visions for a free Palestine.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: For feedback on this essay, thanks go to J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Rima Najjar S. Shankar, Magid Shihade, Patrick Wolfe, and members of my writing group (Eliza beth Colwill, Monisha Das Gupta, Candace Fujikane, Linda Lierheimer, Laura Lyons Naoko Shibusawa, and Mari Yoshihara). I also thank the *Biography* staff—Craig Howes Stan Schab, and John Zuern—for their extraordinary support. This essay is dedicated t those I know and have named in it. The process of checking in with them about thei inclusion in it has led to stories and conversations that have made this essay a stronge one, as it has contributed to my ongoing education about life in occupied Palestine. hope this essay conveys my gratitude for the friendships, community, and solidarity tha are its subject matter, and that were so integral to the writing process—and that also now have a life of their own.

1. These launches are documented on the website for the special issue, *Palestinian Lives.*
2. This topic, central to my research, is the subject of my first book, *Writing Women's Com munities: The Politics and Poetics of Contemporary Multi-Genre Anthologies.*

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For an account of Israel's fifty-one-day offensive, see Erakat.

For these and other facts documenting the devastation that occurred in the summer of 2014, see the statistics gathered by the Institute for Middle East Understanding (IMEU), "50 Days of Death & Destruction." For a visual of the land seized during this onslaught, see "Israel Takes Away 44% of Gaza Land."

For US and international criticism of expansion of settlements in the West Bank, see Rudoren and Ashkenas. On the proposed increase in US aid, see Lazare; see also Jackson.

See Horowitz and Weiss. While in London in the first months of 2015, I witnessed BDS at a "tipping point" as I attended events at SOAS related to its Boycott Referendum, which passed overwhelmingly. For an account of the SOAS referendum, see Baker. This momentum was also evident when I attended the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign's "Palestine: The Tipping Point. PSC Action Summit," that included a keynote by Barghouti, who Skyped in to address an audience packed into the auditorium's seats and aisles; see also BDS Movement.

Forms of solidarity between Blacks in the United States and Palestinians, while not new, became especially vibrant and visible during the summer of 2014, given the convergence of anti-Black violence in Ferguson and the Gaza onslaught, and have strengthened in the past year (see Bailey). The historic "Black Solidarity Statement with Palestine—Summer 2015," an initiative undertaken by two young activists, Kristian Davis Bailey and Khury Petersen-Smith, was signed by over 1,000 Black artists, activists, scholars, students, and organizations, including Angela Davis, Patrisse Cullors of BlackLivesMatter, Mumia Abu Jamal, several student groups, and three of the original signatories of the *New York Times* ad that ran in the 1970s, created by black activists in support of Palestinians (see *Black Solidarity*). For a perspective on Black-Palestinian solidarity, see the "Roundtable on Anti-Blackness and Black-Palestinian Solidarity"; see also Feldman and Lubin.

Perhaps the most dramatic and sordid example of this is the case of Steven Salaita, who was "de-hired" from a tenured appintment at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign for his tweets, issued as a private citizen, expressing outrage over the slaughter of children in Gaza during the summer of 2014. UIUC Chancellor Phyllis Wise and the UI Board of Trustees justified the decision to "de-hire" Salaita on the grounds that his tweets evidenced his anti-Semitism and "profesisonal unfitness," and the hypothetical lack of safety that students would feel in his classrooms. They made this charge despite his uniformly stellar teaching evaluations, and have maintained their position during the year following his firing, while Salaita has given over fifty lectures and met with people at over fifty different campuses, directly addressing the controversies around his firing without once providing UIUC with evidence to subtantiate it. As more documents have come to light under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), the influence of donors in this matter has become increasingly apparent (see Palumbo-Liu, "Steven Salaita"). Corey Robin's blog provides updates and incisive commentary on this case as it unfolds—as of August 2015, Wise and UIUC Provost Ilesanmi Adesida had resigned, and a letter from forty-one UIUC campus leaders called for Salaita's reinstatement.

For an account of this backlash, see Palumbo-Liu, "Business of Backlash."

Because Israel, a settler colonial state, has never declared and is always attempting to expand its borders, and also because it so thoroughly exercises control over the Occupied

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Palestinian Territories (oPt), making decisions about when to use "Israel" or "Palestine" or both is not always easy. When I use "Israel-Palestine," it is to mark this problematic in a way that acknowledges both the power Israel wields as a nation-state, and also the claim Palestinians have to their land even as it is occupied.

11. A link to Salaita's full address appears in Brotman.
12. This dynamic can be seen clearly in the case of Steven Salaita, both in attacks from Zionist groups, and in the courtroom. In June 2014, for example, with no way to support accusations against Salaita of anti-Semitism and unfitness for the classroom, and with mounting evidence of UI's buried correspondence and corruption, the opposing counsel in one of the two lawsuits filed against UI was reduced to arguing against the FOIA request to release correspondence between UI and donors concerning Salaita by likening public "curiosity" over Salaita's case to that attending Kim Kardahsian (Abunimah, "Judge orders")—a desperately bizarre way to trivialize and demean not only Salaita but also those following this high-stakes case. I discuss the role affect and charges of anti-Semitism play in countering criticism of Israel in my response to Lisa Duggan's 2014 American Studies Association keynote address ("The Queer Art of Success"), and in "Eichmann and his Ghosts: The Unstable Status of the Human, and Uncivil States." See also Saree Makdisi's commentary in a *Los Angeles Times* op-ed piece: "What we witness in campus debates over Israel and the Palestinians is an increasingly lopsided affair. While one side draws on historical evidence, international law and United Nations documentation, the other complains that all this makes them feel 'threatened' and 'uncomfortable.'"
13. For a critical account of Israel's spending on *hasbara* that gives a sense of its scope, see Scheindlin. For efforts to build support for Israel in the United States, see Abunimah, "At AIPAC." On AIPAC's spending to lobby for Israel, see CNI; see also Rosenberg.
14. For a recent account of experiences from another group of faculty who traveled to Palestine in 2015, see Balakrishnan et al.
15. For an explanation by the Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem of "price tag" attacks, see "Background on violence by settlers." For an account of the July 31, 2015 killing of one-and-a-half year old Ali Sa'ed Dawabshe, see B'Tselem, "A burned infant." For Noura Erakat's commentary, see "Al Jazeera America."
16. This special issue of *Biography* 37.2 (Spring 2014) can be downloaded for free at <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/biography/toc/bio.37.2.html>.
17. The "Life in Occupied Palestine: A Special Biography Issue" Facebook page currently has over 1000 "likes," a significant number of them from Palestine (https://www.facebook.com/biographypalestine>).
18. For a recent account of how, for Palestinian Americans, the rights that come with a US passport are canceled out by being Palestinian, see Khoury. See also "American Palestinians speak out."
19. During the current time of "calm," 90 to 95 percent of the water in the Gaza Strip is undrinkable, and there are up to twelve hours of blackouts each day; see OCHA OPT.
20. For an account of the protests, see Marom.
21. Sa'ed's practice as an artist began while in prison for nine years; see Dowani.
22. In "Resistance through Music," a January 12, 2007 entry on her blog *Umfalastine*, Nabila Harb reviews this CD.

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This special issue of *Wasafiri, Beautiful Resistance: A Special Issue on Palestine* (29.4, 2014), was guest edited by Rachel Holmes, who powerfully addressed the issue's significance alongside contributor Selma Dabbagh. The driving force behind the Free Word Centre's double launch was *Wasafiri* editor Sharmilla Beezmohun, with support from the Free Word Centre director Rose Fenton and staff members. The Free Word Centre has archived a podcast of the event at <https://www.freewordcentre.com/events/detail/palestinian-voices>.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs does issue multiple-entry work visas for certain international organizations. The visa extensions arranged for by the university for international faculty through an Israeli military post in Ramallah (Beit Eel) are tourist visas and never multiple entry. In fact, they are stamped with a "not permitted to work," and "PA areas only."

For more information about this book, published in 2013 by the Islamic Human Rights Commission, visit *The Prisoners' Diaries* website <http://www.theprisonersdiaries.net>.

47Soul was getting ready in Spring 2015 to launch their debut EP, *Shamstep*. For an introduction to this electrifying band, see "47SOUL Debut Record" (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZysQQb9bWiI>). For commentary on the band, see Brehony.

An image created by BDS South Africa cleverly takes up and reframes BDS as a "politics of against." In their graphic, tweeted on 7 August 2015 with the message "Who u putting money on?", they stage a showdown. On the left side appears a photo of South Africa BDS campaign coordinator Kwara Kekana, her fists raised in a boxing position, one hand wrapped in a keffiyah. Below her is the National Coalition for Palestine/BDS logo. On the other side, with a yellow thunderbolt and a "VS" demarcating the split, there is a photo of Pharrell Williams—who is scheduled to give a concert in Tel Aviv—with his two thumbs up; below him is the insignia for Woolworths, a retail chain Williams has partnered with, which has trade ties with Israel. The hashtag "#BoycottWoolworthsShowdown" runs across the top of the graphic. As it conjoins cultural and economic boycott, this campaign also reframes the negativity associated with BDS, first, by suggesting that in this battle one is either for human rights and against corporations, or vice versa; and second, by associating Williams and his brand of "happy" positivity with corporate profit. This image can be viewed at <https://twitter.com/BDSsouthafrica/media>. For an account of the campaign, see Blistein.

While completing this essay, a friend of mine, Lena Ibrahim, posted a request for help on Facebook. A family member of hers who needed to get to the United States to see her seriously ill parent had been denied by Israel the *tasreeh* or pass she needed to get from the West Bank to the US embassy in Jerusalem, where she would be able to get a visa for this medical emergency. Within an hour of Lena's posting, responses for help poured in from scores of people, many friends of friends she had never met, some providing tips and legal advice, others offering forms of assistance that put their own safety at risk. This instant outpouring resonated for me with Nadera's generosity, as did Lena's words to me about her experience. She wrote, "The cruelty of the Israeli government . . . truly cannot break our spirit as Palestinians but more importantly, I am finding, it cannot break our compassion for one and other."

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REVIEWS

ISSUES WITH BIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE IN RECENT STUDIES OF SAMUEL JOHNSON: A REVIEW ESSAY

icholas Hudson. *A Political Biography of Samuel Johnson.* London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013. 243 pp. ISBN 978-1848930827, $99.00.

oward D. Weinbrot, ed. *Samuel Johnson: New Contexts for a New Century.* San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2014. 384 pp. ISBN 978-0873282598, $55.00.

nyone who writes about the eighteenth-century man of letters Samuel John-n is never very far from the subject of biography. This is obviously true Nicholas Hudson's contribution to Eighteenth-Century Political Biogra-ies—the tenth in the series—but also of the seventeen essays in the col-tion edited by Howard Weinbrot, based on papers read at a Huntington brary Conference (2011), with six added essays. Hudson's book is solid and rkmanlike. The essays in the collection are all above-average efforts—some tually sparkle—and the physical book itself is quite handsome. Its reason-le price, rare these days, must be the result of the acknowledged subven-ns. My survey of the collection's essays will necessarily be brief, but there is mething to be learned from each.

Biography is one of several literary genres at which Johnson excelled roughout his professional life, beginning with a few short lives written onymously for periodicals in the 1740s, moving though the longer, but ll anonymous, *Life of Richard Savage* (1744), and culminating with the *ves of the English Poets* (1779–1781). In one of four essays concerned with ohnson After Johnson," James Engell ("Johnson and Scott, England and otland, Boswell, Lockhart, and Croker") goes beyond Johnson the biogra-her to Johnson's biographer, James Boswell, as well as to John Gibson Lock-rt, whose life of his father-in-law Sir Walter Scott "may safely be described next to Boswell's 'Johnson,' the best in the language" (314, Engell quoting slie Stephen). Both younger biographers' reliance on establishing their sub-cts as epitomes of "national character" (English and Scots, respectively) is e primary parallel Engell establishes in this sometimes rambling essay. Freya hnston seeks parallels between two writers in a narrower way in "Byron's

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Johnson," and concludes, "Despite his love of biography, Byron instinctively thought about Johnson's writings before he considered Johnson the human being. . . . While it is clear that Byron knew whole passages of Boswell by heart, for him the *Life* coexists with the works. It has not superseded them" (311). This is hardly surprising. It took time for Johnson's works to recede in influence, displaced by the Great Cham of Literature created in part by Boswell's work (although the phrase itself is Smollett's). Moreover, I have some doubts about the importance of a few of the connections outlined by Johnston, and to a lesser extent by Engell.

The issue is how to determine the pertinence or probative value of some facts in scholarly writing. In Frances Stoner Saunders's *The Woman Who Shot Mussolini* (2010) we learn that the middle-aged Anglo-Irish aristocrat and failed assassin Violet Gibson was incarcerated for three decades until her death in 1956 in the same British lunatic asylum that had held the eighteenth-century poet John Clare and, much later, James Joyce's daughter Lucia. This is fascinating, albeit trivial, and certainly not out of place in popular biography. But it is far from essential to a better understanding of Gibson's plight: she hardly chose the place of her forced confinement. Similarly, one should not at all be surprised that occasionally we find Johnson echoed by Scott or Byron. Johnston writes, "It might come as a surprise that such a writer [Byron], whose 'whole life,' was, as he put it, 'at variance with propriety, not to say decency,' should have so admired Johnson. . . . Byron owned editions of the *Dictionary* . . . the *Lives of the Poets* . . . and Boswell's *Life*" (298). But is it really not to be expected that Johnson's literary influence survived him for a short generation? And among the English Romantic poets, is not Byron the one we would surmise to be most congenially inclined toward Johnson?

The other two essays in the "Johnson After Johnson" section are examples of research that advances our understanding of two peripheral areas of interest about Johnson. In an extensively illustrated essay ("*Blinking Sam*, 'Surly Sam,' and 'Johnson's Grimly Ghost'"), Robert Folkenflik successfully examines four unresolved issues surrounding *Blinking Sam*, a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds that depicts Johnson reading a book that he holds tightly, very close to his face. In addition to tracing the provenance and critical reaction to the painting from the eighteenth century to the present, Folkenflik establishes with more certainty than previously that the painting dates from 1775, and he suggests why Johnson objected to the work at the time. According to Mrs. Piozzi, Johnson's reaction was, "[Reynolds] may paint himself as deaf if he chuses . . . but I will not be *blinking Sam*" (267). Folkenflik suggests that Johnson recognized that his nearsightedness was being used by Reynolds as a witty allusion "to the topos, familiar in both art and literature

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ughout Europe, of the five senses" (292). Reynolds's *Self-Portrait as a Deaf* (1775) becomes then a companion piece to *Blinking Sam*, as "senses of ring and sight are conveyed . . . not by their presence but by their absence" 2). Two definitions in Johnson's *Dictionary* add further valuable contexts: nk" is defined as "to see obscurely," and, as an illustrative quotation to the d "idiot," Johnson cites, from the *Merchant of Venice*, "What's here! The rait of a *blinking* idiot" (288).

Robert DeMaria, Jr. builds on the work of his "venerable predecessor" id Fleeman in "A History of the Collected Works of Samuel Johnson: The Two Hundred Years." I was struck by how often facts in DeMaria's his- reiterated Johnson's view of human nature. In a *Rambler* essay Johnson te that "men require more often to be reminded than informed," which temporary editors (and presses) should take to heart regarding the so- ed Oxford Edition (1825) of his works. "This edition had nothing to do h Oxford University Press. The books were printed in Oxford by the firm alboys and Wheeler, not by the university, but they bear an Oxford Uni- ity device on their title pages" (358), DeMaria tells us. In 1965 Fleeman cautioned that "textually the 1825 edition is valueless. It should never be ted" (343–44, DeMaria citing Fleeman), but that did not prevent Har- d University Press (and editor Peter Martin) from using it as the source for nson's selected writings published in 2009! Time and again the large proj- Johnson initiated took much longer than he anticipated (or promised)— example the *Dictionary* and the edition of Shakespeare—so it is somewhat ng that the Yale edition of his works, the first volume of which was pub- ed in 1958, is not yet completed: "in the next two or three years, the *Yale tion* will be complete in twenty-three volumes. It will be by far the best tion of Johnson's works ever published, but it will not be a complete edi- n of Johnson's works," as it will not include "the bulk and body of the *Dic- ary*" (365). DeMaria does not paper over the erroneous textual decisions ditors of some early volumes, even though he is now involved in the Yale tion himself, and he nicely illustrates "dissension in the editorial ranks" as of the founding editors complains of his colleagues, "'I wonder what they with their time.' . . . He wants to 'forget Yale and the whole whacky con- gent there' and move the project to Harvard" (363, DeMaria quoting W. Bate). Bate's remark nicely highlights a double irony, both the six decades far) that the edition has taken to be completed and the choice of a copy t made by Harvard University Press in 2009. Johnson knew that human perfection was never far to seek.

Stuart Sherman manages an essay that is at the same time theoretical and ctical in "'The *future* in the instant': Johnson, Garrick, Boswell, and the

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Perils of Theatrical Prolepsis." He argues successfully that "the problem of imaginative prolepsis, the question of how the future can, does, and should impinge upon the present instant . . . is central to Johnson . . . [and] becomes in the web of *Macbeth* both thematic warp and imagistic woof" (24). As Sherman analyzes Johnson's commentary on the play, I learned much about both Johnson and Shakespeare. To cite one of many examples: when Lady Macbeth, in her first speech to her spouse, echoes a witches' prophecy that she had not heard—"All hail, Macbeth, that shalt be king hereafter"—with her "all-hail hereafter," "the tantalizing implication is that she has somehow become one of them. *Hereafter*, the most memorable channeled term, encapsulates in a single word the strange temporal relation that her ensuing lines will unpack, and that for Johnson became a moral preoccupation: fusing *here* with *after*, it grafts future onto present" (17–18). When Johnson paraphrases an earlier soliloquy by Macbeth with these words, "nothing is present to me, but that which is really future," he is "pre-echoing Lady Macbeth. . . . [H]er lines, still two scenes into the future, partly dictate his present commentary." Shakespeare's play operates so forcefully on Johnson because "it deals so thickly with what was for him a core problem of human time, the dangerous prevalence of temporal imagination" (18).

David Fairer's "The Agile Johnson" is lighter fare. He begins with Johnson's physical agility, rebalancing the scale somewhat from views stressing his awkwardness and odd movements by calling attention to his "sheer physical playfulness" (34). Fairer then jumps to "the agility of a curious mind" (36), and skips over critical commonplaces: agility lies "not in the sweep of thoughts [which Johnson refers to in *Rasselas* as 'visionary bustle'] but in its strenuous exercise. Johnson valued elasticity of mind not for its reach but for its ability to return home" (43). A heavyweight essay in comparison is Howard D. Weinbrot's "'Tis well an old age is out': Johnson, Swift, and His Generation." Johnson's notorious dislike of Swift, when viewed within the larger framework of the other biographies in *Lives of the Poets* and within the context of the literary opinions of others, seems less harsh indeed. For example, "Johnson is among the more temperate commentators regarding *Gulliver's Travels*" (55). Weinbrot's long-held view of a progressive rather than a reactionary Johnson fits well with the implicit contrast here between Swift as an early- and Johnson as a late-eighteenth-century figure. Worthwhile also is Weinbrot's brief prefatory essay to the collection, "Notes toward New Johnsonian Contexts," which establishes, for instance, that Johnson's sermons, although not published until four years after his death, "were anxiously awaited, warmly received, heard from pulpits, and known to be Johnson's" (4), although the man for whom they were written, Reverend John Taylor, seemed

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ake credit for them. Weinbrot also posits convincingly that the mad asomer in *Rasselas* who thinks he controls the weather owes a debt to conporary commentary on a passage from the Old Testament book of Amos. "Johnson's Poetry of Repetition" by Thomas Keymer is among the best es- in the collection. Keymer pushes off from an observation by Christopher ks that "the metaphorical life in the poems of Johnson is often a matter of gorating dead or flat metaphor, of using clichés so that their pristine force created or so that they are seen in a new perspective" (73). Offering close dings of lines from Johnson's poems early and late, Keymer makes some of best use of internet search engines that I have seen, and couples this with nsitive ear for poetry. One example must suffice. Johnson's "On a Lady's senting a Sprig of Myrtle to a Gentleman" includes the line, "In Myrtle ves oft sings the happy Swain" (76) and repeats the word "myrtle" in each he next three lines. Keymer points out,

> Cliché is in a sense the subject of this poem, and Johnson is absolutely right that in myrtle groves, oft sings the happy swain. There are myrtle groves on every side in Restoration and early eighteenth-century verse, and many of them shelter singing swains: no fewer than five turn up, for example, in the work of Henry Baker, one each in Jane Barker and Aphra Behn, and five more in Sir Richard Blackmore, before one even starts on Colley Cibber and the rest of the alphabet. . . . It was becoming a cliché, indeed, to note that myrtle groves were becoming a cliché. (77)

nson tackles his "self-imposed problem" of avoiding bad repetition and hé "boldly and head on, first, by placing the word 'myrtle' and its mean—or lack of meaning—right at the center of the poem; second, by repeatthe word more frequently and insistently than in any previous poem; and rd, by turning the poem as a whole into a self-conscious meditation on try itself, and specifically on the fluctuating valence or outright indeterracy of poetic emblems" (77). Johnson's is a brilliant solution, then, here liantly explicated.

Jack Lynch has some interesting things to say about letter-writing in gen- and Johnson's letter-writing in particular in "'A disposition to write': nson as Correspondent." Passing over his two most famous letters, "the orous denunciations of Lord Chesterfield and James Macpherson" (89), ich were deliberately public, Lynch deals with the vast majority of Johns correspondence, which occupies a middle place between public and pri-e, both in intent and even in ownership. Who, after all, "owns" a letter t by Johnson? Even though Lynch deliberately eschews the typical use to ich the correspondence has been put until now—that is, as "biographical ggets, to supplement the third-person biographical accounts that figure so

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large in Johnsonian studies" (89)—his conclusions have a biographical ring: "If Johnson's letters can be said to have a single theme, it is the obligation to write more letters" (95). If Lynch's essay can be said to have a single theme, it is this: "A shocking amount of Johnson's epistolary output is given to wheedling, cajoling, scolding, hectoring, browbeating, or shaming his friends into writing letters to him" (96). Lynch carefully marshals numerous examples of this type of behavior from Johnson's epistles, behavior he finds exceptional despite the acknowledged presence in eighteenth-century letter-writing manuals of formalized scoldings for negligent correspondents: "That such models exist indicates there was a need for them. . . . Still, almost no one rivals Johnson in his insistence on prompt correspondence, or matches his crankiness when that correspondence does not come" (97). Similarly, there were contemporary formulas for responding in a tardy fashion; "however, few writers of the eighteenth century were more prone to such apologies as [*sic*] Johnson" (101). One is always working with discrete data in correspondence more than two centuries old, and I have no doubt that Lynch has read widely enough in the letters of Johnson's contemporaries to allow him to make these comparative judgments, but his argument would have been greatly strengthened had he provided us at least one quantified example of Johnson's relative dominance in this dubious category.

David Nunnery's "'Hoot him back again into the common road': Then, Problem of Singularity, and the Human Comedy of the *Lives of the Poets*" contains a problem at the heart of its title and at the heart of the essay itself. He has undertaken to explain a joke, specifically, to help "readers navigate the sometimes ambiguous and difficult humor of the *Lives*" (112). With a nod toward Northrop Frye, he defines his terms:

> I am interested in comedy . . . as the narrative telos toward integrative resolution and the devices that enable this process, particularly humor. "Humor" here means simply the attempt to evoke laughter. And "laughter" has its usual meaning, though I include any reactions stronger and merrier than the mere intellectual satisfaction at perceiving felicities of language, what Shaftesbury associates with the "still, peaceful, serene, mild" reaction that "hardly is to be called laughter" at all. (109)

Johnson's humor, fortunately, is more accessible than Nunnery believes, and usually does not require the laborious criticism provided here.

Johnson as an editor is the subject for three contributors. Lynda Muggleston ("Writing the *Dictionary of the English Language*: Johnson's Journey into Words") observes that Johnson positions his work frequently in the context of the "journey into words" metaphor popular with earlier lexicographers. Johnson thought of himself at times as traversing a path trodden by others, at

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mes as staking out a new route. In the course of producing the *Dictionary*, e changed direction markedly—as has been noted before—from his statement of intent in the 1747 *Plan of the Dictionary* to his Preface to the 1755 nal product. Everything Mugglestone says seems true, but the linkages she iscusses are frequently strained and, ultimately, readers feels less like they ave made a pilgrim's progress through the essay and more like they have end- up, like Rasselas, back where they began. In "'The dreams of a poet': Vo- tional Self-Definition in Johnson's *Dictionary* Preface," Stephen Fix makes a cused and convincing argument that "writing the *Dictionary* was, for John- n, an important act of self-definition. . . . Johnson seems anxiously to un- erstand that he has chosen—or perhaps slid into—the life of the scholar and itic rather than the life of the poet" (150–51). Emphasizing autobiographi- l elements that appear throughout the Preface, Fix provides a way of under- anding perhaps its most famous section, in which Johnson explains that he d to give up many of the aims he had set for himself when he undertook the *ictionary*: "these were the dreams of a poet doomed at last to wake a lexicog- pher" (153). Few of the discoveries that Marcus Walsh makes in "Fragments d Disquisitions: Johnson's *Shakespeare* in Context" are unexpected, but it is eful to have Johnson's edition compared with other editions of Shakespeare the eighteenth century. Walsh finds that "Johnson's data . . . appear very of- n to have been drawn not from paper file systems but from memory. Exam- es of inaccurate quotation are numerous in the *Shakespeare*, as they had been the *Rambler* . . . and would be in the *Lives of the Poets*" (163). This is simply hnson being Johnson, as is the fact that "Johnson's longer notes in particular nd to the literary critical, the generalizing, and the moral, not to the strictly xt-critical or exegetical" (170). The unstated conclusion is that we read John- n on Shakespeare as much, or more, for Johnson as for Shakespeare.

Nicholas Hudson is on to something in "The Active Soul and *Vis Iner- ae*: Change and Tension in Johnson's Philosophy from *The Rambler* to *The dler*." Perhaps as he wrote his book on Johnson's politics, he learned from the istaken confidence in "evidence" conspicuous in many of the arguments of e past few decades, when more has been written, it seems, about Johnson's olitics than any other topic. One of the virtues of this collection is that it is ot dominated by politics. Here Hudson focuses on the relatively neglected *dler* essays (1758–1760), which differ markedly from the periodical essays hnson wrote earlier in the decade. While *The Rambler* and *The Adventurer* ere stand-alone publications, *The Idler* appeared as the lead article in *The niversal Chronicle*, a war paper "whose columns were filled, week after week, ith accounts of Britain's escalating war against France" (242). Reading *The dler* in this environment allows Hudson to reject the critical commonplace

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that these essays were more jocular or popular, and somehow less morally serious, than the earlier ones. In this context the original *Idler* 22, "an essay so bitter . . . that it was suppressed in the first collected edition of *The Idler* in 1761" (257), is no longer a one-off. Hudson provides a new model for viewing many of Johnson's most conspicuous concerns and beliefs—the human need to stay active versus the tendency toward sloth; belief in the immateriality, and hence, immortality of the soul—and he places Johnson amid yet apart from Hobbes, Locke, Hume, and Berkeley in a convincing way. Most important of all in my opinion, he does not shade the evidence or overstate his points. He seems aware that this has long been a problem, beginning with Boswell, who viewed "facts" about Johnson through the lens of the biography he had constructed in his own mind: "Boswell's biography continues to influence the view of Johnson as an inherently unified 'self' whose erratic moods only superficially deviated from a consistent underlying philosophy" (243). Hudson, instead, advances a Johnson more like ourselves and the people we know, even when this view could seem to undercut somewhat his main thesis: "the conclusion that Johnson really has embraced [a] deeply pessimistic reassessment of human nature [in *The Idler*] is complicated by the publication of *Rasselas* in April 1759" (259), *Rasselas* being much more *Rambler*-like. Hudson does not believe "that Johnson ever exchanged one philosophy for another, the outlook of *The Rambler* for that of *The Idler*. But these visions are not fully compatible, and they represent two explanations of human nature that create an important, underlying tension in his mature thought" (261).

The notion that there may have been a similar tension in Johnson's political beliefs seems to have escaped most of the critics who have attempted that subject in the time since Donald Greene's revisionist study *The Politics of Samuel Johnson* (1960; 2nd ed. 1990). In bald summary, Greene countered what he viewed as the Tory or reactionary Johnson, which he argued came via Boswell's biography and subsequent critics who read Boswell *instead* of Johnson. Greene's Johnson was more Whig than Tory, more progressive than reactionary. Over the past five decades there have been frequent attempts to dispute Greene's position, not so much by restating Boswell's view of Johnson as by advancing other evidence. F. P. Lock begins his essay, "'To preserve order and support Monarchy': Johnson's Political Writings," by observing correctly that "no aspect of [Johnson's] thought has provoked more acrimonious debate" than his political convictions, and that "evidence alone cannot settle the matter, for much of the evidence is itself contested" (175). He proposes to weigh the evidence by using a distinction from "speech act theory," which would ask, "not only what Johnson says, but also what he was doing, or thought he was doing, on a particular occasion" (176). Dividing Johnson's political

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itings with the year 1760, Lock argues that Greene erred by over-weighting e earlier writings and ignoring Johnson's "mature political opinions," which ntained "his deepest convictions" (177). Johnson, then, is not the "populist ebrand" Greene sees him to be, and the political pamphlets written in the 70s are the best representations of Johnson's real political views. But Lock's gument is not so objective as it seems, first, because it contains the implicit umption that true beliefs are somehow connected with chronological mat- ation, and second, because Lock wants to have it both ways, crediting the ature" views of the later pamphlets, while simultaneously arguing that the ndency to excess" they exhibit is a sign they were written "primarily from nviction" (188). It is a strangely mature writer who cannot temper his prose render it rhetorically effective, as Lock admits it is not. This is a good essay t it is not free from the same type of a priori assumptions that Boswell and eene—perhaps all of us—exhibit.

Despite its title ("Reflections on Johnson's Churchmanship"), William bson's essay is taken over by Johnson's politics in the second half. Until then bson provides a sound evaluation of previous scholarship on Johnson's reli- us practices. (I take "churchmanship" to emphasize practice rather than be- fs or "religion," insofar as they can be distinguished.) In the course of his sur- he usefully sorts issues that have confused previous scholars. For example, Easter 1770 Johnson wrote, "Shall I ever receive the Sacrament with tran- illity?" Gibson explains, "These might have been the scruples of a man con- ned about the legitimacy of the Church, but they sound more like those of nan acutely aware of his own unworthiness. This was a fairly common eigh- nth-century concern, which Victorians mistook for religious indifference, t was in fact evidence of deep religious introspection and scruple" (221–). Gibson perceptively notes that "after Greene, scholars have treated John- 's churchmanship as inseparable from his political views. Moreover, schol- have sought to establish a consistency in Johnson's thought and to iron out, plain, or resolve ambiguities" (228). Greene's opponents, seeking a mono- hic Johnson, portrayed him as an "ideological Tory and a principled High urch Non-juror and Jacobite" (234). Gibson's view, following Weinbrot, is t "Johnson was an inclusive figure capable of holding both High Church d Latitudinarian views" (235), and in this way he was not exceptional in his y: "Many of Johnson's contemporaries found themselves grappling with . . . ltifaceted dynastic, theological, and political ideas . . . and, like Johnson, nd that complete consistency was impossible to achieve" (240).

A different, but equally effective, rebuttal of thesis-mongering criticism is nd in Thomas Kaminski's "Three Contexts for Reading Johnson's Parlia- ntary Debates." Kaminski puts to good use the knowledge he has gained in

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years of work as co-editor of the Yale edition of Johnson's Debates. From July 1741 to March 1744 Johnson reported parliamentary speeches for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Such reports were technically illegal, so a veil of fiction was drawn over them. Kaminski separates fact from fiction and establishes Johnson's modus operandi by comparing his version with "notes, diaries, and letters written by persons who attended or participated in the debates" (197), as well as with the version of the debates that appeared in the rival *London Magazine*. Here are just a few of the discoveries: "none of the debates was in fact the mere coinage of his imagination; he always worked from notes" (197); "Johnson did not invent [anecdotes] or supply them from his own experience" (198); the long-held critical belief that the *London Magazine* version is more authentic "is largely without merit" (201); on political clashes Johnson's version was "remarkably evenhanded" while the *London Magazine* clearly favored the opposition parties (207); "Johnson did not write up the debates immediately after they took place, but delayed until copy was called for" (209)—this a confirmation of what had previously been assumed. Kaminski concludes with a subtle argument that the view modern historians have of William Pitt today is the result of some distortions in Johnson's version of Pitt's first major and perhaps most famous parliamentary speech: "it seems inescapable that the 'historical' Pitt is at least in part the creation of Johnson's pen" (215).

A Political Biography of Samuel Johnson is, in some senses, Nicholas Hudson's "a pox" on the over-determined views that have plagued scholarship on Johnson's politics since 1960. He finds that methodological errors have been committed both by Donald Greene and by his opponents, J. C. D. Clarke, Howard Erskine-Hill et al. An early statement of Hudson's approach is, I think, the key to his success: "The art of historical or literary analysis is . . . not to put more weight on an interpretation than the evidence can stand, and to acknowledge the complexity and ambiguity of the era or individual being examined" (4). Note that Hudson refers to such work as "art" rather than science. He tackles every major contentious issue in the critical debate. For instance, on Johnson's supposed non-juring Jacobitism, he points out that "the willingness of most of England not only to swear oaths but also to remain passive in the face of the Hanoverian regime raises serious questions about what we can mean by the term 'Jacobite'" (12). Johnson regarded the Glorious Revolution that deposed James II in 1688 as "an inglorious necessity" (16) and believed that "the primary evil of the Hanoverian Succession . . . was less the illegitimacy of George I and his heirs than their facilitation of a shift of power from the throne to a 'faction' bent primarily on the accumulation of power" (19). Hudson demonstrates that Johnson's view of imperialism was similarly nuanced: regarding what we Americans call the French and

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dian War, "when Johnson inveighs against the cheating and plundering of tives in America by the 'English,' he is referring most directly and logically the colonists, not to George II" (94). A decade or two later circumstances ve changed perhaps more than Johnson's views: "contrary to the opinion t Johnson was an unqualified anti-imperialist, he was concerned to enforce d adjust imperial authority in both America and the Highlands. . . . John-n's fury over the American rebellion was intensified by his perception that formed part of the same trans-Atlantic 'Patriot' agitation represented by ilkes and his radical friends in the City" (167).

Although he has written a book on Johnson's politics, one of Hudson's imary contributions to Johnson scholarship may be his relative devaluation this issue: "Johnson was an unsentimental pragmatist who valued order d thought that politics were much less important than religion and mo-lity" (126). While Voltaire was exalting Addison and his *Cato* over Shake-eare, "Johnson suggested that the popularity of Addison's play was transient ecisely because it dramatized the writer's political opinions. . . . Johnson me to see great literary art as deeper than politics, which helps to account his increased concentration on literary criticism during the last decades his life" (135). Shortly before meeting King George III, whom he treated th great reverence, Johnson contributed the following lines to Oliver Gold-ith's "The Traveller" (1764): "'How small, of all that human hearts endure, hat part which kings or laws can cause or cure'. For Johnson, the more im-rtant objectives of life lay outside of politics in morality and religion, and o increasingly in the literary arts" (133–34).

Boswell did not meet Johnson until the latter was more than halfway rough his life, and it is telling that Hudson does not bring up Boswell's ography directly until more than halfway through his book. A comparison the manuscript version of Boswell's *Life*, "widely accessible for decades," th the published text will "substantiate Greene's rather inflamed warn-gs that the *Life* cannot be relied on as a transparent historical document, has been too often the case. . . . Boswell's retrospectively static image of r Johnson' conceals considerable fluctuation and change" (120). I knew late Donald Greene only through his writings, but I have the feeling that would take Hudson's assessment here as a strong vindication of his most portant position.

Hudson's book is well written and well argued, an important contribu-n to Johnson studies. Unfortunately, he has been let down somewhat ei-er by his proofreader or his editor, this in sharp contrast to the carefully inted essay collection reviewed above. A spot check of some longer quota-ns reveals that they have not been read against the original text, resulting

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in numerous errors, large and small. These range from the omission of words from quotations (83, 103, 108, and 139), to incorrect words: *to* should be *of* (83), *the* should be *an* (105), *fear* should be *dread* and *spaces* should be *species* (108). In the notes O M Brack appears twice incorrectly as O. M. Brack, and note 49 to chapter 5 attempts to correct an error in the scholarly edition of Johnson's *Letters* that is not there.

Robert G. Walker

Catherine Zuromskis. *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images*. Cambridge, MA: MIT P, 2013. 264 pp. ISBN 978-0262019293, $34.95.

In her art-historical study of the neglected genre of snapshot photography, Catherine Zuromskis takes on the delicate task of expanding on canonical post-modernist and feminist critiques of the photographic medium. Noting that "private affect can be employed and regulated through public life," Zuromskis adopts the customary argument that the family photograph is never free of the conventions of mass culture and the politics of representation. But she successfully refashions that argument, partly by drawing on the contemporary queer theory of Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, among others. While Zuromskis acknowledges that the snapshot constructs the image of the American family, she attends to the instinct, desire, and affect that inspire us to shoot, share, collect, and prize pictures of loved ones. Through her case studies Zuromskis shows that the snapshot genre can be appropriated by communities that aspire to represent their alternative modes of social belonging. These photographs are not kept secret. Instead, they circulate through the community itself, creating what Warner calls a "counter-public" of emotionally and socially engaged viewers.

Zuromskis does not concentrate on private familial or individual uses of snapshots. Instead, she examines the multiple ways that vernacular photography is shaped and disseminated through an American culture that fetishizes the snapshot-perfect nuclear family. Drawing on Berlant's work, Zuromskis argues that this idealized form of the family plays a key role in conservative rhetoric that links the insecure future of the nation to the vulnerability of children in particular. As we have seen, leveraging the mainstream concept of the heteronormative family has been a key strategy for political opposition to the movement to legalize gay marriage. Zuromskis discusses perceived threats to the family in her chapter on the film *One Hour Photo* and an episode of *Law and Order: Special Victims Unit*. In her analysis of the film, starring Robin Williams as a drugstore photo developer, Zuromskis details the threat posed to the picture-perfect—but dysfunctional—family by an isolated

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an who fantasizes that he has a close relationship with the family. His perrsion of standards for reception of the snapshot escalates into criminal phographic stalking. While Williams's character is definitively marginalized by e revelation that he was a victim of child pornography, the family emerges tact. In her discussion of *Law and Order,* Zuromskis goes on to examine e perversion of the family photograph in child pornography. Here the auor links the pedophilic exploitation of children to their role in the Ameriı family as bearers of the promise of "futurity," which is lost to individuals d nation alike if the child is not protected. Zuromskis observes that when e television program evokes in its viewers feelings of horror and disgust at e photographic exploitation of children, it reinforces the normative use of e snapshot as a love- and hope-inspiring vehicle for the perpetuation of the ythic family.

Zuromskis's chapter on the much-discussed Museum of Modern Art's 955 touring exhibition "The Family Of Man" moves beyond the standard itique of the show's "rosy sentimental humanism." She observes that curar Edward Steichen did not hold with the museum's tendency to aestheticze everything and thus should not be faulted for lacking a socio-political sion. Steichen designed instead a spectacular exhibition so that viewing the ow felt like consuming photographs in magazines and family albums. This oked in the viewers visceral affective responses rather than simple sentimenlity, and thereby encouraged viewers to feel connected to the international ray of people pictured in their daily lives.

Zuromskis turns her attention to the photograph in later twentiethntury art in chapters on Andy Warhol's workaday photo-mania and Nan oldin's snapshot-inspired art photography. Warhol is usually described as meone who used technology to distance himself from people. Zuromskis unters this image of the Pop artist by assessing his habit of photographing e diverse outsiders who gathered at the Factory in the 1960s. For Warhol otography was a vehicle for intimate interpersonal relations in the context his queer social politics. Taking on the role of a picture-snapping parent, arhol captured his friends' personal and sexual freedoms and thereby fashned an alternative version of the family. The fact that these photographs ve been exhibited only rarely affirms their extra-aesthetic purpose. This oes not, however, mean that the Factory coterie never imagined the snapots being displayed. Zuromskis argues that because Warhol's social polics were unabashedly queer and celebratory, his photographic fashioning of lentities for himself and his cohort was "aspirationally public"—meaning at the images could potentially testify to alternative modes of social benging.

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Zuromskis's account of Nan Goldin's practice focuses on *The Ballad of Sexual Dependency,* which the artist shot in the early 1980s. Comprising numerous luridly lit color-saturated photographs of herself, her abusive boyfriend, and fellow members of their artsy and grungy East Village "tribe," the *Ballad* was originally a slide-show accompanied by love songs from the 1950s and 60s. Because the slide-show played in local bars, it entertained mainly the tribe members themselves. Zuromskis ascribes to this the effect of changing public space into a private domain, and thus defaulting on the aspirational publicness promised by Warhol's snapshots. As Zuromskis relates, the 1980s saw post-modernist and feminist thinkers dismantle the myth of the male artist genius. Meanwhile, critically inclined artists like Cindy Sherman and Sherrie Levine, who imitated or simply stole generic images, deconstructed the photograph's reputation for truth to life. Zuromskis contends that Goldin ignored these advances when she styled herself as an original artist whose images fulfilled the fantasy of the immediacy and authenticity of the photograph. In Goldin's case over-emphasis on the instinctual, desirous, and loving impulses driving the snapshot form did not succeed in fashioning a family freed of traditional roles. This resulted in failure to critique the snapshot dispassionately as one of the most powerful means of constructing normative familial identities and thus the public regulation of nominally private lives.

Sarah Evans

Laura Formenti, Linden West, and Marianne Horsdal, eds. *Embodied Narratives: Connecting Stories, Bodies, Cultures and Ecologies*. Odense: UP of Southern Denmark, 2014. 308 pp. ISBN 978-8776747473, $43.00.

Increasingly, the narrative form is viewed as a natural and universal medium for apprehending and representing human experiences. Much remains to be discovered, however, about how the content and structure of narratives are mediated by culture and social structures (e.g., race, gender, and social class). As an attempt at offering an analytic framework for locating narratives within a broader social context (i.e., time, history, and place), *Embodied Narratives* is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on narrative analysis.

The book is composed of fourteen chapters divided into two parts (though the parts are not clearly marked in the table of contents but described only in the introductory chapter). The main objectives of the book are described in Chapter 1. The overarching goal is to understand how learning is narratively linked with social contexts and the body. Specifically, the editors describe the book as:

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> a contribution to forging greater connectedness in understanding learners and learning. . . . At the heart of the writing lies a fundamental aspiration: to better understand and theorise how the body and relationships, both to immediate and wider worlds, find expression in learning biographies, and how such experiences can be enhanced. (24)

verall, the editors emphasize that the collection is an interdisciplinary en- avor that consciously avoids self-serving rivalries. In their words, the book rks against "typical academic competitiveness, a kind of symbolic canni- lism" (25).

Moving beyond the introductory chapter, Part I (Chapters 2–5) primar- focuses on broader theoretical issues about the relationship between the dy and identity, as well as their immediate and larger sociohistorical con- xt. In essence, Part I theorizes the connection between self (the agent) and ciety (the larger social structures surrounding the self). The chapters in this ction cover a wide range of concepts, some better explained than others. ecifically, Chapter 2, Marianne Horsdal's "The Body and the Environment Autobiographical Narratives and Autobiographical Narrative Research," is tirely devoted to establishing one of the book's major themes: "our stories e embodied" (47). However, a careful reading of the book would suggest at the reverse is equality true: our bodies are storied. This chapter puts forth idence from a wide array of fields (from neuroscience to the phenomenol- y of social interaction) to establish the interconnectedness of the body and e social. Chapter 3, by Linden West, uses several concepts borrowed from urdieu and other notable social theorists to describe the reflexive connec- n between agency and social structure. Taking a more semantic, or at least nguage-centered, approach to analyzing narratives, Chapter 4 focuses on rds and their socially constructed meanings. As the chapter's author, Rob ans, explains it, "Language shapes and determines the interaction out of hich the life history is narrated. The telling shapes in turn the language use" 4). Evans emphasizes the reflexive relationship between agency and social ucture evinced in earlier chapters. Continuing with the same theme, Chap- r 5 considers historical variations in the construction of agency. Specifically, e chapter's author, Peter Alheit, traces the history of the subject (or agen-) from the pre-modern to the post-modern era, covering a period of time ughly from 1200 to 1980.

To a large extent, Part II (Chapters 6–14) illustrates earlier discussions us- g data primarily from the experiences of adult students in higher education. his portion of the book includes some of the more analytically coherent and npirically grounded chapters. Chapter 6 traces the meaning and origins of ories of one's birth across three levels of analysis: the micro (the individual

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here and now), the meso (the institutional context), and the macro (cultural and discursive context). Though more could have been said about the connections between the three levels of analysis, Laura Formenti offers a brilliant analysis of autobiographical narratives in this chapter. Chapter 7, by Juan Carlos Pita Castra, analyzes artists' identities with a focus on the relationship between space and narration (i.e., how proximity to the location of a specific event mediates its narration). The chapter features a positivistic formula for understanding this relationship ("the law of proximity"), which seems at odds with the book's overall relativistic or postmodern orientation. Chapter 8, by Andrea Galimberti, looks at how non-traditional students can be encouraged to express their unique perspectives and agency through autobiographical narratives. Chapter 9 examines language acquisition and acculturation of foreign-born adult students. Empirically, the authors Christopher Person and Samra Tabbal Amella base the chapter on one "biographical interview" (194) with a Guianese immigrant living in Switzerland. Chapter 10 illustrates how autobiographical and "narrative methods" (215) can be used to facilitate and enhance the learning experiences of non-traditional students. In particular, the authors, Maria Francesca Freda, Giovanna Esposito, Maria Luisa Martino, and José González show how the technique of "Narrative Mediation Path" can be used to promote "learning to learn competence" (222). In Chapter 11, Myriam Graber focuses on the experiences of adult students from Sub-Saharan Africa studying nursing in Switzerland. Specifically, she shows how such students have to learn, unlearn, and generally adapt to the ways of knowing and self-expression in a Western linguistic context. The chapter gives special attention to how students "deconstruct and then reconstruct" (250) their knowledge of the body, illness, and death. Similarly, Chapter 12 focuses on how another group of nursing students in the United Kingdom learn about their chosen profession. Lioba Howatson-Jones and Claire Thurgate note that "some nurses felt marginalized from their own resources for learning and wise-decision making as they encountered workplace cultures and learning environments" (257). According to the authors, biographical narratives and related reflections about learning and belonging are powerful tools for empowering and engaging students. Chapter 13, by Catherine Karen Roy, offers an interesting discussion of "poetic narratives" as a means of conveying the "transformative learning" experiences of Japanese fishermen living in Canada. Chapter 14, "Embodied Interviewing" by Rebecca Corfield, reminds readers that interviewing and the related research findings are mediated by interaction dynamics and a broader social context.

The collection is based on conference proceedings of the European Society of Research on Education of Adults (ESREA). This is critical in

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derstanding the book's organization and overall writing style for two reasons. First, the chapters originally were written for a very specific group of scholars. As such, the volume may not be entirely accessible for average readers. Second, readers may find that with the exception of a few well-known authors (e.g., Goffman), the chapters do not cite the typical list of scholars associated with narrative analysis in the US context. For example, Gubrium and Holstein's *Analyzing Narrative Reality,* considered an important contribution the field of narrative analysis in the US, is not cited. For the most part, such missions do not weaken the overall fluidity of the book and the cogency of arguments. However, I imagine that in some cases, the addition of prominent US scholars would have made certain arguments even stronger and more accessible. For example, Chapter 2 introduces the concept of "mirror neuron" an innate mechanism that enables humans to use symbolic representations themselves and others. Here a reference to George H. Mead's work on symbolic interaction as well as Charles H. Cooley's notion of the "looking-glass self" would have provided additional support for the body-self connection.

A few other issues hamper the potential of the book for delivering on its promise of "connecting stories, bodies, cultures and ecologies." One problem is that the project is too ambitious in terms of the range of topics under consideration (history, culture, emotions, representation and construction of knowledge, and research methodology). Relatedly, the book takes on two important but relatively distinct tasks at the same time. Namely, it is not always clear if a given chapter is about the importance of subjectivity or agency in general, or about new ways of learning in particular. In fact, it is puzzling why the word "learning" does not appear in the title of the book.

Its somewhat fragmented treatment of narratives and autobiographies aside, the writing is at once cogent, passionate, and even poetic—in some parts. The real genius of the book is its conceptualization of learning as a multifaceted process involving stories, bodies, cultures, and specific environments. In this sense alone, the book is full of insights and inspirations.

Amir Marvasti

rez-Villanueva, Sonia. *The Life of Catalina de Erauso, the Lieutenant Nun. An Early Modern Autobiography.* Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2014. 225 pp. ISBN 978-1611476606, $85.00.

he life, story, and history of the seventeenth-century Basque Ensign nun oña Catalina de Erauso, a young cross-dressing novice who defected her der to enlist and fight in Spain's conquest and colonization wars in the mericas, as recorded in *Vida y sucesos de la Monja Alférez, doña Catalina de*

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Erauso, has incited various scholarly debates—among them, the historical existence of doña Catalina, the authorship of the text, and the year of publication. Thus, this unique first-person autobiographical narrative has been variously classified, critiqued, and dismissed over the last several centuries. At the center of the debate lies whether *Vida y sucesos* can or should be classified as an autobiography.

Even taking into consideration the changing limits and definitions of what constitutes an autobiography, *Vida y sucesos* has more often than not been dismissed as one. Frequently overshadowing most attempts at a close analysis of her text are, clearly, the remarkable characteristics of her protagonist, Catalina de Erauso. Memoir, novel with autobiographical characteristics, and historical autobiography have been some of the more common perspectives from which *Vida y sucesos* has been studied, not including various attempts to use the text to support political agendas. *Vida y sucesos,* then, is yet to be scrutinized as the autobiography that it is, and Sonia Pérez-Villanueva's text embarks on such a task.

Based on research conducted for her doctoral dissertation, Pérez-Villanueva presents a comparative study of *Vida y sucesos* and several early-modern Spanish narratives that are often claimed to be, or used as examples of, autobiographical works. Across several chapters (seven in total), carefully and methodically the author builds a clear set of comparisons to support the central claim contained in her research. That is, that the first-person singular narrative *Vida y sucesos* is a unique example of an early-modern autobiographical text which clearly displays the characteristics of the genre more evidently than other texts that traditionally have been used to define an autobiography. Overlooking many details, critics have often dismissed for various reasons the autobiographical nature of *Vida y sucesos,* and Pérez-Villanueva, then, sets her aim to demonstrate how *Vida y sucesos* is quite likely one of the earliest examples of an autobiography. Throughout, Pérez-Villanueva's arguments and analysis are well researched and strongly supported by textual evidence.

Given the remarkable life lead by Catalina, the broad range of ways in which she narrates her life and adventures, and the presence of fictional elements, *Vida y sucesos* is evaluated in Pérez-Villanueva's research against some of the more canonical texts and literary genres with which it shares key characteristics. First, Pérez-Villanueva explores the different links and divergences between the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) and its protagonist Lázaro, as well as with Justina in López de Úbeda's *La pícara Justina* (1605). Then, by looking at Catalina's life as an Ensign, the scholar compares *Vida y sucesos* to soldier narratives and chronicles as exemplified in *Naufragios* (1536, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca), and *Discurso de mi vida* (1630–1633, Alonso de

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ontreras). In all cases, the author demonstrates that *Vida y sucesos* is a unique xt that encompasses a hybridity of literary characteristics that transgress tra- ional definitions, just like Catalina does with her life. The fluidity of the xt and the life of Catalina, then, defy rigid categorizations while at the same ne placing *Vida y sucesos* in a unique position of being one of the few Spanish rly-modern texts that exhibit strong autobiographical characteristics, unlike her works of the period that scholars have often labeled as autobiographical.

Readers approaching Pérez-Villanueva's text with the expectation of ac- iring a deep knowledge of Catalina's life as reflected in her autobiography *ida y sucesos,* however, might find themselves disappointed, as the scholar cuses primarily on the nature of the text as an early example of autobio- aphical narrative and not on the life of the Ensign nun herself. To be fair, e objectives set forth by Pérez-Villanueva are not to study in depth Catalina Erauso's life, but rather the autobiographical first-person singular narrative *ida y sucesos* as an example of a Spanish early-modern autobiography. This, e scholar does well.

After briefly in the first two chapters contextualizing Catalina's life and ming her autobiographical text within the existing body of criticism, Pérez- illanueva details her methodology as well as the limits of autobiography ac- rding to various frameworks used for reference, such as history, fiction, sub- ctivity, and intent. This particular section of the book is perhaps the most chnical and thorough, where the reader can observe the complex parameters at define an autobiography in general and Catalina's text in particular. The erature review conducted in this section is impressive, well polished, and mpact, but unfortunately is not completely free of the structural rigidity, gh compartmentalization, and close attention to minutia that often charac- rize a dissertation. The subsequent chapters (four through six), on the oth- hand, are quite useful and will certainly aid readers in understanding the ique nature of *Vida y sucesos,* particularly those not very familiar with other anish early-modern first-person narratives such as the picaresque, chroni- s, and solider's narratives.

And while Pérez-Villanueva's work is well written, researched, and argued, rious inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies throughout the text have the po- ntial to perplex and distract the reader. The most notable one has to do ith the way in which the abundant Spanish quotations are treated. At times e quotes go untranslated, at others they are translated perhaps too literally, d on occasion the translation clearly continues beyond the Spanish quoted aterial. The second issue has to do with the author's writing style and the ther frequent back and forth shifts between the central object of study (*Vida ucesos*) and the various literary texts and theoretical frameworks used as

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comparative examples to support the authorial claims, shifts that can be quite tiresome, making for a less than fluid reading. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Pérez-Villanueva accomplishes her goal convincingly and that the reader can learn new insights into Catalina's text.

Lastly, given the narrow scope treated in *The Life of Catalina de Erauso*, one can conclude that this scholarly work will appeal mostly to the specialized reader interested in the intricacies of Spanish early-modern autobiographical narrative construction, and most specifically, on how *Vida y sucesos* will fit and exemplify rather uniquely what could be one of the earliest examples of an autobiographical work of early-modern Spanish literature. On the other hand, readers seeking to learn more about the life of Catalina in *The Life of Catalina de Erauso, the Lieutenant Nun* will likely be rather disappointed.

Benito Quintana

FROM BLOOD TO INK: CURRENT REFLECTIONS ON ETHNIC AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Michael Nieto Garcia. *Autobiography in Black and Brown: Ethnic Identity in Richard Wright and Richard Rodriguez.* Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2014. ISBN: 978-0826355270, $45.00.

From blood to ink, for some time now Latinos and African Americans have penned stories of self survival in a xenophobic US. These autobiographies seem always (and necessarily so) to tie one's self to community—and community to society. One way or another they *trouble* a US American mythos that treats far-fetched abstractions as reality. Unlike for authors of moneyed white privilege, magical thinking and *hypostatic* theorizing of reality has not been an option for brown or black authors. Their writing of the self spins out of a daily slam up against a real world filled with the violence of oppression and exploitation. Think of how race differently inflects the experiences of *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (1791) and *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845). While they share some common ground—they plot journeys from unstable margins to more stable centers—unlike Franklin, Douglass dramatically reminds readers of his tangibly fragile status as a human being in a xenophobic world. As a racially marked body he can never take for granted his existence.

The US has a rich autobiographical tradition. We love to read *real* life, up-from-the-bootstraps stories. We love our Oprah Winfrey. It's likely why Knopf's confidence in Latina Sonia Sotomayer's telling of her story earned her a $1.2 million book advance for *My Beloved World* (2011). It's likely also why Obama received a half million dollar advance for *Dreams from My Father* (1995; 2004). The publishers are banking on a huge readership—and

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g dollar returns. US American readers are fascinated by such stories of the lf. We're hungry for *auto-bio-graphs*—including those by brown and black bjects.

There's more to this hunger, however, than just relishing in teleologies of rvival and (material) success. We're also drawn to *how* authors *give shape* their life emplotments. Franklin opens his: "Dear Son: I have ever had easure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors." Douglass begins: was born in Tuckahoe, near Hillsborough, and about twelve miles from aston, in Talbot county, Maryland. I have no accurate knowledge of my e, never having seen any authentic record containing it." Obama opens s: "A few months after my twenty-first birthday, a stranger called to give e the news." Sotomayer opens, "I was not yet eight years old when I was iagnosed with diabetes." Just comparing these opening lines we see how thors select details and choose all variety of devices to give their stories ape. And each shape has a different affect on the readers. While we see me using the shaping devices commonly found in fiction, we know that ese somehow correspond to that which is verifiable. Born a slave, Douglass idn't know his birth date. However, the text invites us to go to the archive verify his existence.

So what are the signposts (if any) that distinguish these texts from their hnic fictional counterparts? What's at stake for those kept at the socioeco-omic and racial margins to write stories of the self in a racist, classist, sexist, d homophobic society? Do the ethnic autobiographies follow story lines at participate within or deform the US autobiographical tradition that ots the journey from margin (outside) to center (inside) as one from pover-to material success? Finally, how might such autobiographies penned from e racialized margins shed light on a not-so monochromatic US American entity? Michael Garcia's *Autobiography in Black and Brown: Ethnic Identity Richard Wright and Richard Rodriguez* provides some answers—and sug-stive new questions.

For those who know something about these two Richards (Wright and odriguez), they could not be more different. Wright's black, and grown from e early tilling up of civil rights soil. Rodriguez is brown, and grown in a ost-civil rights era. Wright is considered a social realist and Marxist. Rodri-uez is considered a high-stylistic aesthetic provocateur claimed by the con-rvative right. For Garcia, however, it is their "chiastic" (x) differences that n and do shed light on the divergent ways that each *troubles* the ethnic auto-iographic format. Indeed, in a careful analysis of both authors Garcia offers s new tools and concepts for understanding the creating and consuming of hnic autobiographical writing in the US.

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To pull us from a thick morass of idealist approaches in the study of literature generally (one that blurs lines between text/discourse and all that is nontext/world), Garcia makes clear his position. The Richards (and all the rest of us subjects) exist as tangible, material subjects in an equally tangible, material world, *and* they are grown in a social tissue woven together by the thoughts (and actions directed by these thoughts) and beliefs of the people around them. The Richards chose to write autobiographies that *add* to and potentially transform this material world, and all of us in it. That is, Garcia dashes to the ground the idealism of a constructivist position that sees us and the world we inhabit as only ever discursively, textually constructed.

While Garcia soundly rejects the idealism of the deconstructionist axiom, *il n'y a rien hors du texte,* he is careful not to embrace too readily an absolute materialism—or better, a theoretical thread of positivism that has historically essentialized race and racial difference. If racialized subjects like Wright and Rodriguez are, as Garcia asks, "always-already determined as a purely linguistic or social construct, the mere effect of various discourses, then how can there be any possibility of meaningful resistance to the social forces by which subjects are marginalized?" (14). For Garcia, ethnic autobiographies bring us back to a commonsense middle ground whereby the social (inclusive of rules and ideology) shapes how we exist materially. In short, he argues that Wright's and Rodriguez's existence as black and brown bodies is necessarily shaped by a world filled with racist and homophobic (in the case of Rodriguez) prejudice. They present, Garcia states, "a self that not only is narrated—the self on the page—but also reflects the reality of bodies inscribed with the markers of ethnicity in society" (xvii). As a self-proclaimed "skeptical realist," then, for Garcia black and brown authors such as Wright and Rodriguez write stories of the self based on their material, verifiable experience. However, in the *writing* Wright and Rodriguez recreate selves that have the power to challenge and transform ideologies of race, class, sexuality, and gender. (For analyses that follow a like-spirited theoretical position, see also the work of Satya Mohanty, Paula Moya, Linda Alcoff, Sean Teuton, and Michael Hames-García.)

Garcia's identification of our material, biological existence in a real, tangible world, but a world also inflected by pernicious ideologies of racism, sexism, and homophobia allows him to identify the referential *and* revisable possibilities present in the writing of Wright and Rodriguez. For instance, while the real, biographical Richard Wright lives in an epoch whereby full articulation and realization of self is impossible because of racism, his "literary self is free to critique the forces that oppress and exploit him as racial subject" (3). In both autobiographies we learn how real experiences of the self (race,

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thnicity, and sexuality) are craft-fully revised and reshaped through the pens nd imaginations of Wright and Rodriguez.

Indeed, this conceptual approach opens up otherwise written off possi-ilities for Wright and Rodriguez. Garcia reveals, for instance, how Wright eploys fictional devices to recreate a life that becomes representative of other frican American experiences from his community in order to emotively and ognitively move readers to progressive political action. For Wright, as Gar-ia remarks, "blurring the lines between fact and fiction . . . seemed reason-ble if by doing so he could dramatize the reality of racial inequality and the sychological effects of a racist environment" (47). For Rodriguez, as Garcia ontends, the writing of the self is less about selling-out (as many scholars nd critics would have us believe) and more the articulation of a social "inter-lependence" worldview. Garcia's careful and nuanced analysis of Rodriguez's utobiographical works leads him to see clearly how his education of the self s *in* his interface with other humans. Thus, as Garcia argues, it "is not against ommunity that Rodriguez positions himself, but for community and for en-rging it" (32). The freedom to revise the self in writing is paramount here. Broken education systems that fall far short of the promise of bilinguality, for nstance, prevented brown subjects like Rodriguez from being "free to negoti-te the complicated interaction between ascribed and self-identifying aspects f their identity" (104). According to Garcia, then, Rodriguez doesn't ascribe o ideologies of individualism used to justify exploitation and oppression. Rather, he articulates an "intersubjective" private-public model of individual-sm that can lead to "greater socioeconomic equality" (95). Thus, for Garcia a ook like *Hunger of Memory* uses English words to give shape to the writing f a self that resists discourses that "constrain ethnic bodies" (112). This and is later works allow Rodriguez to write and revise his Latino queer self fot n audience "wider than one's familiars and intimates" (140). It allows for the ossibility of an expansive "self-expression and self-conceptualization" (140) hat might not otherwise be possible in a racist, queerphobic world.

In sleuthing out the tensions, contradictions, and disparities in Wright's nd Rodriguez's respective *rewritings* of the self, Garcia also brings to the fore ust how much pressure there is to *conflate* the private and public when read-ng the work of ethnic authors. What happens when we read a text (nonfic-ion and fiction) by an author with the last name Rodriguez? Doesn't this lready orientate our expectations? For Garcia, such ethnic framing can and loes happen—and to negative effect. Ethnic framing lends itself to a tunnel-ision approach to works by authors like Wright and Rodriguez. This leads o the conveying of opinions and ad hominum critiques cloaked as critical nalyses: how X ethnic author *represents* positively or negatively his or her

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respective community. As Garcia remarks, the "perils of one-dimensional ethnic framing" divert us from relishing in the "complex, artistic, intertextual and polysemous" dimensions of ethnic autobiography (xiv). Such tunnel-visioned readings of ethnic autobiographies sidetrack us from seeing those subtle aesthetic devices used by a Wright and a Rodriguez to give shape to transformative *revisions of the self.*

We see in Garcia's attentive reading of Wright and Rodriguez just how they give shape to (aestheticize) the narrating of the present on the past—and the future on a past recaptured. For both authors, the target is the self-in-society—not just the past. The goal is a recovery of self-experience, of what each of the authors *uniquely* is, has been, and intends to be. Above and beyond the ethnic and racial subject matter, it's how they give shape to narratives that tell of the permanence of the impermanent, the continuous self within the discontinuous existence that makes them interesting.

To this, however, one nagging question remains unanswered by Garcia. If the ethnic autobiography clears a space for one to *revise* the subject, where is the material and verifiable that makes the difference between reading, say, *Black Boy* as a novel or as an autobiography? It's certainly true that it's filled with details that are a part of the public (historical) record, but it is also filled with many more details only verifiable by Wright himself: all those emotions and actions experienced within the privacy of the self. What makes the difference between a *Black Boy* and Dubrovsky's self-identified "autofiction" *Fils* (1977)?

Moreover, what do we make of the fact that when ethnic autobiographers create narratives concerning their past they are frequently based on images they have of themselves in terms of their future? When Wright and Rodriguez build a narration of their past based on their aspirations, desires, fears, and emotions, aren't they investing in their future—a future that they wish to exist in the present of their writing? Does this make Wright and Rodriguez unreliable narrators of their own stories? And yet, we know that there is a difference between *Hunger of Memory* and *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. In the latter work we encounter narrators that only claim to speak truths about the lives within their fictional storyworlds; they don't ask that we verify these lives in the historical record.

Garcia's important work asks us to reflect carefully on the difference, finally, between fact and fiction. Autobiography (as personal history and therefore as a kind of history) is a series of facts. Sometimes science (fact, observation, empirical proof, etc.) is mixed in history with speculation or hypothesis without these being acknowledged as such. I was born on March 6, 1969. This is an empirical fact that can be verified or refuted by going to the relevant documents (archives). That I was born under bad auspices that day is not fact; it

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not a verifiable statement. So if I write that I was born on the unlucky day arch 6th, 1969, I am mixing two "genres": scientifically verifiable autobiog-phy with fiction, a free, unfettered creation of the mind with no truth-value, verifiability or refutability. Put simply, I can go to the archive to verify my rth. I don't (and can't) go to an archive to verify the dates of birth of the ung medical student, Palinuro, or his love-interest and first cousin, Estefa-a, in Fernando del Paso's novel, *Palinuro in Mexico* (1977)—just as I don't rify the dates of birth of José Arcadio Buendía or the exact age of Madame vary. Fernando del Paso mentions real-life people in his 1968 Mexico City-*Palinuro* but these people become fictional because they are part of a novel. hen Fernando del Paso penned *Noticias del imperio* (1987) on the biographi-lly verifiable figures Maximilian and Carlota, the married couple that ruled exico from 1864 to 1867 cease being the real, empirically verifiable people d become figments of the imagination of Del Paso. If Del Paso spent a lot of ne researching the true circumstances of the lives of Maximilian and Carlota, was not in order to write a book of history, a scientific account of this couple. el Paso knew his readers would already know a lot about these real people, hen and where they lived, and what they did. Going to the archives was a y for him to obtain bricks—existing information to use in his fiction—and give his fiction an "effet de réalité" that would make readers share an illusion at what they were reading was "true." We don't go to Del Paso's novel to give cumentary proof of such and such event concerning Maximilian or Carlota.

Is history just like literature or autobiography just like fiction? We can ke from Garcia's work that autobiography (like history) seeks to establish d communicate truth(s) and that literature in general and narrative fiction particular are freely created representations using bricks taken from reality t not seeking to establish any truth-correspondence with reality. Put other-se, biography and autobiography discover. Fiction creates worlds, invented iverses, and everything entering such worlds becomes by this mere fact tomatically *fictionalized*.

Every once in a blue moon you read *that* book. You know, the one that s you nodding your head in agreement and going ah, yes—and constantly. *tobiography in Black and Brown* is one of those books. At once synthetic and alectical, Garcia's analyses lead an incisive comparative study of two of the entieth century's great autobiographers, Richard Wright and Richard Rodri-ez. It adds to and enlarges the frame of autobiographical studies. It radically frames how we think of the ethnic subject authoring autobiographies. Read-l with Garcia's ethnic autobiographical toolbox, I'm ready finally to dive ck into Wright and Rodriguez—and others like Obama and Sotomayer.

Frederick Luis Aldama

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Biographie & Politique: Vie publique, vie privée, de l'Ancien Régime à la Restauration. Ed. Olivier Ferret and Anne-Marie Mercier-Faivre. Littérature et idéologies. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2014. 263 pp. ISBN 978-2729708788, 22€.

This anthology is in part the result of a colloquium organized in 2011 by the research group LIRE (Littérature, Idéologies, Représentations XVIIIe–XIXe) at the University of Lyon II (France). This is a remarkable book, carefully edited, which both illustrates new methods in the practice of literary science and contributes significantly to the advancement of knowledge in the emerging field of biographical studies. In his introduction, Olivier Ferret engages in a debate principally with François Dosse's theses in *Le Pari biographique* (2005), some of which he respectfully, but very appositely criticizes, as for instance Dosse's classification of biography into three "ages"—"heroic," "modal," and "hermeneutic"—although this nevertheless goes on to preside discreetly over the whole book. This general presentation deserves particular attention, first because it demonstrates a well-read approach to biography defined as "a field of research, and perhaps even a discipline of knowledge" in its own right. Second, it is also worth reading because it vindicates that this collection of articles aims to investigate how modern biography came into existence in the history of literature towards the end of the seventeenth century—that is, at the beginning of this "long eighteenth century" that is the period of predilection of this study. Indeed, it calls implicitly for a full-length analysis of how the rise of biography coincided with the rise of the novel, "in a period when history was not yet conceived of as historical science, but was still largely part of the 'belles-lettres'."

Such is not the main objective of this volume, however, which undertakes to show, by carefully selected case studies, how biography as a literary genre in the larger sense participates pragmatically in the construction of political discourses. The methodology of literary research elaborated here with great efficiency, borrowing both from New Historicism and Reception theories, deserves to be praised. A brief second introduction presents, and quickly comments on, some well-chosen examples of the illustrations that often accompany the biographies under scrutiny, thus showing how biography overlaps the field of literature, as much as it distinguishes itself from historiography. This efficiently composed book falls into four parts—"Agir," "Édifier," "Justifier," "Interpréter"—each introduced by Anne-Marie Mercier-Faivre in such a way that the reader never loses sight of the coherence of the whole, which reads easily with the sustained interest of distinguished erudition elegantly expressed.

The volume begins strong, with a study by Christophe Cave of Pidansat de Mairobert's *Anecdotes sur Mme la comtesse du Barry* and other works on the

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me topic, showing how they pertain to the libels and the libertine, erotic, d pornographic narratives then in fashion, as well as borrow from the pica-sque novel. This "type of political biography, half libel and half true story," rtakes in "the Voltairian method in philosophy applied . . . to politics." my Ben Messaoud then studies several examples of "Private Lives," rang-g from the *Vie privée de Louis XV* to the *Mémoires de la vie privée de Benja-in Franklin,* the latter being then further analyzed by Olivier Ritz. It is one the great assets of these articles that they chose to study several texts at a me, always avoiding locking themselves up in a single work, but practicing stead a lively style of comparative literary criticism. "Political biography," rites Ben Messaoud, "emerges between light and shade, through these texts at are excessive indeed, but which translate a demand for transparency, and aspiration to the constitution of a new Pantheon."

One of the most interesting articles in this anthology is certainly Shojiro uwase's "Reconnaître Rousseau," where he focuses on the tension between e idealized image of Rousseau that his readers had inferred from his works philosophy and fiction, and the disappointing posthumous self-portrait at Rousseau provided them with in the second part of his *Confessions,* pub-hed in 1789, four years after his death. From the refusal to read the *Con-ssions,* to the publication of bowdlerized editions, there emerged a theory falsification, supposing that some enemies of Rousseau's must have added ese scandalous episodes to his confessions to ruin his reputation, which led the publication of expurgated biographies of Rousseau meant to erase the ortcomings of Jean-Jacques. There is perhaps no better example of how ography and autobiography can be at variance with one another, and Ku-ase's article makes us yearn to read a longer study on this crucial question.

After an edifying analysis by Florence Boulère of the use of short biogra-hies in schoolbooks of the 1780s, Simone Messina studies Albert Laponner-e's efforts to rehabilitate Robespierre, especially by publishing the *Mémoires Charlotte Robespierre sur ses deux frères* (1834). Then Jean-Luc Chappey, in remarkable article called "Usages politiques et sociaux de la biographie en-e la Convention et le Directoire (1794–1799)," demonstrates how, if the ench Revolution did not invent biography, it gave it a new relevance. To gin with, damning biographies were used to denounce the "monsters" of e Terror. Books of martyrs established lists of their victims in the form of llected short biographical notes, thus directly participating in the triggering the "White Terror": massacres of Republicans that occurred, especially in e Southeast of France, from the Winter of 1794 on. In response to this, the eputies of the Convention strove to curb this public unrest by publishing ographies and biographical dictionaries of good Republicans and "national

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heroes," from which there emerged new social types, and in particular that o the "savant" who devotes his life to the common good of the people. Chappey goes so far as to speak of a "veritable invasion of the political by the biographical," through which, with the emergence of the "soldier" type of nationa hero, especially after the coup of "18 Brumaire" by which Napoleon began hi ascension to absolute power, followed by the creation of individual dossier on nearly everybody, there emerged a social organization that Chappey call a "biocraty." He concludes with the hypothesis that the Romantic cult of th self may have been in part a reaction against this "seizure of the biographica by the state."

Quite as fascinating is Erwan Sommerer's study of the *Notice sur la vie d Sieyès*: an autobiography passed off as a biography, which served as a maste stroke in Sieyès's strategy to come back to the highest level of power. Fran cesco Dendena analyzes in similar terms the autobiographies of the Feuil lants, who like La Fayette favored constitutional monarchy, while Marie France Piguet examines the *Mémoires du Comte de Montlosier.* In the last par of the anthology, devoted to the ways in which biography can encourage a evolutionary interpretation of historical figures, Myrtille Méricam-Bourde observes the reversal of perspective by which Oliver Cromwell, after severa biographies presenting him in France as a cynical hypocrite, was finally cred ited with the sincerity of his religious opinions, by a process culminating i Voltaire's *Cromwell,* which opened the way to taking into consideration bot the individual and the collective forces of history. Voltaire's "Lives" are als studied by Laurence Macé at greater length, in light of Jean Sgard's "Poétiqu des Vies Particulières." Fadi El Hage shows how the biographies of Napoleo published under the French Restoration are part and parcel of a struggle t re-establish the legitimacy of the Bourbons.

Finally, Eric Gatefin concludes very appositely by returning to Sainte Beuve, and quotes the master of biographical criticism: "for indeed this tim that preceded our birth, this eighteenth century as a whole, we know it, wit a little reading and good-will . . . we could at any hour step into any one o these salons without feeling too much out of our depth." A general bibliog raphy rounds off the whole, complementing those of the particular articles and an index of personal names and biographical notes on the authors brin the final touch to make these conference proceedings add up to a very seriou book, demonstrating in several ways that the art of the "viographe," as Jacque Le Vasseur used to say in 1633, is today a very vivacious field of research.

Joanny Moulin

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readman, Anne. *The Livres-Souvenirs of Colette: Genre and the Telling of Time.* Research Monographs in French Studies 33. London: Legenda, 2012. 178 pp. ISBN 9-781906540937. £55.00.

n the past thirty years, much has been written on Colette and the genres f autobiography or auto-fiction in French. Scholarship has reexamined, for stance, Lejeune's theories on the autobiographical pact in relation to early xclusion of Colette from the canon. Many critics have been intrigued by her se of elements of her life either to create works of fiction or to inscribe herself bliquely as a woman. In spite of different interpretations, all concur con-erning the generic complexities of her writings. In *The Livres-Souvenirs of olette—Genre and the Telling of Time,* Anne Freadman also acknowledges olette's constant mixing of strategies, but for her Colette never wrote a true utobiography or real memoirs—not only because a chronological structure, the hallmark of the genre of memoirs" (20), is missing from her narratives, ut also because she never truly revealed herself and did not offer a *bilan,* an ssessment of her life. Indeed, Freadman considers Colette "the most discreet f writers" (22–24). Reminding us of her resistance to the confusion of her erson with her characters, Freadman argues that Colette actually gives little way and even "refuses the plot of the life-story," simply construing her life s a source of memories (14). Freadman does not purport to propose a new enre under the term *livres-souvenirs* but conveniently gathers some of Co-tte's writings under this rubric. As she focuses on specific distinctions be-ween the *writing of memoirs* and the *writing of memories,* she studies the au-hor's ways of writing fragments of her past, developing her argument across The First Subject" (looking at texts that work on a relation with the genre of utobiography) and "The Second Subject" (turning to texts that *adapt* vari-us genres for the purpose of writing memories). As she considers the *livres-uvenirs* creative "adaptations" not governed by historical chronology, the ritic illuminates Colette's modernity.

The book is divided into five sections. In the first two, "Exposition" and First subject: Colette and Autobiography," Freadman redefines the terms autobiography," "story-telling," "fiction" and "fable," before proposing that olette is above all a *story-teller.* Rather than comparing her personal works to hen's, as others have, Freadman suggests that it is more productive to read her connection with her work as a journalist (7). Also leaving to other critics he task of checking archival sources to verify where the writer invents or mis-members, she stresses both how Colette's career in journalism did indeed hape her mastery of the short form, and how the memory-books "short-cir-uit [the] process of re-inscription and hence avoid the historical vocation of tandard autobiography and memoirs" (12). Having established that memory

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is essentially non-linear, fragmented, and therefore not ruled by the time of the world (14), Freadman explores Colette's alternative and imaginative variations on telling time.

Freadman is herself uninterested in a chronological treatment of the texts. After incursions into the earlier *Claudine* series, *Les Vrilles de la vigne,* and later writings, her study of *Mes Apprentissages* elaborates the distinction between autobiography, memoirs, and memories. Some earlier commentators had questioned Colette's use of biography in that text from 1936, which looked back onto her initiation into married life and the Parisian milieux of the 1900s. But Freadman links other critics' remarks in praise of Colette's art of the portrait and of her voice as "the true memorialist" of that period (42) to argue that *Mes Apprentissages,* although it is the closest among Colette's writings to an autobiography, goes beyond an autobiographical plot and does not truly belong to the mode of memoirs either. Freadman concedes that the text certainly has a historical dimension: because it is "resistant to the generalisations of social history" and gives sketches of the journalistic milieu of the 1900s, together with insights into "the specific texture of daily life," it is indeed close to a documentary (43). But, as she further analyzes the development of several intricate extended metaphors in the narrator's work on memory (collecting a bouquet, weaving a braid, arranging an album, moving and escaping like a snake), Freadman also shows that Colette's treatment of big History and great men is only a backdrop for her "little stories" (44); she remembers not so much in reference to dates but in connection with her experiences as a woman entering married life. *Mes Apprentissages,* rather than a bildungsroman of sorts, is a gathering of personal vignettes, a *re-collection* album.

For Freadman, this pattern of simply writing memories is traceable throughout Colette's works all the way to her later volumes, and it takes the dimension of a veritable "fable of time" (43). Her *livres-souvenirs* exploit extended metaphors that may scan entire stories ("*re*-collecting" a bouquet of memories being the dominant one), and her stories were composed in an effort to interpret the *experience itself* of remembering, disjointed by definition.

In Part III ("Bridge"), Freadman interrupts her textual analysis to return to *genre.* In briefly discussing theorists of the genres of autobiography, confessions, memoirs, and other writings about the self (Lejeune, Goodwin, Gusdorf), she first situates Colette's writings far from Rousseau's *Confessions*; second, she compares her interest in the ordinary, in modest people and in the small things of experience, to what is found in Montaigne's *Essais.* But most importantly, Freadman underlines the modernity of Colette by arguing that she is a forerunner of recent writing in which "exploration of memory stands alone, without self-scrutiny and without any autobiographical project" (56).

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The purpose of the fourth section of Freadman's essay, "Second subject: Collecting Time," is to qualify that modernity further by devoting entire chapters to *La Maison de Claudine, Sido, L'Etoile Vesper,* and *Le Fanal bleu.* As *La Maison de Claudine* (1922) recounts discontinuous fragments of her childhood in very loose chronology, Colette is seen here as working at re-collecting pieces of nineteenth century provincial and family life. Like *La Maison de Claudine, Sido* (1930) is an album of memories, and like *Mes Apprentissages,* it is also a collection of portraits partially constituted through anecdotes," mixing the two genres of portrait and conte. Taken all together, the vignettes of *La Maison de Claudine* and *Sido,* Freadman explains, are like a patchwork of personal "treasures." But in *Sido* the remembering transforms stories of loss into anecdotes that pull the Dead out of oblivion (71). In that work, the portraits that the narrator sketches of her mother, her father, and her siblings evoke, without ever fully telling it, the loss of paradise that Colette's family experienced through financial troubles when she was twelve years old (87–90). Situating that loss at the crucial reference point of the older sister's wedding, Freadman qualifies that fall from paradise as the "fall into human time" (96). She delves into the author's bold metaphors on ways of experiencing or denying ag temporality: the *Rose des vents* (or Wind Rose Compass) meant to plant the mother, Sido, at the center of that time cycle; empty notebooks left by the father, Le Capitaine, which portray him as rather powerless and exiled from his own past; and the metaphor of the clock to show one of the brothers, Léo, stuck in repetitive time. Experiencing "natural time" is associated with the charismatic mother and her powerful skills, as she was in tune with uncanny signs in the natural world; but it is at odds with "human time," embodied by the father and especially his inability to transmit his own history. Freadman ends in *Sido* an explanation for the writer's strategies of recording memories, arguing that the pages on the father's disability (psychological as much as physical) should be symbolically interpreted as concerns with the difficulty of telling time in continuous fashion (i.e., in "human time"). Freadman's point is that those very concerns explain Colette's preference for telling her memories in non-narrative forms (96); her writings do not attempt to reproduce natural time, and yet the fragmented portraits and *contes* give her past a real presence (109). Colette's memory-books are first and foremost exercises in "acte de mémoire" (101). For Freadman, then, in a response to modernity, Colette invents a form of composition that is "a breaking-up and a reassembling" (109): these books' structure is to be compared to that of cubist art.

As the next chapters of this section examine the aging writer's works *Etoile Vesper* and *Le Fanal Bleu,* and her "art of ending," the critic shows likewise that her stories "do not control the structure of the texts" (112). Here,

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she also highlights how Colette's ways of telling time change subtly. Ultimately, Freadman finds that the *livres-souvenirs* are not stories of loss and decline; against the linearity of conventional autobiography, the narrator assembles "bundles" or "bouquets," using "the present to collect the past" (139). In *L'Etoile Vesper* (1946), as she reflects on the spatial and temporal limitations that old age and illness render more real, Colette still re-collects pieces of her past, still with little interest in linearity or in the future. Freadman exploits the writer's beautiful, contrasted metaphors of declining time (Venus as Evening Star) and linear time (the road, or metaphor for a life), to suggest that by then Colette has given up the obligation of writing for other people or for publication: she writes just to write, and her meandering text is comparable to an "aimless walk" (116). *Le Fanal bleu* (1949), however, with the metaphors of the tapestry (an art of weaving and plaiting still-life) and the blue lantern (a constant vigil over the ongoing present), no longer marks the passing of time: it stores little memory-work. Rather, closer to a diary, it "inhabits the present" (136–37).

In Part V, Freadman turns back to a piece dating from 1928. This section, entitled "Recapitulation: Reading 'Colette' in *La Naissance du jour*" intertwines both stages of the critic's argument on First and Second subjects, and encapsulates Colette's art through contemporary lenses of reader-reception theory. As other critics have shown, in that diary-like work, the writer uses letters from her mother, but modifies them. Freadman suggests that through such manipulation, Colette takes some distance from maternal teachings. In doing so, she reconstructs memories in both a destructive and a creative way: she re-appropriates her mother's letters, actually making them address the reader directly, rather than herself. "Life must be changed for the purposes of art" (153), Freadman writes, thus making the case that *La Naissance du jour* is a cautionary tale about reading for autobiography; indeed, it is a reflection on reading, readers' expectations, and ourselves as readers. Colette's art points to the multiplicity of her text (154) and to reading as a ludic activity (167).

Inspired by the complexities of Colette's memory-books, Freadman herself writes elegantly and in a deeply personal way. One should mention, however, that as her essay makes for dense writing and difficult reading, it first addresses Colette specialists. Pages about *La Maison de Claudine,* for instance, sometimes lump stories together; others on *L'Etoile Vesper, Le Fanal bleu,* or *La Naissance du jour* may also meander from one anecdote to the other, therefore making Freadman's commentaries less accessible to non-specialists. A general conclusion after the final chapter on *La Naissance du jour* would have been welcome. Yet, this book is Colette's scholarship at its best. First, as it both dialogues with theorists of genre and Colette scholars, creating new

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understandings of her works, Freadman's insights are sophisticated and illuminating. Second, this reviewer particularly enjoyed Freadman's analysis of Colette's extended metaphors, her reading between the lines of Colette's texts, and the comments or explanations in the first person when she takes on Colette's persona to speak *for her* about her art and projects. All accentuate multiple layers of interpretation as Colette generates an intricate relationship with her readers. Finally, since other critics have associated Colette with art nouveau, and thus anchored her in the Belle-Epoque, readers of *The Livres-souvenirs of Colette* should find particularly compelling Freadman's argument that Colette's complex work on "la mémoire" also links her textual compositions to other more modern, abstract forms of artistic movements.

Catherine Slawy-Sutton

Patricia A. Lange. *Kids on YouTube: Technical Identities and Digital Literacies.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast, 2014. 272 pp. ISBN 978-1-61132-936-0, $34.95.

Patricia Lange's *Kids on YouTube* offers fresh insight into how kids interact with YouTube. Lange places YouTube within the broader category of what she calls "personally expressive media" to better understand kids' participatory practices as they create their own media. This is a welcome shift in the field of media studies, which too often emphasizes media effects and consumption, rather than production (especially when it comes to youth).

Lange is a detailed anthropologist, and one of the joys of the book is reading how she connects her subjects' experiences to broader theoretical concepts. She situates her work within established media studies' theories, yet asks us to question the assumptions and limitations of these theories as they pertain to both youth and YouTube. Her ethnography includes interviews with kids and young adults, ranging from nine to twenty-six years old. She includes analyses of videos and text comments. She attended several in-person YouTube meet-ups or social gatherings. And, staying true to the field of anthropology, she posted videos on *AnthroVlog*, in an effort to engage users in discussions about the work.

The aim of Lange's qualitative study is to "investigate the interrelationship between video self-expression, learning opportunities, and technologized aspects of identity" (15). To do this, the book integrates three main concepts. First, personally expressive media is defined as mediated artifacts, such as parodies or video blogs, that help the creator communicate aspects of his or her self. Next, "performing technical affiliation" refers to how kids connect their own technical skills to larger techno-cultural practices. How kids understand

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their own technological abilities within larger cultural practices is essential for understanding the development of digital literacies. The third concept, "phenomenologies of the mediated moment," refers to the meaning making behind the artifacts. What decisions are made when kids post a particular video? How do kids think their videos will be received? Each chapter uses these three concepts as an analytical lens to understand the meaning of YouTube in kids' lives.

In Chapter 2, "Video-Mediated Friendships," Lange examines the different roles kids take on as they create videos. She looks at "media dispositions," or the preferences for making certain types of media and engaging in particular media activities. Kids tended to specialize in particular tasks, such as operating the camera, writing, acting, or editing. These details show that media making is a social process, a point that becomes important in understanding the development of digital literacies.

Chapter 3, "Girls Geeking out on YouTube," contains interviews with fifteen girls ages twelve to nineteen. Lange situates her work within other studies of girls' media production, arguing that these studies narrowly look at non-technical aspects of self, such as gender, ethnicity, and class. Instead, Lange persuasively advocates for technology as an identity variable because girls and women embrace technical skills and affiliations as important components of their identities. Indeed, many of the girls in Lange's study highlighted the ways in which their technical identities were created and negotiated, especially as they identified as "geeks." The girls in her sample stray from usual findings that girls are not as confident in their technical abilities, leading Lange to conclude that we need to broaden our understanding of the intersections of technology and identity. This move is nicely executed in Lange's discussion of how girls' respond to comments about their videos. Feedback is an important component of girls' technical identities, especially for feeling a sense of accomplishment. Negative commentary or "haters," those who post mean-spirited comments, can be detrimental to girls' technical identities. Lange uses these findings to offer specific suggestions about how to include gender equality in formal classroom teaching.

The focus of Chapter 4 is kids' participation in contemporary civic issues. Again, Lange challenges assumptions of current research, this time arguing that civic engagement literature often looks at kids' future participation in political activities rather than trying to understand their current practices. She prefers a model of civic engagement that emphasizes social connections, shared interests, and interactions. YouTube offers exposure to diverse and sometimes antagonistic views that kids may not encounter in formal institutions, such as school or church. Examples of civic engagement that she found included video blogs or filming community events. Sharing videos enables

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kids to try out opinions and worldviews and leads to new forms of civic engagement, such as "mediated witnessing" (99), or the use of video production to shine a light on social issues. One profile that stands out is that of Max, a teenager who created an audio-visual mash-up as a way to comment on violence and racial/ethnic tension with children in Palestine. Max's YouTube video challenged dominant readings of the tension, evoking strong comments. Admittedly, those kids who were using YouTube for civic engagement were a minority in her study, yet she connects these new forms of civic engagement to developing digital literacies.

What are the ethics involved when parents post videos of their children on YouTube? This is the subject of Chapter 6, "Representational Ideologies." Through her interviews, she found that there are a range of ideologies that determine both kids' and adults' media practices. Take for example Jay, who posted a video of his daughter, even though in the video she clearly states that she does not want to be filmed. Jay argues that it was not unethical to post the video because it captures a snapshot of his relationship with his teenaged daughter. Yet, the video evoked strong comments from users about his choices being unethical. This chapter raises questions about the long-term impact of our digital footprints.

One of the hallmarks of digital natives is the assumption that much of their learning is self-taught. In Chapter 7, Lange looks at how kids internalize this idea. As she investigates their learning narratives, it becomes clear that kids do not critically reflect on what it means to be "self-taught." Ethnographic research showed that parents, schools, and peers all have both positive and negative influences on kids' technical learning. In this chapter, she addresses the digital divide, noting that

> not all kids have access to networked opportunities, or find ready acceptance and help from their friends. If one's friends or acquaintances are not technically competent, adequate mentorship may be difficult to procure. Conversely, if one's highly technical peers espouse an ideal of being self-taught, then those with "geeked out" interest or disposition to learn on their own may struggle to gain the expertise they need to craft personally expressive messages in a heavily mediated world. (215)

In the concluding chapter, Lange reiterates that it is impossible to talk about kids on YouTube without understanding how they learned technical skills and why they chose to learn them in that way. Even though kids identify as tech-savvy, there may be gaps in their learning, especially in terms of mentorship or taking critical feedback. The implications of the study are many, but one obvious one is the acrimonious relationship kids have to traditional forms of learning. As she writes, "a key finding of this book is that digital

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divides extend beyond the traditional loci of investigation oriented toward gender, ethnicity, and class" (218).

In the end, she identifies pathways to digital literacies that are influenced by "interaction between individual identities and dispositions, and interactional dynamics" (219). One area that could be further developed is a critical investigation of institutional policies and structures of technology companies that determine the framework. In other words, what role do technology companies have in helping to develop our digital literacies?

Another strength of the book is its focus on ethics. As Lange writes, "this book sought not to adjudicate ethical issues, but rather to be a co-productive text that invites readers to consider their own practices, and reflect on how they engage in chains of learning about what constitutes ethical media making practices" (230).

In conclusion, this book is an important contribution because it complicates understandings of kids' technical identities. While there may be some gaps in terms of including a more diverse group of kids to address the digital divide and inequality, she does a nice job of parsing out the importance of particular learning narratives and issues. She offers sharp critiques of established research in media studies, especially as it relates to issues of gender, yet there are some gaps. These gaps, though, offer direction for other scholars to build on, especially in the area of identity and technology.

Carolyn M. Cunningham

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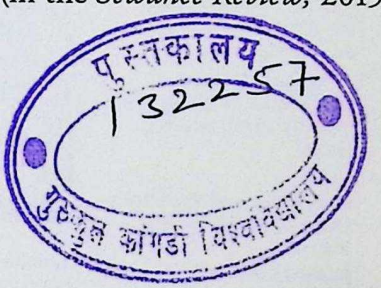

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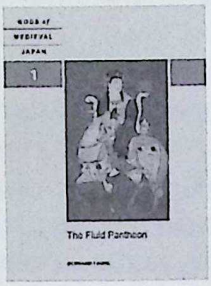

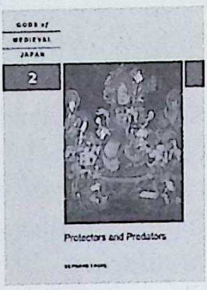

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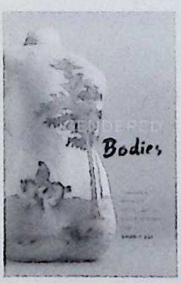

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